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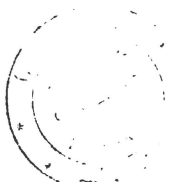
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The Antiquary

A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO THE STUDY
OF THE PAST.



Instructed by the Antiquary times,

He must, he is, he cannot but be wise.—TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, Act ii. sc. 3.

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TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, Act ii. sc. 3.

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The Antiquary.



JANUARY, 1886.

Notes on the History of the Crown Lands.

PART I.—INTRODUCTORY.

THE fable* of the Teutonic migration relates that the victorious leader of an invading tribe divided the conquered territory between himself and his armed followers,† leaving certain tracts, unsuited for immediate occupation by reason of their woody or marshy nature, for the constitutional requirements of the embryo state.

In this primitive community the greatest forces obtained the furthest extension of property. One, the Crown, an active force, was for ever extending its original share by carving out royal estates from the endless sphere of conquest which lay before it. The other, the State itself, a passive force, was proportionately enriched by an endowment of public lands, increasing in extent (we may suppose) as the line of conquest was pushed slowly on into the wilder districts in which the natives had taken refuge.

Thus it happens that in historical times we light upon the three great divisions of land classed as royal, private, or public respectively. This view of a threefold scale of ownership is but a momentary one; when next we gaze upon the mirror of the past, one of these has vanished. Needless to say that it is the land of the people. So, then, two divisions of land only are left, the royal

and the private; but the rights of the nation in the third were never wholly lost, unless indeed they are already sacrificed in the present day.*

The loss to which we have referred came about in this wise. From an even earlier date than most writers would care to admit, the tendency had been for the Crown to treat the public lands as its own for purposes of State at least. The sole check upon this pretension existed in the supposed consent of the Witan to every alienation of the property of the nation. Somewhat later, it was found that this new claim of the Crown was neither wholly interested, nor in itself disadvantageous to the national cause. The King was no longer a mere tribal leader, responsible at most for the regulation of his household, great and small. The national defence, the establishment of justice, the maintenance of law and order by a strict police to meet the immediate wants of a new-born civil society, or the prospective wants of a mercantile community, were now his care. The Folk-lands of the ninth and tenth centuries, stripped of their fairer members by the appropriations or feudal grants of previous sovereigns, consisted mainly of forest, moor and marsh, or those narrower tracts of soil, including highways and riverbeds, which served as marshes or boundaries between sub-kingdoms, shires, and hundreds.†

It is probable that the Folk-land was at no time really valuable; the time had now come when it threatened to be moreover a source of danger to the community. This was owing to its physical character as a region of pathless forests and wastes, the refuge of beasts of prey and of the chase, the refuge also of still more dangerous marauders, outlaws and robbers, who subsisted upon the spoils less of nature than of the industry of man. Again, the highways and great rivers, which presumably had been parcel of the public lands, were not only a source of anxiety in the matter of repairs and conservancy respectively, but were a positive inducement to crime. Three centuries later

* *Lat. fabula*, a story. "The exact process by which the transference of the German institutions to Britain was effected is not recorded."—*Stubbs*, i. 71.

† The "Host" and "Hundred."

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* The rights of the local public in commons and wastes; those of the general public in highways and common rivers.

† Britton, Lib. ii., cap. 11, "Of Disseisins."

B

we find the Crown still struggling with the evil, clearing the woods from the road-sides that no lurking-place might be afforded to highwaymen, and arming the rural population in its own defence against the daily commission of robberies and murders.*

The Folk-lands, therefore, became Crown-lands somewhere about the end of the ninth century, it is believed, in exchange for which not very solid concession the Sovereign was required to enter into that constitutional contract with his subjects which runs through our history as an expansion of the Anglo-Saxon coronation oath, which guaranteed the liberties of all in matters of religion, laws, and justice.†

Now it was essential that the laws herein referred to should be "good laws." Furthermore, the Anglo-Saxon ideal of beneficent legislation was expressed in the traditional ordinances of Edward the Confessor, made with the approval of his wise men; and in these enactments it will be observed that the theory of the King's responsibility for the preservation of the peace is strongly expressed, this peace being especially enjoined for the safety of all highways and great rivers.‡

Historians are fond of telling us that the tenants of Folk-land under State control formed a body of vassals ready-made at the period of the extension of the royal jurisdiction over the ancient property of the nation. It will be more profitable, perhaps, to pursue our investigation into the acquisition by the Crown of a territorial jurisdiction in point in another direction.

Herein we may assume that the vill, farms, forests, wastes, and highways before-mentioned as forming the physical structure of the Folk-lands, were transferred to the Crown as their natural custodian by the name of royal demesne in trust for the natural rights of the subject, together with an absolute jurisdiction, formulated at a later date as forest-law, conservancy and "defence" of rivers and other highways, and a more than feudal proprietorship of vill and farms.

The profits of this new undertaking were

naturally a considerable inducement. There were not only the farms cultivated or leased by the Crown, and the produce whereof at this early date was rendered in kind by the farmers or bailiffs, but also there was the infinite vista of sport opened up to the Saxon monarch, who loved the chase within the forest glades of most southern shires. Moreover, there was the ample reward of a vigilant preservation of the peace upon the avenues of commerce in the shape of tolls and fines paid willingly enough by the merchant in requital of this supreme safe-conduct, which passed him and his wares unharmed through the length and breadth of the land. Lastly, the Crown was enriched by the nett receipts from fines of justice in the national and forest courts (assuming the existence of the latter franchise), the facilities for enforcing which were equally connected with this new jurisdiction over the former harbourage of crime.

And so the change supposed to have been in progress since the Battle of Ellandune is known to have been accomplished before the Conquest by the evidence of *Domesday Book*. Here we find the Crown actually in possession of the ancient Folk-land, which passes under the generic title of *Terra Regis*. There is not much evidence to show to what extent the latter benefited by this appropriation, and there is none at all to show when or how it took place. We have merely then to accept *Terra Regis* of *Domesday* as we find it, and to follow the constitutional interest connected with its enlargement or decrease during subsequent reigns. At first we are presented with a steady increase. The royal demesne of the Conqueror must have been a large one, judging from the entries thereof in *Domesday Book* and the popular impression expressed by the chroniclers; and this territory was steadily increased by his sons, especially in the direction of afforestation. For this latter encroachment we should have been prepared from our knowledge of the domestic policy of Norman Kings, who undertook the administration of the national resources for ensuring law and order in return for a territorial enjoyment and profit becoming more and more invidious and absolute, and a territorial jurisdiction verging upon tyranny,

* Stat. Winton, 13 Ed. I.

† "Pontificale Egberti Archiepiscopi," A.D. 760.

‡ "De Pace Regis." *Cotton MSS., Claud., D. ii.* c. 16.

even as it is seen under the milder rule of the first Plantagenet.* However, these Kings are as yet known to us mostly by capable conjecture.

The next piece of direct evidence which follows *Domesday* is the surviving Pipe Roll of Henry I. Here we find plentiful mention of Crown-lands granted, sold, or given in exchange to vassals and officials.† In the Pipe Rolls of Henry II., which succeed this isolated record, instances of such grants are found in still greater abundance, and made like the former to officials of the new school created by Henry I., rather than on the principle of feudal concession which characterized the alienations of a weak King like Stephen, and unpatriotic rulers like Henry III., Edward II., Richard II., and Henry VI.

The Crown-lands as they are set forth in the Pipe Rolls consist of the following elements: (1) The Farms,‡ or ancient allodial estates originally assigned to the national King in the earliest Saxon period, or acquired by the territorial Sovereign in the later Saxon period, and which were known since *Domesday* as Ancient Domesne of the Crown. (2) The feudal estates, knights' fees, baronies, or honours which the Crown had occupied by way of resumption,§ escheat,|| or forfeiture,¶ whether as lord of the fee or lord paramount in the last resource. (3) The forests, expressed in the accounts rendered for the assessed fines of Assart.

For the first of the above the Sheriff usually answered as the Farmer-General of the Crown, collecting the rents of the King's tenants, or "debtors," who formed a class of small cultivators, and compounding for the same in a fixed sum to the Crown, receiving proportionate allowance in case of any diminution of the Crown-lands through alienations, such as have been before alluded to. But in other cases, and universally in those

of Honors, the rents and profits were accounted for by a custos or bailiff, apart from the bulk of the country farms.

It is probable that the Crown-lands, like the French possessions of this country, reached their greatest extent in the reign of Henry II. From this point, therefore, we are engaged in noting their steady decline, in spite of certain arbitrary, even desperate, attempts to expiate the evils of voluntary or forced alienations.

From the very first, we have seen that the acquirement of an extensive royal demesne by the Crown was, in fact, the result of an indirect bargain with the nation. The King took over the residue of the Folk-land because he alone was qualified by the possession of equivalent territorial jurisdiction to undertake their management and order. So, too, with regard to the later revenue which the Crown derived, directly or indirectly, from the soil, it had come to be regarded as an essential condition of its enjoyment that the King should "live of his own;" he for his part undertaking the defence of the national independence, commerce, and interests of every kind, from harmful influences, particularly such as were threatened by the growing competition of foreign countries. In fact, such a programme as is described in the words of Edward I.: "ut terra de bonis suis se illæsa conservaret." Now one of the most baneful of these influences was favouritism, or countenancing of Aliens. This anti-English policy was truly the curse of Plantagenet Kings. John and Henry III. used it; so did Edward II., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry VI. Opposition to this new freak of the Crown is the chief explanation of popular discontent on many notable occasions, and is easily identified as the main-spring of the national policy formulated in 1258, 1297, 1312, 1340, and 1386. That is to say, the royal demesne under all the Kings above mentioned was wantonly alienated for the benefit of favourites, and these the vilest of men in the popular view. Stephen had already set an example which had been deprecated by the thrift of his successor, but all too readily followed out for a still worse motive by Richard I. and John. Thanks to a long and profitable minority, Henry III. began his personal government with sufficient resources for a constitutional programme; but

* Assize of the Forest, 1184.

† Terræ datæ, Escambium.

‡ Fundi regii.

§ "Purpresturæ . . . quæ quidem cum deprehenduntur, a possessoribus . . . tolluntur, et abhinc fisco cedunt."—*Dialogus de Scaccario*, ii. 10.

|| "Escaetæ . . . quæ decedentibus his qui de rege tenent in capite . . . ad fiscum relabuntur."—*Ibid.*

¶ "Cum aliquis de rege tenens in capite perpetrati sceleris sibi conscius . . . sive convictus vel confessus . . . redditus omnes . . . perpetuo jure ad scaccarium . . . persolvuntur."—*Ibid.*

in his reign we have not only the most aggravated instances of wasteful grants of royal property (now, since *Magna Carta*, regarded as the property of the nation, when the nation might no longer be arbitrarily taxed in default), but the fatal expedient of forced resurreptions—the bankrupt Monarch's discharge through the good graces of ministers or Parliament.

But with the exercise of ordinary self-respect these thriftless Plantagenets might have trebled the hard-saved wealth of their great founder. We shall always find that under a strong King the wind-falls of the prerogative are few compared with those which befall in the stormy times of a ruler whose reign is merely the motive for disaffection. Now Henry III. and Edward II. not only spent extravagantly, but wasted their opportunities for spending more—crippled both of them in revenue as in power by the permissive existence of a "Monsieur" in the person of a Premier Earl, thus preferring the most unconstitutional methods of taxation to the obvious and capable ones which presented themselves.*

The consequence of this combined folly and improvidence was the inability of the Crown to fulfil its contract for administering the Government on a peace-footing, entailing an ignominious measure of precaution in the form of Appropriation of Supply by a Parliamentary Committee in the reign of Richard II.

In each instance both the private income of the Sovereign, drawn from the Crown-lands, and the supplementary income voted by Parliament for the conduct of his wars, had been swallowed by the same bottomless gulf of sordid immorality, the Household, so boldly denounced by Thomas Haxey, the Prynne of the Middle Ages.

The rolls of Parliament of the fifteenth century tell us of the ever-diminishing revenue of the Crown derived from royal demesne, without needing the confirmation of the

records of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer.

The fiscal earldoms of Stephen had been renewed in the titular creations of Edward III. Henceforth the newly ennobled favourite, so far from taking his title from the land, had now often to subsist as best he might on a precarious annuity until such time as his land could be assigned to him, a process tending to the complete subversion of local associations and interests which had once made it possible for the humblest churl, nay, villein even, to be suitably represented by a county "magnate" in the great feudal council before the days of Simon de Montfort. The distraction of the Hundred Years' War diverted men's minds from the once famous principle of a self-supporting monarchy. But as this former inexhaustible source of supply, the customs and subsidies of exported wool, began to show marked signs of failure, it was time to economize nearer home.

In truth, the natural income of the Crown was lamentably pinched by waste and improvidence. Fortunately the remedy was easy. What the Crown had given, the nation by its representatives took away. In the middle of the reign of Henry VI. the King's income had sunk to a little over £5,000. In the same reign the Commons considered that vast grants had been improperly made "by the suggestion" of certain wicked persons unknown, and must be resumed. For the next fifty years these expedients are repeated with a monotonous regularity. Then we have the unwonted spectacle of a saving, nay, an encroaching King. Apart from his well-known parsimony in the management of his household and his scientific devices for the better collection and audit of the royal revenue, Henry VII. succeeded to the handsome legacy by attainders reserved as the meet portion of surviving Yorkist partizans; and this source of casual profit he sedulously improved by working up the local branches of the business with the pettifogging assistance of Empson and Dudley.

But all such laudable efforts for the rehabilitation of the royal income sink into insignificance beside the gigantic expedients of Henry VIII. This King, having spent his father's savings, and still further impoverished the patrimony of the Crown, failing the de-

* In these reigns the Crown notoriously neglected its opportunities of suppressing extraordinary peerages, such as Lancaster, Cornwall, Chester, etc. Cotton says that the King might alienate Escheats, but not Ancient Demesne. There seems, however, to be no authority for this distinction in the actual practice of the Exchequer.

sirable ease of illegal taxation, and possessing in the Battle of the Spurs and Flodden Field no counterparts to the victories of Agincourt and Hexham, which had ensured for Henry V. and Edward IV. the grants of lifelong subsidies, found himself in one day enriched beyond the dreams of avarice with the rainbow-gold of two centuries of enlightened legislators.

Whether Henry made good use of this new-found treasure depends on the view we take of the same as an accession to the royal revenue or to the resources of the nation respectively. If the latter would appear the right view, then the King's extravagance may be readily condoned in the new prosperity of the country. We may even indulge in a faint pity for the luckless descendant of Henry VII., who inherited a beggarly account of grants and leases in place of the joint possessions of the two greatest land-owners by repute of the Middle Ages,* and who, being thus left dependent on a diminished and low-rented patrimony,† was easily starved into submission by his loving subjects.

To give full statistics illustrative of the extent to which Crown-lands were alienated or encumbered by Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, would be only to cause the patriotic reader needless pain. We know enough by tradition of the character of the councillors of the brother; the eccentricities of the sisters will explain their slighter share in the matter—the bigotry of Mary and the studied parsimony of Elizabeth. Two examples will suffice to show the magnitude of these alienations even during the reign of the last-named sovereign. The sales of Crown-lands authorized in 1561 and 1563 as they are imperfectly recorded in the Auditor's accounts, realized the sum of £176,648 6s. 7d. Again, between the years 1589 and 1592 these sales amounted to another sum of £131,842 7s. 7½d. In each case the proceeds were devoted to the exigencies of the public service, being expended in the earlier period chiefly in the repayment of foreign and domestic loans, and in the later period

to meet the expenses of the military operations on the Continent.*

There is, however, another side to the question, at least if we choose to give it a hearing. The Crown alone was not guilty of self-seeking or dishonesty, as the following case, one of many reported and still more unreported, will show :

Here in a single forest, one of some half-dozen remaining to the Crown within the same county, none of them considerable in extent or value, we find by the sworn inquest of local freeholders the following wastes had been committed within a few years by the very keepers and farmers of the Crown, in collusion with some of the most reputable of the resident gentry :

Over 250 acres of wood sold at market prices for the standing timber. Over 3,000 timber trees sold at an average of 5s. each. Many copyhold tenements let by favour or in consideration of bribes to the Crown officers. The numbers of the deer reduced by two-thirds. Various unspecified encroachments which could not be detected through lapse of time, estimated in one case at £1,000 reduction on the former value.

Indeed, while James I. and Charles I. were engaged in collecting from the scattered wreck of the ancestral revenue of the Crown the wherewithal for no very costly state, at the expense of incurring the charge of illegal taxation or of obsolete and vexatious exactions,† many of their aggrieved subjects were singularly prosperous through the goodwill which they affected to despise.

For example, in the reign of James I., Sir Oliver Cromwell held 280 acres of Assart at a rent of 13s. ; Sir John Byron held lands valued at £1,000 for 5s. rent ; Sir Lewes Watson held Assart-lands in Rockingham, worth £300, for 33s. 5d. rent ; Sir Robert Lane held land in the same forest, worth £1,200, for 18s. rent. In these and many other cases, the King's title was proved against a former improvident grant, and fee-farm rents were exacted to the increased amounts specified above, and which were yet much below the market value of the lands. Between the years 1607 and 1616 the Crown

* The Crown and Church.

† It was calculated that the Crown-lands under James I. were let on long leases at one-third, in many cases, of their market value.

* Audit Office Declared Accounts, Bundle 593, Rolls 1 and 2.

† Hallam, ch. viii.

gained £50,000 by this judicious revision, in accordance with earlier Parliamentary precedents. Yet these things are imputed to it for tyranny.*

Nevertheless the burthen of government, especially in connection with the survival of the old feudal responsibilities of the Crown, compelled extensive alienations of Crown-lands before 1642. After that date they became lost for a time to the Sovereign, and even when recovered by the modified resumption of the Restoration, formed but a shadow of their ancient bulk.

With the Restoration we reach the turning-point in the downward career of the Crown-lands. What Elizabeth dispended for her kingdom's good, Charles II. squandered upon profligate pleasures. Some excuse may indeed be found in the altered composition of the revenue of the Crown, which was now supplied out of the extraordinary instead of the ordinary or feudal sources of income.

The King therefore, having now the large annual sum of £1,200,000 in right of his crown, might be somewhat disposed to look on the small demesne which remained to him as a source of private emolument. This, in fact, is what did take place, and even so we cannot doubt that the power of alienation was unequal to the will.

Just as the Commons of 1386 and 1412 made the discovery that alienation of his ordinary revenue by an improvident ruler was but a small evil compared with the diversion of Supply from its original purpose to pamper the royal extravagances, so in 1666 the loyal Parliament of Charles II. was compelled in self-defence to resort to the ancient expedient of Appropriation of Supply. In either case it is obvious that the Crown had exhausted the resources of its ordinary income before descending to such dishonest practices.

The history of the various attempts on the part of the Commons to check the alienations of the Crown-lands forms an interesting piece of by-play.

Under Elizabeth these transactions were both necessitous on the part of the Crown and highly welcome to Parliament itself. In the next reign, however, this equitable arrange-

* L. T. R., Pipe Office Declared Accounts, Bundle 308.

ment was superseded. The Commons could not afford to allow the Stuart King to become independent of Parliamentary Supply, and at one time made a considerable sacrifice for the sake of this vital principle. But, as we might have expected, self-interest prevailed in the end, and the first Bill* forbidding such alienations was not only dropped, but itself gave occasion for yet more systematic sales. So, too, the Commons of the Restoration passed an Act† to empower the Crown to alienate fee-farm rents—a power not unnaturally so thoroughly appreciated that to this day we are in ignorance to what vast extent or in what unprofitable directions it was utilized.

After the Revolution the nation, amongst many other theoretical benefits and practical losses, became so much the richer for the prohibition of future alienations of the Crown-lands, and so much the poorer for the outstanding alienations, to Dutch favourites and Whig courtiers, which, having narrowly escaped an Act of Resumption, left the residue of the hereditary property barely worth the protection now extended, and in need of a still further compensation out of Imperial revenue in the shape of a Civil List.

With the beginning of this new order of things we may fitly conclude our view of the external history of the Crown-lands. The historical interest of any subject usually ceases with its historical continuity.

HUBERT HALL.



Glimpses of Old London, from Scarce Tracts, Poems, and Satires.

I. WESTMINSTER.

T is not a little curious that the many glimpses of old London which are to be obtained from some of the out-of-the-way tracts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have never yet been collected together or used. We have had histories of London in-

* 7 Jas. I.

† 22 and 23 Car. II.

numerable, and in none of them is there any attempt to utilize the fertile resources which these documents so curiously bring out. It is, of course, not intended at the present time to exhaustively treat of the history of London even from the point of view to which these studies will lead us, because such a task is altogether beyond the capacity of a magazine; but if we confine ourselves to grouping together in something like topographical outline some of the phases of London life which are depicted in the evidence we are using, there will result some definite or distinct contributions to the study of the history of this great metropolis.

The district round Westminster Hall and Westminster Hall itself are rich in the grandest historical associations; and in connection with this district a very great deal of pamphlet-writing has been from time to time performed, which gives us a view of the less dignified portion of the doings at Westminster. Of crowns and coronets, robes of ermine and ceremonial offices, we shall hear nothing, but of a much more real life which underlay all this. The lawyers, rightly or wrongly, have been the subject of much antagonistic treatment, and in the satires and invectives hurled against them, or in the defences put forward in their behalf, we can discover many interesting glimpses of the past in London. It is not, of course, proper to take all the narratives from these sources as absolutely true in all details, but underneath the extravagances lies the truth upon which the superstructure of satire has been reared; and it is for this truth, and for the amusement afforded by a perusal of the whole information, that these articles, of which this is the first, are written.

In a poem printed by the Percy Society, entitled *Michaelmas Term*, we have in a few lines a summary of Westminster in the old days. It says:

The court and the city, the country withall,
If you will behold a part of all three
Then come at this time to Westminster Hall
Where people from all parts assembled be;

while a little above the poet has informed us of a curious feature of Westminster life about which we shall have to say more later on:

The threepenny ordinaries are so full thronged
That there you can scarce get one bit of meat.

Among the earliest poems which give us a glimpse of Westminster is the famous one of Lydgate, *London Lackpenny*, written in the fifteenth century. In this poem the refrain after every verse indicates how money is the sole means of obtaining anything—even justice itself; and the opening stanzas give us the following picture of Westminster. They are fairly well known, but in connection with our subject they are well worth quoting in these pages:

To London once my steps I bent
Where trouth in no wyse should be faynt
To Westminster-ward I forthwith went
To a man of law to make complaynt.
I sayd: for Mary's love, that holy Saynt!
Pity the poore that wold procede
But for lack of mony I cold not spede.

And as I thrust the prese amonge
By froward chaunce my hood was gone
Yet for all that I stayd not longe
Tyll to the kynges bench I was come.
Before the judge I kneled anone
And prayd hym for Gods sake to take heede
But for lack of mony I myght not spede.

Beneth them sat clarkes a great rout
Which fast dyd wryte by one assent
There stode up one and cryed about
Rychard Robert and John of Kent.
I wyst not well what this man ment
He cryed so thycke there indede
But he that lackt mony myght not spede.

Unto the common place I gode thro
Where sat one with a sylken hoode
I dyd him reverence, for I ought to do so,
And told my case as well as I coode
How my goods were defrauded me by falshood
I got not a mum of his mouth for my meed
And for lack of mony I myght not speed.

Unto the Rolls I gat me from thence
Before the clarkes of the chauncerye
Where many I found earnynge of pence.

* * * * *

In Westmynster hall I found out one
Which went in a long gown of raye
I crowched and kneled before hym anon.

* * * * *

Within this hall, nether rich nor yett poore
Wold do for me ought although I shold dye
Which seing I gat me out of the doore
Where Flemynge began on me for to cry
Master what will you copen or by?
Fyne felt hattes, or spectacles to reede?
Lay down your sylver and here you may speede.

Then to Westmynster-Gate I presently went
When the sonn was at hyghe pryme;
Cooke to me, they tooke good entente
And proffered me bread, with ale and wyne
Rybbs of befe, both fat and ful fyne

A fayre cloth they gan for to sprede
But wantyng mony I myght not speede.*

This curious picture is very instructive. It gives a very different view of the precincts of the Hall from that which we are accustomed to think of—showing, as it does, how the immediate neighbourhood of the Hall was used for a congregation of “cooks,” who made their living by supplying food to the lawyers and their clients who resorted to Westminster. A century and a half later the same thing is observable from a tract entitled *St. Hillaries teares shed upon all professions from the Judge to the petty Fogger, from the spruce dames of the exchange to the dirty walking Fishmongers,*

peace doth in his owne great Hall at the examination of a delinquent, play with your bandstrings and twist your beard with the same gravity, and not an elbow rub to disturbe you. The Benchers better halfe empty, and those few judges left have time enough to get a nap and no noise to wake them. . . . The sturdy tipstaves and messengers whom your best oratory and money to boote, would hardly persuade to admit you within the bench roome, stand looking over the dore as it were through a Pillory to aske you, Sir, shall I open? and for the teastere you give him kisses his hand and scrapes you a leg as fawningly as a hungry spaniel takes a bone



WESTMINSTER HALL AND SURROUNDINGS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

from the Covent Garden Lady of iniquity to the Turnebul-streete-Trull, and indeed from the Tower staires to Westminster Ferry, for want of a stirring midsomer terme this yeare of disasters 1641. Written by one of his secretaries that had nothing else to doe. London: Printed Anno Domini 1642.

In this curious tract the following passages give us some interesting information:

“At Westminster Hall, where in primitive ages you might without offence shoulder a Lord to get through the presse, now you may walke in the same posture a justice of the

from his master. The Lawyers instead of perusing the breviate and reducing the matter in question to cases, now buying up all the pamphlets and dispersing themselves into corners to reade them, thereby so keeping their tongues in use lest the faculties of brawling should be dried up with unwilling silence.

“On both sides of the hall they complain. At Heaven they say there’s not a Lawier nor Clerke comes neere them, and at Hell where they had wont to flock like swallowes to a seede bush they come but dropping in now and then one as opportunity of business makes them able, the coaches which had

* *London Lackpenny*, fifteenth century. Percy Society, vol. ii.

wont to rumble up and downe as they would chalenge Heaven to thunder for a wager, and did use to lie in the Palace yard and before the Inne of Court gates like so many Busses or flectes of fisherboats in harbour pearing over the brave heyas now seeme like westernne barges on the Thames at a high tide, here and there one.

"And you no sooner out of the Hall-yard but entering into Kings Streete you finde the cookes leaning against the Dore-postes ruminating upon those Halcion Termes when whole herdes of Clerks Solicitors and their Clyents had wont to come with their sharpest noses and stomachs from the Hall and devoure the puddings and minc't Pyes by dozins as swiftly as a kennell of hounds would worry up a dead horse, and now the Courts are risen before they are hungry. The tavernes, where an iron mill would hardly have drown'd the noise of the yawling boyes, the Barbell, the fidling, the roeing above stairs, now so silent you may rock a child asleepe. . . . The ale houses and tobacco shops are growne sweete for wante of takings you may walke by them without danger of being choack't."

The two houses called Heaven and Hell were each side of the Hall, and in Larwood and Hotten's *History of Sign Boards* there is a short passage worth quoting which explains their position very well: "Heaven was a house of entertainment near Westminster Hall. The present committee-rooms of the House of Commons are erected on its site. Butler alludes to this house in *Hudibras* :

False Heaven at the end of the Hall.

Pepys records his dining at this house in the winter of 1660, and he put on his best fur cap for the occasion. 'I sent a porter to bring my best fur cap, and so I returned and went to Heaven, when Luellin and I dined.' Paradise was a messuage in the same neighbourhood, and Hell and Purgatory subterranean passages; but in the reign of James, Hell was the sign of a low public-house frequented by lawyers' clerks. Heaven and Hell are mentioned, together with a third house called Purgatory, in an old grant dated the first year of Henry VII., from a note in Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, iv. 174.*

* Larwood and Hotten's *History of Sign Boards*, p. 300.

A little later than *St. Hillarie's Tears*, we find Tom Durfey telling us about Westminster. He says :

They now resolv'd their course to steer
For the fam'd port of Westminster
When landing at the ancient Hall
Where clients sweat and lawyers bawl
And entering bluntly Collin sees
A crowd of folk of all degrees
All buzzing to and fro like bees
A confused mixture of all nations
Fleers, Cringes, Nods and salutations
From Lords in debt to Purple judges
And coopees low from Pauper drudges
Whispering, laughing, threatening, railing,
Imprisoning some and others bailing
From sergeant grave with busie face
To dagled gown that hides an ass
Degrees of law both high and low
Made here the substance of the show.*

In a rather scarce tract of the eighteenth century we have similar information about the life round Westminster Hall. The full title of the work is *The Country Spy or a ramble through London. containing many curious remarks diverting tales and merry joaks*. London: printed by R. Walker for the Author, and sold by the booksellers in town and country.

It relates that "When attorneys have carried a cause for their clients, they expect an invitation to the Tavern; and tho' I look upon this as a gross imposition yet I thought a compliance was more advisable than a refusal. Being therefore unwilling to break in upon this arbitrary custom, I invited my council to sup with my attorney and me and to name the place and what they like . . . they agreed to meet at the Devil by six o'clock. I took my leave of them to bespeak a supper, but as I was going out of Westminster Hall I heard a person express himself in the following manner: 'Well, if lawyers go to Heaven the most wicked man upon earth may entertain hopes of escaping old Satan's clutches; these very men came out of Hell this morning, if any credit may be given to their own words, and have agreed to go to the Devil at night.'

"From hence I went to an adjacent coffee-house . . . and quickly perceived I had placed myself near a company of Temple Beaux, who spend more time in adjusting

* T. Durfey's *Collin's Walk through London and Westminster*. London, 1690.

their toupees than in reading Cook upon Littleton."

A Trip through the Town, 1755, p. 2, relates that, "If you peep into Westminster Hall the Lawyers are together by the ears with one another and nothing but complaints against the badness of the term and want of money is heard among them; while jurymen are endeavouring to get off the pannels at any rate for fear of being starv'd in empty court in the winter."

A Trip through London is a famous book, and in 1728 reached a fifth edition. It gives us a lamentable picture of the streets about the Houses of Parliament: "That I may be regular in my complaints of all publick and private nuisances I shall exhibit a bill against the streets and Highways of the city and liberty of Westminster. Every avenue is guarded by a turnpike whereby large sums of money are annually raised for their repair and the inhabitants are not without apprehensions of seeing turnpikes upon the Thames upon another year; yet the streets and passages leading to both houses of parliament are in such great disorder that I have known those members who have pass'd thither in their coaches so toss'd and jumbled about that it has been near an hour e'er they could recover the use of their limbs and proceed to business. A commoner once being overturned in his chariot in King's Street went immediately to the House and in very lively terms remonstrated against the badness of the ways. Another member opposed the motion urging that as the publick companies for raising water were continually laying down pipes a bill for repairs of the streets would prove to little or no purpose."

This is confirmed by Charles II.'s well-known speech to Parliament at the time of his marriage, and by that curious satire entitled *Sorbiere's Journey to London* in 1698, where it states that "The Gutters are deep and laid with rough edges which make the coaches not to glide easily over 'em but occasion an employment for an industrious sort of people call'd Kennel-Rakers."



The Wyatts of Allington Castle, Kent.

THERE is a ruin on the banks of the Medway which, in addition to its picturesque situation, claims the attention of the antiquary and the historian as having been the residence of three celebrated knights, each of whom played a very conspicuous part in the annals of English history. Allington Castle was in Saxon times an appanage of the family of Columbar. It was razed by the Danes. After the Norman Conquest it came to Bishop Odo, and when he incurred the disfavour of William the Conqueror it was granted by that King to William de Warrene, who built the castle.* The estate passed into the possession of the Cobham family, and amongst the assessments made in Kent for aiding the Sovereign to knight the Black Prince was one to "Johanne de Cobham milite filio Stephani de Cobham militis pro dimidio feodo quod Margeria de Pencestre tenuit in Alyntone." Previous to this Edward the First gave a grant to Stephen de Penchester for "kernellating" Allington Castle. The early keep, the chapel, the hall, and some other portions of the fortress may be traced amid the solid walls which yet remain. Placed in immediate proximity to the river, the castle must have presented many strong points of vantage. After many changes of owners, Allington became the property of the Wyatt family, who migrated southward in the reign of Henry VII. Early in the sixteenth century they were established in Kent, Sussex, and Essex. The ancient home of the family was at South Haig, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Of the Wyatts, or Wiat, as the name is sometimes written, Sir Henry, for his adherence to the house of Tudor, became Privy Councillor to Henry VII. He had been a prisoner in the Tower during the usurpation of the throne by Richard the Third. There is a portrait extant of him in his prison. It is a half-length and small life-

* The estate is mentioned in the *Survey of Domesday*.

size. On one side a cat is represented pulling a pigeon in through the iron grate of the window. This incident refers to the commonly accepted story that the knight was preserved from the pangs of hunger by a favourite cat. There is the following inscription in Latin :

"Hunc macrum rigidum mæstum fame frigore cura,
Pavi, fovi, acui carne calore joco."

And in English :

"This knight with hunger, cold and care neere starv'd,
pincht, pynde, aye
I sillie Beast did feede, heate, cheere with dyett,
warmth and playe."

The goodwill shown to Sir Henry Wyatt by Henry VII. was still further exhibited by his successor, Henry VIII., who made him Treasurer of the Chamber and assigned him the privilege of having lodging in the King's House when he chose to repair to it.* Among the recipients of New-Year's gifts from the King on the 1st of January, 1532, and on the same day of the month in 1533, the name of Henry Wyatt appears.† These gifts consisted on these days of gilt cups, bowls, cruses, goblets, and other costly articles. He was also made Master and Treasurer of the Jewels, and placed on the Commission of the Peace. As such his name occurs in a book containing the names of the magistrates in Surrey and Kent in the twenty-fourth year of Henry VIII.'s reign. In his official capacity Sir Henry received the then large sum of £165, being part of £400 recovered to the use of the King by Lord Berners on the 16th of March, 1533.‡ On the 18th of the same month Bridget Hogan, writing to Cromwell, says, besides other matter : "On Sunday last the parson of Asshill, within half a mile of my house, died. The benefice is in the gift of Sir Henry Wyatt. If you could get it for me or one of my children it would find him at school. It is worth £10 a year, 'and stonds mytche be corne,' which will help me and my house." Henry, Earl of Essex, writes to Cromwell also in this fashion :

* This honour was granted in the year 1526. *Vide Calendar of State Papers*, Henry VIII.'s reign.

† *Calendar of State Papers*, Henry VIII.'s reign.

‡ Sir Henry Wyatt's signature is to be seen on a document, being a receipt for seventy-eight shillings from William Shelley, Serjeant-at-Law, executor of Sir Edward Belknap, chief butler of England, of money due from his office to the day of his death.

"I am sued at the King's suit for £135, in which I was bound with Sir William Waldegrave to Lucas for the use of the late King. For this and other sums I brought the said Lucas, now deceased, before the Cardinal and others of the Council for my discharge, and was promised a warrant to that effect, as is known to Sir Brian Tuke and Sir Henry Wyatt. I beg you to help me in this behalf." On the 4th of May, 1534, a warrant was issued to Sir Henry Wyatt as Steward of the house of Tykhil in the Duchy of Lancaster, to proclaim that a weekly market is to be held at Tykhil. George, Earl of Shrewsbury, writing to Cromwell, 20th of July, 1534, says : "I find by a letter addressed to Sir William Kingston and Thos. Hennege by Sir Brian Tuke that I am indebted to the King in 600 marks upon indentures between the late Cardinal, Sir H. Wyatt and me, and that his pleasure is the money should be stayed." Writing further on he declares that the King had land of his, worth 500 marks.* Very many historical documents, as well as receipts for payment of monies due to the King, are endorsed by Sir Henry. At the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn it was the duty of Wyatt to do service as Chief Ewer, but being of advanced years he deputed his son Thomas to act for him. Soon afterwards, on leaving office, he sent a commission to Sir John Daune to prove his books. From all these circumstances it is evident that he was held in high esteem by the King and the Court. He had married Anne, daughter of Thomas Skinner, of Surrey, who proved to be a woman of spirit and intelligence. Upon an occasion when Sir Henry was absent from Allington, the Abbot of Boxley † privately visited the Castle for purposes not distinctly ecclesiastical. Lady Wyatt ordered him to be put in the stocks in front of the keep. The Abbot in consequence appealed to the Privy Council. Sir Henry made light of the business, declaring that his lady would have done the same thing to any of that body if one of them had acted in like manner.

* The Earl in a letter dated 9th of November, 1534, thanks Cromwell for his mediation, and states that he has sent his son and chaplain to account for the above debt.

† This is the Boxley celebrated for its Rood of Grace.

One William Glover, who gives for address "as dwelling with Sir Henry Wyatt, prophesied that Anne Boleyn will not only be Queen of England, but the mother of a famous princess."* There exists no means of identifying this soothsayer with an entry in the Records in 1528 where payment of twenty shillings is made to Sir Henry Wyatt's servant by Sir Brian Tuke, Treasurer of the Chamber.

The coat of arms adopted by Wyatt was, Per fess azure and gules, a barnacle argent. The old coat was Or on a fess gules between three boars' heads, coupé sable langued gules, three mullets of the field.

Sir Thomas Wyatt, chiefly known to posterity as a poet, was the son of Sir Henry and his wife Anne. He was born at Allington Castle in 1503; took his degrees at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1518 and 1522 respectively. As a youth he was celebrated for his good looks and graceful carriage. Amongst all the gay gallants of the period, he was one of the most conspicuous figures. He excelled in feats of arms, and appeared in a joust at Greenwich, at which Henry the Eighth was present. He was a skilful player on the lute and an accomplished linguist. His knowledge of the Italian language enabled him to translate into English verse several sonnets of Petrarch. In this literary tournament he pleasantly joined his friend, the Earl of Surrey, the two choosing the same sonnet for trial. The poems of both were published together in many editions. The taste at this period became more and more fixed on Italian verse. Wyatt also adapted some of Serafino's poetry from the original. As a poet he may be placed in the same category as his coadjutor. Chivalric sentiment and an almost indefinite expansion of the supremacy of love are the principal objects upon which the two friends agreed to take as themes for their muse. The titles of their odes and sonnets are a sufficient index of the kind of verses they have produced. Wyatt sings how the Lover praiseth the Beauty of his Lady's hand, and afterwards goes on to aver that Faith is dead and true Love disregarded. We may compare these lyrical outpourings with Petrarch's famous sonnet :

* *Calendar of State Papers*, Henry VIII.'s reign.

"Piu volte Amor m'avea già detto : Scrivi,
Scrivi quel che vedesti, in lettere d'oro;
Siccome i miei seguaci discoloro,
E'n un momento gli fo morti e vivi."

When Anne Boleyn came to court, Wyatt became acquainted with her, and there is no doubt paid her such gallant homage as was part and parcel of the conduct of noble youths of the age. For this he fell under suspicion of even illicit proceedings at a later time, when the lady had become Queen and had lost the affection of the uncertain monarch to whom she was unhappily married. The calumny, repeated on divers occasions, was publicly asserted by one Sanders in his *De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*, printed and produced at Cologne in 1585. This work was alluded to by Burnet in his *History of the Reformation*, and the odious scandals refuted.* A grandson of the poet, George Wyatt, who died at Boxley in 1624, wrote *Some Particulars of the Life of Queen Anne Boleigne*, in which he enters into the history of the Queen's libellous accusers, and affords a thorough insight into the cause which induced them to bring Sir Thomas Wyatt as a participator in such perilous designs. George Wyatt not only vindicated the memory of the Queen but also his ancestor. The poet married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Brooke, Lord Cobham. On the 15th of May, 1534, John Rokewood, writing to Lord Lisle, says, amongst other things: "On Wednesday there was a great affray between Mr. Wyatt and the Serjeants of London, in which one of the Serjeants was slain. For this Mr. Wyatt is committed to the Fleet."† This may possibly be the offence, concerning which Sir Henry Wyatt wrote to Master Secretary Cromwell, beseeching him "to advertise" his son "to fly vice and serve God better than he hath done." In June, 1534, a grant is issued "for life to Thomas Wyatt, Esquire, of the Royal Body of the conduct and command of all men able for war in seven hundreds of the County Kent, the parishes of Tenderden, Gowdherst, Staplehurst, and in the Isle of Oxney, Kent, with

* So late as in 1727 we find a book by Davanzati, called *Schisma d'Inghilterra*, in which Sanders' tales are regarded as true.

† *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic and Foreign Series, p. 259.

full license to have twenty men in his livery.”* It is at this time that a declaration appears “of the King’s Highness for the increase of horses within the principality of Wales.” This document passed through Wyatt’s hands. He is evidently a patron of livings, for Henry Lokwood or Lookwood writes to Cromwell: “I pray you help us with the parsonage in Kent that Mr. Wyatt moved you of ‘by cause there both the bysshop and the archedekyn wylbe heysse (easy) to entreat for our colleg.’ Let your writings be made and sent by Mr. Wyatt.” Lokwood, moreover, begs his help and desires credence for Wyatt in business connected with the college.† Later on, Sir Thomas went by command of the King as ambassador to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and conducted the King’s business in all ways to Henry’s satisfaction. He went from France into the Low Countries. He had been at Blois and Chateaubert, and felt at last weary of his work and desirous of returning to England. To this request, proffered to Cromwell, Henry declined to accede, exhibiting all possible confidence in his ambassador. At length, however, Bishop Bonner accused Wyatt of having corresponded with Cardinal Pole and of having behaved disrespectfully to the King. For this Sir Thomas was arrested on his return to England and imprisoned in the Tower. He wrote a long and exhaustive letter to the Privy Council, in which he defended himself manfully and eloquently, finally obtaining the royal clemency. Not content with an uncompromising belief in Wyatt’s innocence, the King gave him much valuable property in Sussex and Dorsetshire, and in 1542 made him High Steward for life of the King’s Manor of Maidstone. He had previously succeeded his father in the office of Treasurer of the King’s chamber. The poet, tired no doubt of court life and court intrigue, retired to the quietude and peaceful solitude of Allington, where, it is believed, he composed the *Penitential Psalms*, which are included in his works. He wrote a *Satire of the Courtier’s Life*, and one *On the Mean and Sure Estate*, both being addressed to his

* *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic and Foreign Series, 1534, p. 337.

† Lokwood became Vicar of Enfield, Middlesex, in 1540; his name appears as such in Robinson’s *History of Enfield*.

friend, John Poins.* In the latter he relates the Fable of the Town and Country Mouse. A third satire, *How to Use the Court and Himself*, is dedicated to another of his friends, Sir Francis Bryan.†

In the autumn of 1542, Henry VIII. recalled Sir Thomas from his happy existence and despatched him to meet the Spanish Ambassador at Falmouth.‡ It is recorded that he rode too fast, was overheated, was attacked by fever, and died at Sherborne on the 11th of October, in his thirty-ninth year. He was buried in the vault of the Horsey family, but there exists no monument to tell where he lies.§ A portrait of him by an unknown painter was shown by Mr. John Bruce at the Loan Collection of National Portraits in 1866. He is represented small life size; full face, brown hair, beard and moustache, black cap and cloak, miniver lined. There is likewise a portrait of him by Holbein, which does full justice to his handsome and intelligent face; and one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Two sonnets and some longer verses were composed by the Earl of Surrey on Wyatt’s death, all indicative of the sincere affection of the survivor. Sympathy and love are strongly exhibited in the concluding lines of one of Surrey’s tributes to Wyatt:

“Honour the place that such a jewel bred,
And kiss the ground whereat the corpse doth rest,
With vapoured eyes: from whence such streams avail,
As Pyramus did on Thisbe’s breast bewail.”

Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, as he is generally designated to distinguish him from his father, the poet, succeeded to his estates and to Allington Castle when a young man. He married very early in life, at the express wish of his father, who entertained fears for his future, owing to his intimacy with some of the Court wits and roysterers who abounded in London. His wife was Jane, a daughter of a Kentish knight, one Sir William Hawte. In April, 1543, he was engaged in one of the many midnight brawls which were so

* Poins or Poyntz was attached to the household of Queen Katharine of Arragon.

† Bryan, a courtier and poet, knighted by the Earl of Surrey in 1522.

‡ The Emperor Charles V. sent his envoy to arrange terms with Henry VIII. for the conduct, etc., of the war with France.

§ Sir John Horsey died 1546, and has a canopied monument in the Wickham Chantry in Sherborne Abbey.

frequent at that period, and had for companion the elegant Earl of Surrey, his father's old friend. He held a military command at Boulogne in 1545, which he retained till 1550.* In 1546 he was favourably reported to Henry VIII. as eminently qualified for the position he held, and for clear, cool powers of observation. When Queen Mary ascended the throne, numbers of her subjects were strongly opposed to her union with Philip of Spain, and when it became known that the Queen resolved to marry him, the excitement grew intense, culminating in a rebellion which was badly conceived and immaturely set on foot. It would be beside the purpose of this article to enter into all the particulars of this design; suffice it to say that Wyatt the younger left Allington Castle in open rebellion against the Queen. Maidstone was selected for the announcement of the rising and for the intentions of the conspirators to be fully revealed. It is certain that Wyatt was at first successful, but on proceeding to Rochester and from thence to Southwark, he found London Bridge closed against him; he hastened to Kingston, where he passed the river with a large body of men. The Queen instructed Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallys by letter dated January 22, 1554, to repair to Wyatt and to declare to him the motives of her marriage with Prince Philip, and she, moreover, offers to confer with him thereon.† Whether the interview took place is not known, but Wyatt went on to Westminster, and after a skirmish or two and the defection of many of his adherents, was taken prisoner by Sir Maurice Berkeley near Temple Bar. From this to the Tower was but a step, and from the Tower to the scaffold only another. The Queen, firmly believing that her half sister, the Princess Elizabeth, had some connivance in Wyatt's project, committed her also to the Tower. The date of this arrest is 16th of March, 1554. The Princess disavowed all knowledge of the revolt, and denied having had any correspondence with Wyatt. No traitor

intrigue having been proved against her, she was released from the Tower and despatched to Woodstock. Sir Robert Southwell, Sheriff of Kent, writes to the Council on the 10th of February, detailing the arrest and committal of various traitors, some sent to Allington Castle, others to Maidstone Gaol. Then he proposes to occupy Allington himself, and a conversation held by Sir Anthony Trocheley with Wyatt as to his castle is reported.

In the December following there was presented an account of what the Queen was indebted to Florence de Diaceto for "losses sustained in Wyatt's commotion." Two years further on, that is, in November, 1556, Sir Robert Southwell memorializes the Council "praying relief from certain grievances and prosecutions against him, particularly by Sir Geo. Harper and Thos. Culpeper, for acts done in execution of his office of Sheriff of Kent in Wyatt's rebellion." In December, 1558, an account of arms, armour, and weapons issued from the armouries of the Tower and Westminster, and the Office of Ordnance at the time of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion was ordered. Arms and armour had been lent on the occasion, and on the 7th of June, 1559, Sir R. Southwell forwards the replies of the gentlemen who had armour and weapons delivered to them. And so terminated an affair disastrous to the house of Wyatt. Though shorn of their vast estates by the attainder of Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, the family appear to have lasted for two centuries, only becoming extinct in 1753. There is a monument to their honour in Boxley Church; from the inscription we learn that it was erected by Edwin Wyatt, Serjeant-at-Law, in 1702. More than one friend and follower of the rebel shared his fate, notably, George Maplesdon, of Chillington Manor, Maidstone,* and Thomas Cobham, though the latter was liberated after a long imprisonment in the Tower. On one side of a window-jamb in the Beauchamp Tower the name Thomas Cobham, and the date 1555, may still be seen carved in the stone. In the collection at Strawberry Hill there was sold the Head of Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, copied from the original in Lord Romney's

* There is a palimpsest brass in Aylesford Church with this inscription: "Here lyeth John Savell gentleman sutyne Sarvant to Syr Thomas Wyatt knyght which decessid the 29th day of Marche A'Dni mxxlv, on whos soule ihu have mercy."

† *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1547, 1580.

* His fine mansion is now converted into the Maidstone Museum.

possession by Milborne, also a drawing of the same by Vertue. There is a portrait belonging to the Earl of Romney at the Mote, near Maidstone, which shows a profile head, hair, moustache, and small beard, brown, inscribed, "Sir Tho. Knt. son of Sir Tho. Wiat." In connection with the disposal of the remains of the rebellious Sir Thomas, it is averred that some time after his decapitated head had been set up in the usual way, it was stolen and never recovered.* Amongst the choice possessions alienated through the rebellion were the Archbishop's Palace at Maidstone, the gift of Edward VI., and the Friary, once a Carmelite estate at Aylesford, which on the attainder of Wyatt went to John Sedley. The park round Allington Castle at the same time was destroyed, and the scenes dear to the poet were entirely obliterated. Mr. John Bruce has done much to clear up and elucidate doubtful points on the Wyatts' history, and Mr. Wiffen has contributed evidence of the poet's travels in Italy.† Dr. Nott has also written his *Memoirs*.

Of the three generations of a family so intimately connected with royalty, it is satisfactory for the honour of literature that Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, the second of the three, remains the most noteworthy. Not only do Leland and Anthony Brown extol him for his virtues and praise him for his ability, but the scholarly Sir John Mason, and the Earl of Surrey, are rivals in expressions of sorrow at his death, which was accelerated by his sense of duty to his king and country.‡

W. BRAILSFORD.



Unpublished Letter from Baron Wainwright to Lady Sundon.

THE British Museum possesses an extensive collection of letters written to Mrs. Clayton, afterwards Viscountess Sundon, the celebrated favourite of George II.'s Queen. Some of

* *Vide* Rapin, vol. ii., and Fox's *Martyrs*, vol. iii.

† Papers by Mr. Bruce appeared in 1850 in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and *Memoirs of the House of Russell* were written by Mr. Wiffen, containing information relative to Sir Thomas Wyatt, the elder.

‡ Mason wrote an elegant Latin epitaph upon his dead friend.

them have been printed in Mrs. Thomson's *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon*, but the following letter now appears in print, it is believed, for the first time. Baron Wainwright, the writer of it, expresses in other letters his indebtedness to Lady Sundon for some great favour she had shown him. What service he so gratefully remembers is not expressly stated, but there is reason to think that he owed his position as a Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland mainly to the friendly influences of his fair patron at Court. The letter now before us was drawn up systematically, in accordance with a promise; and as it contains some curious particulars of a visit to the Giant's Causeway a hundred and fifty years ago, it is hoped that it may not be deemed unworthy of a place in the pages of *The Antiquary*.

GEORGE CLINCH.

"MADAM,

"I was far remote at this Lands end when I receiv'd your most kind letter, which w^d have reviv'd me under the Pole, or in the torrid zone: Your goodness inspires all my friends. Your ardour kindles theirs: they are exceeding kind, but for every good that befalls me, I must look up to that hand which first raise[d] me, & with which there can be noe struggle.

"I have made a second attempt to see the Giant's causway, I succeeded without any disaster, and now I will perform my promise in the best manner I can, having allmost settled my jolted thoughts, but I must stop by the way to tell what I saw at Derry.

"I was in the Bishop's house writing near a window about nine at night, a light broke in upon me from the Heavens like that upon St. Paul. I went immediately to the Bishop Lord George Sacville, & Capt^m Cornwallis who were reading together. We were all in the Garden in an instant & glad I am that I have witnesses to the truth of my narration. Over our heads vertically in the zenith there was a clear light exceeding bright, spread like [a] round Canopy, or an open umbrella, I think I may call it a Glory which I have seen in prints or pictures, realis'd. It was permanent, & fixt for more than ten minuits, then it began to variegate, & broke, & shot into several colours, red, green & purple

which prevail'd one after another, at length it sunk into a dull dusky red, & then began to flow, or to change, & retire like the common Northern lights, of which I have seen many, & the most remarkable, but none in any degree like this.

"From Derry after the business of the circuit was over, I went to Colerain eight miles distant from the Giants Cawsway. The next day favour'd my design, the weather was clear & calm but the Surge of the Northwest Ocean was soe high, that this incident added much to the entertainment, & the roaring of the Sea was the overture to the appearance of the most August wonder of nature, the Flouds did indeed clap their hands like Briareus who had a hundred, & swell'd to the Skys, & seem'd there like impending deluges, but with all their rage & impetuosity, they could reach only a certain line upon the smooth sand, which tho' in appearance like a little thread defended us, & I then understood How well it was expressed of the great waters He setteth them bounds which they cannot pass, & who alone it is that can say to the Ocean, Hitherto shalt thou goe & noe farther.

"Upon a rock in this ever raging foaming Sea, a stones cast from the main land stands a ruin'd Castle call'd Dunluce the Seat & building of the Earl of Antrim, who marry'd the widow of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham. This Lady was averse with great reason to the dreadful habitation. For there is a cavern quite thro' the rock, where the Sea beats in continually. Whilst a great dinner was dressing, the Cook & Kitchen fell into the Sea, & the Fish had the feast. An Apartment therefore was built for this Lady on the shore, & a bridge consisting of one arch was made from thence to the Castle, this is soe narrow & there is such a gulf under that my head hinder'd my feet from passing over besides I think there is a reasonable expectation of the Cooks fate every hour in every part of the Castle.

"Part of the Spanish Armada in their distress was to be piloted to this Castle, the bay near it being tolerable for Shipping. But they mistook a part of the Hill near the Giants Cawsway for this place, the Stones rising there very like the Chimneys & battlements of Dunluce by this mistake they were

Shipwreck'd. A Clergyman who was with me remembred when He was a Boy a heap of Bones upon the Shore which were call'd the Spaniards Bones, they were plainly as He said Human bones & it can't be imagin'd how they could come to such a place soe difficult of access, & so many be collected there, unless by some great Shipwreck.

"Before we reach'd the Cawsway we perceiv'd the efforts of nature tow'rds regularity in her productions, the rocks & stones shaping something like those that compose the Cawsway but the formation was not finish'd.

"As we approach'd the access grew more difficult, As if Nature to gain more reverence to this miracle, had hid & guarded it, as the policy of the priests plac'd the temples of Ammon & Mecca in the vast deserts.

"I don't think the path thither very formidable, nor the precipice steep, but for about a hundred yards next to the Cawsway the passage is over large rolling stones, round smooth & slippery, where every step hazards a bone but there is noe precipice in this part, but this was conquer'd by patience & wary walking, the reward of the labour being in view.

"Being come to the Cawsway, the first appearance of it brought to my mind, the wooden wharf stairs, or bridge where the watermen ply in Palace yard but the Cawsway is broader & has an easy declivity on one side, but then it runs forward into the Sea as that does into the Thames when the Tide is over some part of it at the end, & how far this Cawsway runs into the Sea is not know[n]. Some pretend, it goes quite thro' to Scotland, which is very visible from it, & that there are the like stones on the opposite shore, but if that were true, I sh'd think it w^d be more certain than it seems to be.

"The Cawsway is compos'd of numberless pillars of stones compacted & fitted together soe that there are noe interstices to let down even water, & yet that they are separate pillars is visible. Noe artist could lay the dyes of Mosaic work more close. Suppose the wooden bridge I mention'd had been a pavement like that near the Secretaries Office, & in the form it is, it w^d then bear a very near resemblance to the surface of the Cawsway supposing those stones exactly fitted together

tho' with several Angles, & quite clean in the crevices between, tho' I think the Cawsway would appear more rough, because some of the stones are concave, & some convex, but not soe as to be inconvenient in walking.

"On one side to the east there is as I said a gentle declivity like that which I have seen in Cawsways made cross Rivers. But to the west there are natural steps by which there is a descent to the strand. There the side of the Cawsway to the West rises perpendicular to the height of twenty feet or more, & the outside Pillars appear upright to that height each, but descending in the same manner as the bridge at Westminster, soe that the Pillars nearest the sea are the lowermost tire. how deep these Pillars that are twenty foot high above ground, may be under ground has not yet been discover'd or determin'd.

"Here is the glory of the work most visible for these long exact figures have manifestly several joints, some of which are one, two, or three feet in length, each joint is either concave at top & convex at bottom, or convex at top & concave at bottom, & by that means the joints which compose each pillar, are groov'd into each other: but this is remarkable if the top joint be concave at the bottom the next is soe too & convex at top to groove into it, & if the top joint be convex at bottom the next is soe too & concave at top for the same purpose, & this holds true in every pillar some of which are one way, & some the other. If any one of these Pillars could be brought entire, as Trajans was from Ægypt to Rome, every one who sh^d behold it would declare it was the work of an Artist, who left noe traces of his tool behind him, but the plenty & profusion of them shews manifestly Nature was the Giant who did the work.

"In the high & steep hills that run along this shore, some of these Pillars lie horizontally or sidelong, & appear like the loafs for the Poor rang'd near the Communion table. in some places the earth has fallen away, & I particularly observ'd one that was bare & appear'd in that position like the great axis of a watermill. these that lye in this manner lye east & west. Some say they dip a little downwards and tend to a perpendicular that I did not observe, but in the same Hills there are some which stand perpendicular & appear

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exactly like Organs & others like Chimneys & are soe call'd.

"The dimensions, the angles, & more exact particulars concerning these pillars, & the print of the whole very exact and true is to be seen in the Philosophical Transactions. But I must say of that account & this which I have given, they are as if a Man sh^d describe the Alps or the Apennine with some strokes of a Pen, tho' the strokes might be a just map of the mountains, they w^d not give an Idea of them to the Travailer like that which He receives from his own Ey. Or to put this in another light a Romance or a Poem paints a Gyant, & our thoughts can extend a Human creature to that size. But the actual existence & appearance of such an Animal would have a different effect upon a Spectator from all that imagination had conceiv'd of him: I must say. This Great Wonder of nature, well worthy of all the pilgrimages that can be made to it, is not to be sufficiently describ'd but ought to be seen, & if my travails doe not tire Your Ladyship the pleasure I had in them will be compleat & all the fatigue forgot. I am most truly & with the greatest sense of your goodness,

"Madam,

"Your ever oblig'd

"faithfull servant

"J. WAINWRIGHT.

"Dublin

"Sept^r 18th 1736."



Quaint Conceits in Pottery.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F.S.A., ETC.

I. A FEW WORDS ABOUT PUZZLE JUGS.

"Here, gentlemen, come try your skill,
I'll hold a wager, if you will,
That you don't drink this liquor all,
But you will spill, or let some fall."



UCH is an exact transcript of the invitation conveyed in incised letters on the side of a "Puzzle-jug" now before me, and of which, with slightly varied verbal differences, many examples have come under my notice. The invitation embodying the offer of a "bet" is, of course, addressed to the novice, who, being

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unaware of the difficulties to be overcome by hidden perforations and other subtle contrivances, considers himself quite capable of quaffing the liquor in safety, and at the same time winning the wager that has been laid. The task, however, like many another, although seemingly simple, was difficult of accomplishment, and the would-be toper usually found himself the loser of the bet and of the price of the liquor.

I have thought—so curious and varied are these singular vessels—that a few words regarding them might be interesting to the readers of the *Antiquary*, and with the papers I have already written in its pages upon “Bear” drinking-vessels, and others which I purpose from time to time yet to give upon other grotesque productions of the potter’s art, help to induce attention to be paid to out-of-the-way objects.

Puzzle-jugs are of considerable variety in construction, and in body and ornamentation range from the most crudely decorated common brown-ware to the artistically painted cream-ware, or even porcelain; but whatever difference there may be in form, construction, or ornament, the one general principle remains the same, that of making it difficult to drink the liquor without losing some of it by trickling or spilling through some of the perforations with which they are furnished. The “puzzle” in all cases is to quaff the contents of the “jug” without losing a single drop, and this, as a rule, can only be done by a peculiar way of arranging the fingers so as to cover up all the orifices but one; and then, by sucking, draw the liquor through that one.

An example of more than usual elegance in form, and more elaborate and intricate construction, is here engraved (Fig. 1), and may be taken as typical of the higher and better classes of these singular vessels. In this case the body of the jug is formed of a wide circular tube, the centre being entirely open, with what may be called a fret-work screen on each side—this fret-work being composed of a series of intersecting circles, perforated and highly ornamented. The upper part (*i.e.*, the neck and mouth of the jug), is also elaborately perforated so as to render pouring out in the usual way an entire impossibility. The handle is throughout a hollow tube, connected at the bottom with the circular tubular body, and

that tube is continued round the neck, and from it stand out three nozzles, one on each side and one in front. On the under side of



FIG. 1.

each of these nozzles is a perforation, and another is made through the under side of the handle. The liquor, on being poured into the vessel at the top, naturally fills the tubular body, but it cannot be poured out again because of the many perforations; the only way to abstract it being by so arranging the fingers as to cover the perforations and ends of two of the nozzles, and those under the handle, and then, while holding the vessel in a proper direction, to suck it out by drawing it up the handle and through the third nozzle, which for that purpose is held in the mouth.

Another of the same general construction has the “screens” perforated as a sex-foil flower on each side, and between them a small statuette. Another, in addition to the tubular body, has a central receptacle for liquors; and another has a double communication between the upper part of the handle and the central supply-tube. The liquor in each case is obtained in the same manner, by sucking.

A more simple kind, and with almost endless variations in design or in detail, is that of which the next engraving may be taken as a typical example (Fig. 2). It is of the ordinary glazed brown-ware, the neck and the rim round the mouth elaborately perforated, and the body

ornamented with figures in relief. It has the same arrangement of tubular handle, encircling tube, and nozzles; and in its case, as in



FIG. 2.

the others, the would-be drinker has to hold the jug in such a manner as to cover up the whole of the artfully-placed holes in handle, band, and nozzles, and then suck the liquor through the remaining uncovered nozzle. This is one of the more simple varieties. Others have a funnel-shaped arrangement inside. Others a double connection between belly and handle; and others variations of more or less intricate character, in the arrangement of the nozzles and of the piercings.

The decorations, of course, are extremely varied, and in very many instances mottoes, names, dates, and quaint couplets or verses are incised in the clay before firing, and mixed up with quaint and curious devices. Among the more frequent of these inscriptions is the four-line verse which heads this article, and which, in different examples, is varied in its wording (Fig. 3). Thus :

"Here, gentlemen, come try y^r skill,
He hold a wager if you will,
That you Don't Drink this liq^r all
Without you spill or lett some Fall."

Another example has the verse :

"From mother earth i took my birth,
Then form'd a Jug by Man,
And now stand here, fill'd with good cheer,
Taste of me if you can."

Another, and somewhat more elaborate verse, runs :

"A Crown Ile bet
That none can get
The Ale that's in this Jug,
Nor drink his fill
Without he spill,
And shall not use a plug."

Another I have seen bears simply the words, "The Ale is good; Taste;" but therein is the



FIG. 3.

difficulty and the sarcasm of the invitation, for although it may be "good," *tasting* must, considering the construction of the jug, be a matter quite out of the question.

Dated examples are now and then met with, as are others bearing the names of the persons for whom they were made; or perchance, in some cases, of the maker himself. One of the most interesting, historically and otherwise, has been engraved in my *Life of Wedgwood*, and in my *Ceramic Art of Great Britain*. It is of the old ordinary brownware of the period, and bears incised on its sides the name, in writing letters, of "John Wedgwood," here written as "*John Wedg Wood, 1691.*" The neck is perforated, and the handle, connected with the bottom of the jug, is tubed throughout, and continued round the mouth. From this there are three nozzles projecting, one in front and one on each side. These are pierced, and there is also a hole under the top of the handle. This example is carefully preserved in the Museum of Practical Geology (Fig. 4).

It is not necessary to specify other examples;

these will be sufficient to show the general character and meaning of puzzle-jugs, such as have been in use in our own country and time.

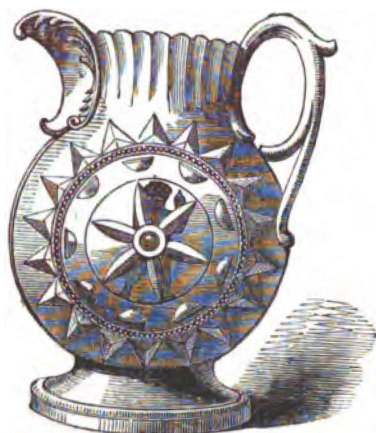


FIG. 4.

An example in the Museum of Practical Geology, and formerly in the Enoch Wood



FIG. 5.

collection, partakes decidedly of the ordinary jug form, and is scarcely what may be called a "puzzle-jug" in the ordinary acceptance of

the term. Its body, or belly, is tubular, with perforated screens, between which is a small statuette of a young Bacchus seated on a barrel and holding in his hand a bunch of grapes, and the liquor is simply poured out by the spout in the ordinary way (Fig. 5). It is not, as I have said, a puzzle-jug, but simply an ingeniously constructed vessel; and I merely introduce it that I may show its resemblance in construction, as an English production, to two early German ones, which are represented in the next engravings.

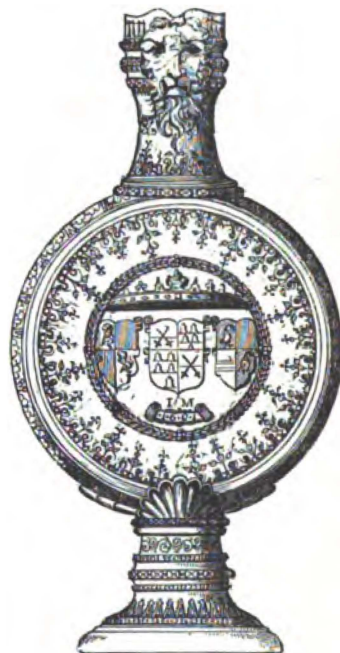


FIG. 6.

These are two remarkable jugs in the fine, hard, white stoneware so characteristic of the old German and Flemish pottery. They were formerly preserved in the Huyvetter collection at Ghent, and were engraved in the privately printed catalogue of that splendid assemblage of examples of German and Flemish ceramics. The first is of remarkable form, being two tubular rings crossing each other at right angles (like the old-fashioned garlands made of cross-hoops), and open to each other at the intersections, and jointly at the neck, the front of which, beneath the

spout, bears in relief a head of the same character as those found on Bellarmine, of which, on another occasion, I shall have a few words to say. The cross-rings of the body are richly ornamented with a series of figures under arches. The second is formed of one single tubular ring, richly ornamented in relief, the part I have called a "screen" being decorated with three shields of arms, surmounted by a coronet (Fig. 6). Beneath these are the initials I. M., and the date 1601. The front of the neck bears a finely modelled lion's head in relief.



Wandering Englishmen.

WE can trace the love of travel and adventure innate in the Anglo-Saxon mind far back into remote centuries, apart from the retinue of kings and the march of armies. In the twelfth century there existed quite a colony of English adventurers at Genoa, whose presence there was doubtless due to the Crusades, and the communication between the Ligurian capital and the East.

In the old church of the Knights Hospitallers at Genoa, we can still see some curious traces of the past; it still has its Gothic windows, Lombard tower, and rounded apse; and still you can visit the cells where pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre were lodged by the knights, in the "commenda" or "hospitium" adjoining the church, which was in those days dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre.

Receding into the wall of the old Lombard tower is a singular old monument still in excellent preservation, the inscription round which is thus translated:

✠ Of Master William Acton I am here the home,
For whom let whosoever passes by a pater say,
In 1180 in the time of William I was begun.

Probably William Acton, whoever he may have been, held some important post in this hostelry, and after the fashion of the times built his tomb prior to his death.

In an old register of the foundation of this building, dated 30th of September, 1198, we read the following:

"I, William, commendator of the Hospital of St. John, admit to having received from

you, Master John, of England, doctor, thirty-seven pounds in deposit, which deposit Master John made, fearing the judgment of God in the journey of the most blessed St. Thomas of Canterbury, in which he set out, and if he did not return to Genoa he bequeaths the said thirty-seven pounds to the said hospital."

Of course it is mere speculation to suppose that this William is the same William Acton whose name we have on the tomb, but there is great probability that he is the same—proximity of date, and the fact that the tomb is such as to lead us to suppose that the builder of it must have been a person of considerable importance.

In connection with the Knights of St. John we have a host of English adventurers in the ensuing centuries. During the residence of the knights at Rhodes, and for some time after they removed to Malta, an Englishman always bore the rank of "Turcopolier," a commander of a regiment of light cavalry, with the care of the coast defences of the island. The English, in common with other nations or "langues," had a portion of the rampart allotted to them to protect; at Rhodes the bastion and tower of St. Mary was given to them, and in the tower of St. Mary we have the tomb of another Englishman, the inscription on which runs as follows:

HIC IACET FR. THOMAS
NEWPORT PODATUS
AGLIE MILES QI OBIT
1502 XXII DIE MESIS
SEPTEMBRIS CUIUS ANIMA
REQUIESCAT IN PACE
AMEN.

This Thomas Newport was Turcopolier in 1500, and preceptor of Newland and Temple Bruer in England. Curiously enough there was another knight of his name at Rhodes a little later, who was also Bailiff of the Eagle (Aguila or Ecle), a preceptory situated about seven miles from Lincoln, and which had been granted by King Stephen to the Knights Templars, and subsequently transferred to those of St. John.

In 1517 this second Thomas Newport was sent to England to entreat for aid against the Turks. Two letters written by him to Cardinal Wolsey, relating the advances of the Turks in Egypt and the jeopardy of Rhodes, are preserved in the Cotton MSS. in the

British Museum. On his return to Rhodes Newport was wrecked and lost on the coast of Spain, with the assistance he was taking to his brother knights.

Amongst the same letters we have abundant evidence of the number and importance of the English contingent at Rhodes. There is an autograph letter from Henry VIII. to the Grand Master of Rhodes, recommending to his notice one John Rawson, an English knight, who afterwards became Prior of Kilmainham and of Ireland, and was appointed Turcopolier. Concerning this appointment two knights, William Darrel and the above-mentioned Thomas Newport, and others, join in writing to Henry VIII. to make certain complaints; and in another letter from William Darrel to Henry VIII. we have an account of a quarrel he had with one Richard Nevill at Rhodes.

Of the sieges of Rhodes, some of our best accounts are written by English knights resident there, who had taken part in the struggle, and when the Knights of St. John removed to Malta, the English contingent continued to hold an honourable place until the Reformation, when the council determined that there should be no more Turcopoliers until the religious troubles were settled. Nicholas Upton, in 1551, was the last.

J. THEODORE BENT.



Celebrated Birthplaces.

FENNY DRAYTON: THE BIRTHPLACE OF
GEORGE FOX.

FENNY DRAYTON, or, as it is called in old books and records, Drayton-in-the-Clay, has derived its humble notoriety from being the birthplace of the first of the Quakers. So unknown is it, that, when a couple of months back I asked my way thereto, the booking-clerk at Atherstone Station—from which it is situated about three miles—told me he had never heard of such a place, and suggested I must mean Market Drayton.

For the greater part of the way, the road from Atherstone—a shabby, uninteresting

little town, much interested in hats—lies along Watling Street, and a short distance from the town runs through the famous Roman station of Manduessedum. The country seems dotted with churches; behind lies the curious semi-modern octagonal towerlet (to coin a word) of Atherstone; to the right is the grand village church of Mancetter, almost elbowed by one of the finest half-timbered houses in Leicestershire; to the left the graceful spire of Witherley; and in front the humble steeple of Fenny Drayton. Both Mancetter and Witherley promise rich reward to anyone who will thoroughly examine them.

My visit to this remote Leicestershire village was made with the hope of learning something new about the "man in the leathern breeches," and in this I was disappointed. I found the inhabitants of Fenny Drayton cherished his memory, feeling that his residence had conferred a sort of distinction upon the place; but of his history, his work, his teaching, they knew nothing. A field of corn, yellow to harvest, was pointed out to me as traditionally surrounding his birthplace; and a few aged fruit-trees, marking the site of an orchard, seems to lend colour to the tradition; but of the cottage itself no stone remains.

Nevertheless, a visit to Fenny Drayton will not be thrown away. The church is small and unpretending, yet it will repay examination. The site is well chosen. The name Fenny Drayton aptly describes the district in which it stands, which, except for signs of agricultural activity, is as uninteresting a one, from any point of view other than archaeological, as any in England; but the edge of the only knoll in the parish is occupied by the church, and the hillock is large enough to give it prominence and dignity without dwarfing it. Those of the readers of the *Antiquary* who are acquainted with St. Martha's, near Guildford, will fully understand how insignificant a really fine church can look when placed on the top of a high down without tree or house to scale it.

In English villages the church has been, and often still is, the centre of life, intellectual as well as religious, and the almost certainty that we shall find some moulding, or woodwork, or tomb, which is interesting, makes a

visit to a country church a pleasant one to look forward to. Were other sources annihilated, the history of the people of our land might not be inaccurately written from its churches. Before I make any remarks about the building, I must be allowed to mention that, although I have visited some hundreds, I never met with a church so well kept and complete in its fittings as that of St. Peter, Fenny Drayton. It is in harmony with its surroundings; simple, convenient, unostentatious; and in the beautifully kept churchyard, or the spotlessly neat and clean interior, there is nothing, except a shockingly wheezy harmonium, one could wish changed. The building consists of a small tower surmounted by a somewhat stunted spire (lighted by quatrefoil openings), of a short narrow nave, north and south aisles, and a chancel. There is also a south porch. The greater part of the church is Early English, though large additions and alterations have been made from time to time, the last being in 1860, when it was restored, the low-pitched roof being replaced by the present acute-angled one, a triangular window being inserted at the same time over the chancel arch. The view of the church given by "Nichols" shows an east window in the worst Georgian taste; this has been replaced by a Decorated one of three lights, filled with passably good glass.

The most peculiar feature which the church presents is the nave arcades. The south aisle is separated from the body by three lancet arches resting on short low pillars; the north aisle, which is of nearly the same length, is separated by only two arches, resting on a pillar much taller and smaller than its opposite neighbours, and the arches themselves are segmental. The workmanship of the capitals of those on the south side is superior to that of the one on the north. It would be interesting to know the reason of this systematic irregularity, as both sides seem somewhat about the same date. I only know of one somewhat similar case. At Mayfield Church, Staffordshire, the mouldings of the windows and the ornaments of the buttresses of the chancel are alike in general effect on both sides, but the detail on the north seems as distinctly French as that on the south is distinctly English. In this case I have endeavoured to find some

cause for the dissimilarity, but up to the present without success.

The church contains two piscinæ. The one in the chancel follows a type very common in the Midland Counties; the other, which is at the eastern end of the south aisle, is an equilateral niche in the wall, with a semi-octagonal projection, containing the basin. The sides of the opening are foiled, and a simple hood moulding is the only ornament used to emphasize the niches. Plain as it is, the effect is simply admirable.* There was once a north door to the church, but this has long been blocked up; the arch evidently was merely a plain lancet. The south porch is modern, and covers what was once a very beautiful Norman doorway, which is now so defaced by time and weather that it is difficult to make out the mouldings with certainty, and the shafts are gone. The tower entrance consists of a roughly-pointed arch, and in the chancel there was once a priest's door, now blocked up. The church also contains a small square-headed hagioscope and a bier, bearing on one end the initials E. B., M. S. C., and on the other, N. H., and the date, 1635, the sides of which are gracefully and well carved. There is also some good wood-carving let into a small modern screen which hides the harmonium.

In the tower are four bells; on the great bell is inscribed: "The gift of Sir Henry Puriefoy, Baronet, 1684; recast 1710. T. Brown, Warden."

The register dates from 1709, the earlier portion having been lost or destroyed.

After the entry in the "Domesday Book," where it is recorded that Drayton contained five ploughlands worth 40s., and held by Almar (and formerly held by Harding and his homagers, and at the time of the survey in the hands of the King),† the next notice of the hamlet occurs in the time of Henry II.:

* The author has taken some sketches made on the spot, and he much regrets that no photographs or drawings were obtainable, as he is conscious that his sketch of the interior of the church is far from accurate. [This sketch would have been reproduced for this journal, but unfortunately it could not be finished in time.—Ed.]

† "Almarus tenet 5 carucasas terræ in Draitone, Terra est 5 carucarum. In dominico sunt due; et 14 villani, cum 8 bordariis, habent 4 carucas. Valuit 30 solidos; modò 40 solidos."—*Domes.*, fol. 231, b. 2.

"Picot Archer dedit nunnis de Polesworth bona pro portione terre in Drayton. Robertus Comes Leicestrie tunc confirmavit et Williemus de Trompinton auxit ea."—*Wadlandi MS.*

We next hear of Drayton again in the year 1220, when it was in the patronage of the Abbot of Lyra, and the rector was one William de Langeton, who was instituted in that year by Hugh, then Bishop of Lincoln.

The hamlet is not noticed in the *Testa de Nevill*, compiled about 1240, but in 1270 it appears that Roger, Earl of Winton, died seized of one knight's fee in Drayton, valued at fifteen pounds per annum, and that Ralph de Lodington and John Heuse then held the same (*Esch.*, 55 Hen. III., No. 36, Leic.). Five years later one William Lovell held the third part of the "town" of Drayton in fee of Richard Basset, and he held of Robert de Bruneby, "tanquam medietatem inter ipsum et prefatum Ricardum," paying, therefore, yearly to the said Robert £8 8s. (*Esch.*, 4 Edw. I., No. 73, Leic.).

The parish was anciently divided into two manors,* and in the time of Edward I. the lord of the one was John Husey, and the lord of the other Adam de Whellesburgh. This Adam is supposed to have been buried in the churchyard, and Burton (*Hist. Leic.*) states that in his time there remained an altar tomb on which was an effigy with crossed legs, which he supposed to have been the tomb of this lord of the manor. The tomb is now destroyed or removed. Nichols states he could find no trace of it.

In the *Itinerary* of 1280 Drayton, Witherley, and Atterton (a small neighbouring hamlet) answered collectively as one vill.

In 1296 the manor was held in fee of the honour of Winton; and William de Ferrars held land there of the King by the service of one knight's fee, there being "22 virgates of land there" (*Inq.*, 24 Edw. I.). The manor was assessed in 1346 at 13s. 4d. for a third part of a knight's fee for the aid granted for knighting Edward of Woodstock, the King's eldest son (*Rot. Aux.*, 20 Edw. III.). The manor descended through the line of the Ferrars of Groby, until about 1397 John de Whellesburgh, who held a moiety of a knight's fee, sold his interest to

* Burton affirms that Drayton was once "one entire manor."

"Thomas Purefoy, Esq., an apprentice of the laws and fellow of the Inner Temple, who settled in this lordship, where his family long continued in considerable repute" (Nichols' *Leicestershire*, Hundred of Sparkenhoe).

In an account of fifteenths and tenths granted by the laity in 1416, the parish was rated at two pounds and eightpence, and in the subsidy granted in 1445 it was assessed at the same sum, an abatement of eight shillings being allowed.

In 1495 William Hussey, of Flintham, Nottinghamshire, sold his honour here to John Purefoy, a lineal descendant of the before-mentioned Thomas Purefoy, who seems to have exchanged certain lands he held in Warwickshire for the manor in Drayton called Hussey's Manor (*Dugdale's Warwickshire*, vol. i., p. 526).

When Ralph Purefoy died, in 1554, he was "seized of the Manor of Fenny Drayton, worth £6 13s. 4d. a year, held of the honour of Winton by the service of half a knight's fee, and also of the Manor of Whellesburgh (Leicestershire), worth £20 a year," as well as other lands, including some at Howes worth six pounds a year, which he held of the Earl of Rutland by fealty; this was inherited by his grandson, George Purefoy.

The manor continued to be held by the family of Purefoy till 1703, when an Act was passed to enable certain trustees to sell the lands, tithes, and tenements to pay the debts of Francis Purefoy, the then owner, who in 1706 aliened the lordship to Samuel Bracebridge, a counsellor-at-law, who died in 1736, and the lands then descended to his son Samuel, who, being a bachelor, settled them on his niece Anne, daughter of Philip Bracebridge, D.D., rector of Drayton, from 1742 to 1762, and wife of Robert Abney, gentleman.

The Purefoys, who held the manor from 1397 to 1706, seem to have been a family of considerable wealth and interest, judging, at least, from the elaborate genealogical tables given by Nichols. It is certain that they had a mansion in the parish, but no trace is now to be found. The monuments in the church also testify to their wealth and importance. One of these is of great beauty, and was erected to the memory of George Purefoy,

who died in 1628, by his relict Jane, Lady Glover, daughter of Francis Roberts, Esq., of Willesdon, in 1631. It represents the deceased lying on an altar tomb in full armour; above are kneeling effigies of two of his three wives, and beneath his five sons and daughters, in the usual prayerful position common on monuments of that date. The canopy is supported by columns and pilasters, and the whole is covered with carving and armorial bearings. As may be supposed, the style is that of classical Renaissance. A sketch is given by Nichols. Two other monuments of alabaster, and both alike, the one to George Purefoy, who died in 1593, and the other to Edward Purefoy, Esq., who died in 1594, stand against the north wall of the chancel; these, however, are without effigies, but have been elaborately painted and gilt. The carving on the surmounting arches is particularly good. Nichols praises it highly, and gives a sketch of another altar tomb, carved with figures of two angels, erected in 1543, to Nicholas Purefoy; the freedom with which the elaborate scrollwork is executed is certainly noticeable. The church also contains a number of mural tablets to members of the Bracebridge family.

In 1534 the procurations and synodals were elevenpence three farthings, and the value of the rectory ten pounds: and in the following year it is recorded that a pension of seven shillings was payable to Shene Priory, and that the rectory was then worth eleven pounds fourteen shillings; this by 1650 had increased to forty pounds, and the then incumbent was returned as sufficient.

The first of the rectors of Fenny Drayton, who is much more than a name, is Nathaniel Stephens, who held the living from 1639* till his ejection in 1662. The living was not, as Wood reports, a sequestration, for he was only presented by John Purefoy, of Berks. He had become a batler of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1622, when sixteen

* This date, which is given in Nichols, appears erroneous, for Stephen's predecessor in the living of Drayton was probably John Dod, M.A., Camb. (see Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*), who was subsequently successively vicar of Canons Ashby and Fansley, both in Northamptonshire, and died in 1645; and it is evident, from George Fox's "Journal," that Stephen was rector of Fenny Drayton at least as early as 1644.

years old, duly took his degree in arts, and then became, as Wood states, "a puritanical preacher in his own country" (Wilts). In course of time he joined the Presbyterians, subscribed to the Covenant, and preached frequently against the King's party and prelacy. Of his life at Drayton little is known save what we can gather from George Fox's *Journal*, and that little is unfavourable, for if the meek-spirited founder of Quakerism ever seriously disliked a man, it was Nathaniel Stephens. Of this rector's life at Drayton little is known except the rare allusions which George Fox makes in his *Journal*. During Fox's early youth Stephens was interested in him, and frequently asked him to the rectory to discuss religious matters. The friendship, however, did not endure long; for Fox, rightly or wrongly, believed that Stephens used to talk to him during the week in order to reproduce without acknowledgment his ideas in his next Sunday's sermon.

In 1649 we learn from the same authority that Stephens preached at Market Bosworth. The "first" Quaker went to hear him, and, according to his then habit, insisted upon addressing the congregation. Whereupon, Fox says, he "raged much and told the people I was mad . . . he led the people not to hear me, who being stirred up by this deceitful priest, fell upon us and stoned us out of the town. Yet they did not do us much hurt. Howbeit some people were made loving that day; and others were confirmed, seeing the rage of both priests and professors, and some cried out that the priest durst not stand to prove his ministry" (Fox's *Journal*).

About four years later, when he had so successfully organized Quakerism that it was already a power with which the authorities had to reckon, Fox, who had been travelling propagating his doctrines, revisited his birthplace. Stephens wished to dispute with him in the church, where Fox refused to go; so the discussion took place in a large hall, and was left unfinished, the people becoming what the Quaker termed "vain and rude." When it was resumed a week later, Stephens had got seven other ministers to assist him in refuting the arguments of the once shepherd-lad, and a scene half comic, half degrading, took place. The ministers wished the dis-

cussion to take place in the church, which Fox again refused to do, preferring a hillock to a pulpit. "The priests," he says, "grew very light, and the people rude. . . . So after they had toiled themselves (to answer) they went in a rage to priest Stephens' house to drink." Then "several lusty fellows took me up in their arms and carried me to the steeple-house, they intending to have carried me into the steeple-house by force; but the door being locked, they fell down in a heap, having me under them. As soon as I could I got from them to my hill again; then they got from that place, took me to the steeple-house wall, and set me on a box like a stool. . . . I offered to prove they (the priests) were . . . hirelings. Then the priests plucked me off the box again, and themselves got all upon boxes under the steeple-house wall." (*Journal*, A.D. 1808, vol. i., pp. 250, 251.) This account leaves a low idea of the dignity of puritan discussion. In another place Fox says that the rector endeavoured to get soldiers to apprehend him, and that scheme failing, spread malicious stories about concerning him.

It appears that Stephens suffered so much from the Cavaliers in the district that he was forced to take refuge in Coventry, where he is said to have officiated for sometime in the great church, by which probably St. Michael's is meant. According to Nichols' *Leicestershire* he was a conscientious minister, and "he took great pains in studying the Book of the Revelation; and some apprehended that few ever did it to better purpose; and lamented that no more of his meditations upon that abstruse portion of Scripture were made public." He was ejected from the living of Drayton in 1662 for nonconformity, and lived for a short time in the village, during which he preached privately, and having had to "remove seven times for peace," he settled down at Stoke Golding, a neighbouring village, where he preached the conventicles until he was, a few years previous to his death, disabled by lameness.

During his early life Stephens was so great a student that he was accustomed to spend sixteen hours a day in his study. Nichols affirms that "His thoughts were sometimes so intense that he would strangely forget himself. In his old age he was pleasant

and cheerful. . . . Though he was a man of generous Catholic spirit, he had a great aversion to that ceremoniousness which was carried so high by some in the reign of King Charles I." Brief accounts of Stephens and lists of his writings are to be found in Palmer, *Eject. Min.*, vol. ii., pp. 113-14; and Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, vol. iii., p. 1150. He died and was buried at Stoke Golding in 1667 (*Stoke Register*).

While it is impossible, in an article on Fenny Drayton, totally to ignore the man who has given it the notoriety, small though it be, which it possesses, it is extremely difficult to speak of George Fox within the narrow limits of a magazine article. Fox was, I think, very much what Drayton made him. The solitude of the tiny village, the dull flat character of the district, the unwise encouragement his love of meditation received from his mother, his lonely life as a shepherd, all tended to produce in him that religious monomania which his early wanderings alone prevented becoming absolute insanity. Prevent it, however, they did; for though no one wishes to deny that Fox was an enthusiast and a visionary, it is impossible to doubt his perfect sanity. Whether he really had "revelations" or "openings" or not may be fairly open to question, but his administrative ability and his far-sightedness show that he must have possessed an intellect of a very high order. It is noticeable, too, that his "revelations" nearly all came to him in early life.

Quakerism, as Fox, Barclay, or William Penn understood it, threatens so soon to become extinct, that the purely religious side of Fox's teaching is fast developing into a matter of antiquarian theology; but there was a social side which is still instinct with life. Quakerism, as George Fox taught it, was less of a creed than it was a social system; a society for the development of a higher morality, rather than a body which some theologians would define as evangelistic. Its creed contained no dogma which had not been held for centuries before, or which—if we except the doctrine of the Divine Light, and even this is doubtful, was not then held by one or other of the many religious societies which flourished during the Commonwealth.

Fox's connection with Drayton, after his boyhood, was of the slightest. Here and there in his works he mentions his birthplace, or refers to his family: but the instances are rare and of the most incidental character. Careful as his record is in most things, he never mentions the death of his father or mother; and this can only be accounted for by his absorption in his work, for no one who reads his autobiography can doubt the affectionateness of his nature. And though Fox was, for the age in which he lived, no inconsiderable traveller, another proof of this fact is given by his never dwelling on the natural features of any place he visited. He merely mentions places to localize people, and visited them in order to, as he conceived, benefit the inhabitants. When he returned to his birthplace, after his first lengthy evangelizing journey—it lasted some three years—he did so from no desire to revisit old scenes, or renew his intercourse with former friends, but because he wished to propagate Quakerism in Leicestershire.

Fox was a religious mystic, yet the grand aim of his life was to benefit his fellow-creatures, and that as much from a temporal point of view as from a spiritual. "Nothing," says Clarkson, as truthful as generously, "that could be deplored by humanity could escape his eye." A certain author once sneeringly called him "a universal reformer," a remark unintentionally just, for there was scarcely a social evil existing in his day which he did not assail. Nothing that he thought tended to evil was too great or too small for him to attack; no person too humble or highly-placed for him to shirk reproving. When only twenty-six years old he petitioned Parliament that such gaolers only be appointed as might be good examples to the prisoners, that none should lie long in gaol lest they learnt wickedness; that all gaols be in wholesome places; that no swearer or drunkard be permitted to hold any office; that neither beggars nor blind people, widows, orphans, nor cripples, be allowed to beg, but that a house and meat be provided for them. He exhorted his followers in the West Indies to be careful that their houses and persons were scrupulously clean, and that they should educate their slaves and then set them free; and he laboured as earnestly to prevent

Quaker maidens blindly following the fashions as he did to secure toleration or liberty to his adherents to make an affirmation instead of being compelled to take an oath in legal matters.

It is but fair to the memory of Fox to say that the harshness, the excessive quietness and almost ridiculous affectation of plainness which characterized the Quakers during the last century, were not due to him, nor did they become extremely marked till after his death. Had his circumstances been less exceptional than they were, he would have been among the first to have appreciated art in all its various forms; his only dread was that what are called in newspaper language "the elegancies of life" might become objects of worship. Indeed, when, towards the close of his life, his followers became increasingly narrow, Fox seems to have largely withdrawn himself from participation in the management of the affairs of the Society of Friends, and his later years were spent rather in attempting to raise the standard of religious life than in endeavouring to spread his distinctive code of doctrines. Other men to whom the Quakers more readily inclined had risen to take the leadership, and the founder of the Society seems to have recognised that his part was that of an adviser and not a guide. A recent writer on *Modern Quakerism* has lately pointed out that at the present time the Quakers hold views widely differing from those which characterized the Early Children of the Light.* In America, Quakerism has positively split into two sections, each holding widely different doctrines, yet each claiming to be the only faithful followers of Fox.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to sum up this rough estimate of George Fox by quoting part of the "Testimony" of his friend Ellwood, the once secretary of Milton: "He was valiant for the truth, bold in asserting it, patient in suffering for it, unwearied in labouring in it, steady in his testimony to it, unmovable as a rock. Deep was he in Divine knowledge, clear in opening heavenly mysteries, plain and powerful in preaching, quick in discerning, sound in judgment, able and ready in giving, discreet in keeping counsel; a lover of righteousness, an encourager of virtue,

* *Modern Quakerism*, by Rev. Alexander Gordon, M.A. *The Modern Review*, October, 1884.

justice, temperance, meekness, purity, chastity, modesty, humility, charity, and self-denial in all, both in word and example . . . not apt to resent personal wrongs, easy to forgive injuries. . . . Very tender, compassionate and pitiful was he to all that were under any sort of affliction; full of brotherly love, full of fatherly care."

A complete list of Fox's numerous writings is given by Mr. Joseph Smith in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, 1867, from which I endeavoured to make a selection of the most representative and important for *George Fox and the Early Quakers*, p. 406.

No article on Fenny Drayton would be complete without the mention, at least, of Michael Drayton, who for some reason has always been associated with the village, though why I am at a loss to say. Burton affirms that the place "gave the name to the progenitors of that ingenious poet;" all I can say is that I can find nothing to bear out the assertion of this antiquary, for although the name has not been uncommon in the neighbourhood, I cannot discover any deed, monument, or record which would identify the poet's family with Fenny Drayton. As a matter of fact, Michael Drayton was born at Hartshill, a hamlet in the parish of Mancetter, and about a couple of miles from Fenny Drayton, on the range of low hills which separate Warwickshire and Leicestershire. Neither is there any reason to suppose that he ever lived in the parish, although some of his earlier years were passed in the service of Sir Henry Goodyere, of Polesworth. Nevertheless, the village may well be proud of the topographer-poet, even though he was but a neighbour, for in his *Polyolbion* he shows that he knew and well loved the scenery of the district in which it stands. Any notice of Hartshill, a very interesting little place, must be left to the person who will investigate the—from an antiquarian point of view at least—important parish of Mancetter.

In conclusion, I may say that a few years ago a monument to commemorate the birthplace of George Fox was set up on the road leading from Drayton to Nuneaton. It is a plain obelisk on a pedestal, standing in a tiny plot of land and surrounded by an iron railing. It well exemplifies the Quaker love of plainness, but not their appreciation of the

kindred virtue of neatness, for, when I visited it a few months back, it was in a shocking condition; the obelisk covered in dust and dirt; the grass long, rank, and weedy, and the railings perishing for a coat of paint. "Well, sir," remarked a passing colporteur, to whom I was talking, "it only shows that the Quakers nowadays care nothing for George Fox." And I was reluctantly forced to admit that there seemed a substratum of truth in the man's words.

A. C. BICKLEY.



Municipal Offices.

I.—COLCHESTER.

(Concluded from *Ante*, vol. xii., p. 245.)

(34) WAITS.—Their "liveries" figure in the *Chamberlain's Accounts*.^{*} Oddly enough, "the foive waights" were still receiving their liveries and badges in 1654-5, under the Puritan domination. But they ceased to be municipal officers very shortly afterwards, "musicke" and "drums" being engaged and paid for as wanted. As late, however, as 1681, I find: "for 20 y^{ds} of Blew Cloath for 5 Cloaks for the Towne Musicke, at 12sh. p^r y^d—£12."†

(35) BEADLE.—His "livery" similarly figures in the seventeenth century.‡

(36) SEXTON.—The "livery" of the sexton of St. Peter's is duly entered in 1620, and again in 1668.

(37) ORGANIST.—On the 20th November, 1684, an organist was appointed, at £6 a year, to play at "the weekly lecture and all festivals."§

(38) BELLRINGERS.—From the entry of their "liveries," we learn that "the ringers of St. Botolph's" were Municipal officers. It was their duty to ring the great bell "every morning and evening at four and eight o'clock" (Morant). St. Botolph's was also the church where the Corporation attended (till the siege) to hear the Town Preacher. After the siege (1648), and the ruin of St.

^{*} Compare Gomme's *Index of Municipal Offices*, p. 25.

† *Chamberlain's Accounts*. Blue cloth seems to have been the material of all the liveries.

‡ *Ibid*.

§ *Assembly Books*.

Botolph's, its ringers were replaced in the list of officers, by those of St. James, St. Nicholas, and St. Peter.* The last was still in receipt of a "livery" in 1668, but from the Restoration the bellringing was virtually paid for "by the job," and ceased to be a municipal office.

(39) GENERAL (or COMMON) PREACHER, or LECTURER.—"The first," says Morant, "was about 1564," and the institution, I take it, was doubtless connected with the Puritan tendencies of the Corporation. The salary was raised from £40 in 1576 to £110 in 1620.†

(40) MASTER OF THE FREE SCHOOL.—This office dates from Henry VIII.'s grant of the Chantry Lands (12 Nov., 1539). According to Morant, the salary was £6 13s. 4d. (!) down to 1707; but it stands at £16 in the *Chamberlain's Accounts* for the seventeenth century; and such we know to have been the sum when Dugard was Master (1637-43). It is a curious fact that the Charter of Elizabeth provided "quod dicti Ballivi et communitas" [i.e., the whole corporate body] should elect the "Pedagogum sivi Ludimagistrum Schole predictæ," and there was accordingly, in 1779, a furiously contested election.‡

(41) LIBRARIAN.—First appointed 30 July, 1635; salary £2 (afterwards £1) a year. Duty: To keep Archbishop Harsnet's Library, bequeathed to the Corporation in trust for the Clergy.

(42) MASTER OF THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION.—This officer appears in the *Chamberlain's Accounts*, from about the time of the Restoration, with his "livery" or "coate" and £8 for his salary.

(43) GAOL KEEPER.—An office obviously of early origin. He kept the Borough Jail, under the Moot Hall. His "coate" or "livery" appears under Charles II.§

(44) ARMOURER.—An officer of this name, with "livery and badge," comes into appearance with the Civil Wars, and (apparently) last figures on the *Chamberlain's Accounts* for 1664.

(45—48) STANDARD-BEARER, BILLET-MASTER, AND WATCHMEN (two).—These offices are given by Cromwell as existing in 1825.

* *Chamberlain's Accounts*, 1654-5.

† See Morant's account of them.

‡ Cromwell's *Colchester*, p. 314.

§ *Chamberlain's Accounts*.

(49) STEWARD OF THE ADMIRALTY COURT.—The Admiralty Jurisdiction of the Corporation was of early origin, and is specially recognised by the Charter of 1635. The Steward was appointed to hold Admiralty Courts on behalf of the Corporation.

(50) WATER BAILIFF.—It was his duty to collect the river tolls due to the Corporation, which possessed the *consuetudines Aquæ et Ripæ ex utraque parte* from a time beyond the memory of man. They were let to farm to him. By Morant's day they had dwindled to "wharfage for goods landed at the Town Wharf." I think that when the dues were no longer collected, the Water Bailiff replaced the Water Sergeant (*vide infra*) as the officer in charge of the Corporation's water rights. The office was still in existence in 1825, and there were then two *Deputy* Water Bailiffs in addition.

(51) MEASURER.—This officer in early days farmed the "Measurage" at the Town "Hythe," or Port. He appears *cir.* 1386 (9 and 10 Ric. II.), the Hythe Tolls (distinct from the £35 tolls) being then £14. "Measurers and weighers at the Hythe" still appear in 1619-20. The development of this office is very difficult to trace, but it would seem, from the Measurer's "Oath,"* that when a Water Bailiff was appointed and became farmer of the dues (at least as early as 1610), the "Measurer of coles and other things at the new hith" merely discharged, under him, those functions which were afterwards those of the Porter.

(52) PORTER.—"The Porters at the New Hythe" discharged "the office of a Porter in weighing of all manner of goodsto be weighed at the New Hith."† Over them was "The cheife porter," whose office it was "to look to the weighing and measuringe of woods [timber], coles and all other things belonging to these offices, and to take and keepe a faithfull Account of all such goods and merchandizes that are or shall bee goinge out from or in to y^e key, and transmit it to the Chief Water Bailiff, who then taxed it accordingly." Such had been the function of the (later) "Measurers." They are among those officers whose oaths

* *Oath-book*. Note that "sworn Meeters" also occur (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), and that "licensed Meters" still exist at Ipswich.

† *Oath-book*.

figure in the *Oath-book*, but I can throw no light on the office.

(53) WATER SERJEANT.—“The serjeant of Colnewater,” as he is termed in the *Chamberlain's Accounts* of the seventeenth century, acted for the Corporation within their river jurisdiction as the other serjeants acted for them by land. But his emblem of authority * was a silver oar, and not, as theirs, a mace. His salary was £2.

(54) COLLECTORS OF THE CHANNEL DUES.—These officers were appointed by the Corporation under an Act of 1623 empowering them to raise money by dues for improving the channel of the Colne.

(55) CONSERVATORS.—There were in 1825, and are still, four “Conservators.” They have charge as trustees for the free-burgesses of all sums accruing from commutation for their right of common on “the Half-year land.”

It is exceedingly difficult to draw the line at Municipal offices proper. Rightly or wrongly, I have excluded offices belonging to special trades, such as the Ale-taster, Searchers (Inspectors), Wool-wardens, Raw-hallers, White-hallers, etc.,† and also those connected with *Poor Relief*, such as the “Surveyors of the Poor,” “Treasurers for the Poor,” “Masters,” or “Governors” of the Workhouse, etc.

My authorities for this paper have been the Borough Records, Morant's *History of Colchester* (1748 and 1768), a work based on enormous research, and excellent for its time, but ill-arranged; Cromwell's *History of Colchester* (1825), of value for its list of the Corporation before the Reform Act; and Mr. Harrod's *Reports on the Records* (1865), a really admirable production.

J. H. ROUND.

* For instance, in 1679, he arrested, by warrant from the Mayor, certain men who were dredging, unlawfully, in the Colne.—*Assembly Books*.

† Mr. Gomme, however, includes them, and pronounces “Ale-tasters,” “Bread-weighers,” etc., to be “well-known as offices belonging to the township.” The point is a very hard one to decide.

Reviews.

The Governance of England; otherwise called the Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy. By SIR JOHN FORTESCUE, KT. A revised text, edited with introduction, notes, and appendices, by CHARLES PLUMMER. (Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1885.) 8vo., pp. xxiii. 387.



THE earliest constitutional treatise written in the English language this book is certainly a great boon to scholars, and it comes to us under the care of the Clarendon Press, and accompanied by an extremely interesting introduction, ample notes, and a good index. Mr. Plummer sketches first a history of the period—that interesting and uncertain period embracing the reigns of the Houses of Lancaster and York. Many of the opinions here are novel and independent, both in research and in conclusions drawn therefrom. Mr. Plummer thinks that Henry V. did “nothing permanent for the good of England, and the legacy which he left her was almost wholly evil;” and to the bad government of the Lancastrians, indeed, he attributes mainly the cause of Yorkist success. Dynastic rules of descent were not present to the minds of those who fought at Towton and St. Albans; but evils arising from bad government were. These evils are tersely summed up, and ably commented upon by Mr. Plummer.

Sir John Fortescue was a staunch adherent of the Lancastrians, and he saw many of the evils which Mr. Plummer points out. To remedy some of them, Fortescue applied his practical mind, with the result that instead of theoretical treatises on laws, founded on Roman philosophy, we have, for the first time in the English language, a genuine attempt to solve the problem of the English constitutional system, and to thereby see how to strengthen its weak parts and utilize its strong parts. The treatise thus produced is very valuable. It gives us a general view of constitutional facts about this period, which is nowhere else to be obtained, and it gives some most interesting glimpses into English and Continental life. One short passage on French customs we must quote: “Thai [the commons of France] drunken water, thai eyten apples, with brede right browne made of rye; thai eyten no flesshe but yf it be right seldon a litle larde, or of the entrales and heydes of bestis slayn for the nobles and marchautes of the lande. Thai weren no wolen, but yf it be a pouere cote vndir thair vitermost garentment, made of grete caunuas, and callid a frokke. Thair hausyn belts of lyke caunuas and passyn not thair kne, wher fore thai beth gartered and thes theis bare. Thair wyfes and children gone bare fote; thai mowe in no other wyse leve.” This is a dismal picture enough, but it is true, and it serves in Fortescue's opinion as a good contrast to the English circumstances. Both philologically and historically we have here a very valuable book, and the editor deserves great praise for his scholarly and interesting piece of work.

Royalty Restored; or, London in the Reign of Charles II. By J. FITZGERALD MOLLOY. (London, 1885; Ward and Downey.) 2 vols., 8vo.

Mr. Molloy must have waded through an immense amount of material to have produced the results contained in the volumes before us, and we cordially bear witness to his laborious task. It is not a pleasant picture, the Court of Charles II.; and we are not quite sure whether Mr. Molloy fully realizes the relative importance of the various classes of evidence he uses. Is it all true in detail? is it founded on hearsay? is it the satire of the enemies of "royalty restored"? To each of these questions the true historian must apply himself before he can in any sense write the history of this period. But Mr. Molloy in leaving them alone has not perhaps aimed at being so much the historian as the gleaner after curious and out-of-the-way glimpses of the restoration manners and customs. In this aim he is thoroughly successful. We are able by his guidance to take an extensive view of the London life of the period; we see the King's courtiers and their doings as a portion of the court life "above stairs"; we see Rochester, and Buckingham, and Sedley, and Buckhurst, and Clarendon, and Ormond; we see also some of the lesser lights, and always in life-like movement, across the canvas prepared by Mr. Molloy. He is never dull; and we think that his entertaining book will prove successful. Several very interesting portraits are given; and we may conclude our notice by pointing out how pre-eminently fitted such a book is for illustrating with contemporary engravings.

The Races of Britain: a Contribution to the Anthropology of Western Europe. By JOHN BEDDOE, M.D. (Bristol and London, 1885; Arrowsmith.) 8vo., pp. viii. 275.

No more important book on the early history of England than this has been issued since Mr. Green's well-known volumes; and the questions taken up by Dr. Beddoe cover a larger field, enter into many more subjects, appeal to a much larger class of readers, than Mr. Green's. Upon the vexed questions of a pre-Celtic population, upon the ethnology of the Belgic race who occupied Britain before the Romans, upon the race-results of the Roman Conquest, upon the Anglo-Saxon settlement, upon the Danish and Norwegian settlement, upon the Norman Conquest, Dr. Beddoe has much of great importance to say. His plan is unique, and of the utmost value. He has examined the craniology and colour of the living inhabitants of various parts of Great Britain; and, as he justly says, the means of doing this are now rapidly passing away, because of the less local characteristics of modern civilization, and the great admixture of species brought about by the wholesale migration caused by railways. As usual, in this as in other branches of advanced science, England lags behind the rest of the world; but Dr. Beddoe has done his best to bring her to the front. Upon such race-tests as he has thus obtained, he bases his main arguments, comparing his results with the records of early writers, and with the researches of modern students. The famous theories advocated

by Pearson, Wright, Coote, and Seebohm, and those championed by Palgrave, Kemble, Freeman, and Green, are examined by the light of anthropological research, and it is astonishing how much is to be gleaned by this method. If, says Dr. Beddoe, a district in the nineteenth century has certain race-characteristics, it is fair to assume that it owes them to the circumstances attending the great race-convulsions which were going on from the earliest times to the Norman Conquest. And these *survivals* of race are thus made to complete the story which chronicle history has to tell us. There can be no mistaking such important work as this; and it is much to be regretted that Dr. Beddoe has had to study almost alone a subject which ought to have received the aid of a large body of workers, and the aid of Government grants to assist it. The census authorities could, if they were so minded, give invaluable aid in this and other branches of historical information; but it seems almost past hoping for to induce the Government to put their hands to anything useful to science.

Colour of hair and eyes forms an important part of Dr. Beddoe's observations, and very interesting are the results he brings out from these sources. Some authorities have asserted that colour is only a passing characteristic of race, and not a permanent or lasting one; but Dr. Beddoe adduces sufficient evidence to show that his view of the case is the more correct; and it shows how vast results can be accomplished by a record of the most trivial facts. Many are the difficulties of observation, as, to be sure of local influences, Dr. Beddoe invariably chose for observation members of the poorer classes. One anecdote of his experiences is well worth quoting. The travelling party consisted of Dr. Barnard Davis, Dr. T. Wise, Mr. Windele, and himself. "Whenever a likely little squad of natives were encountered, the two archaeologists got up a dispute about the relative sizes and shape of their own heads, which I was called in to settle with the callipers. The unsuspecting Irishmen usually entered keenly into the debate, and before the little drama had been finished, were eagerly betting on the sizes of their own heads, and begging to have their wagers determined in the same manner." To such art is science obliged sometimes to stoop. So much destruction has taken place among the ancient graves which have from time to time been opened, that Dr. Beddoe has applied himself to the modern descendants of ancient races to assist his researches, and the result is a most valuable scientific record. We have waited long for this great work, but we are amply repaid. The illustrations, giving types of heads from various parts of the country, are very curious, and we should like to have had the them multiplied.

The Vicar of Wakefield. By OLIVER GOLDSMITH. Being a facsimile reproduction of the first edition, published in 1766, with an introduction by AUSTIN DOBSON, and a bibliographical list of editions of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, published in England and abroad. (London, 1885; Elliot Stock.) 2 vols., 8vo.

This is a literary rarity, which will be widely welcomed mainly on account of its own intrinsic

value and curiosity; but also on account of the interesting introduction and bibliography which Mr. Austin Dobson has prefixed. The facsimile is complete; and to publisher and printer great praise is due for the care and skill which they have taken to produce this beautiful specimen of their art. We much doubt whether in a few years' time these splendid specimens of modern bookmaking will not obtain a value entirely their own. Those of us who cannot afford first editions are now being supplied with these facsimiles, which are bibliographically and artistically of great interest; and when a literary student like Mr. Dobson lends the sanction of his name to giving the modern literary history which is necessary, there seems nothing wanting. The famous book has been printed no less than 155 times, including translations into most of the languages of modern Europe; and besides this, Miss Terry and Mr. Irving have just been delighting the playgoing public with their acting of this famous English novel. Mr. Dobson has been at great pains to find out the history of the book from its first issue down to the present time, and his preface will be read with great pleasure by many students. The discovery in the account-book of Collins, the Salisbury printer, partially explodes an old anecdote of the connection of Johnson with the first publication of the book; and there are many other points connected with Goldsmith's literary career which Mr. Dobson incidentally throws light on, the document printed from Lord Houghton's MS. being a genuine literary curiosity.

A History of Ancient Tenures of Land in the Marches of North Wales. By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER. Wrexham (for the Author), 1885. 8vo., pp. iii. 131.

A few months ago, in reviewing Mr. Palmer's *The Town, Fields, and Folk of Wrexham*, we suggested that his little pamphlet was not to be judged by its smallness, and we expressed our opinion of its worth in no stinted terms of praise. Mr. Palmer has now given us another sample of his work, and as a specimen of painstaking local research, coupled with a comprehensive study of historical authorities, we know of no such genuine piece of work among the antiquarian literature of the past year. Mr. Palmer supplements the general title of his book with the following, "Notes on the common and demesne lands of the Lordship of Bromfield, and of the parts of Denbighshire and Flintshire adjoining, and suggestions for the identification of such lands elsewhere; together with an account of the rise of the manorial system in the same district." This second title in no way exaggerates the extent of the field which Mr. Palmer covers, and we can very frankly say that if the local antiquaries would take Mr. Palmer's book as a model, and work out for their districts similar facts, there would soon be collected a body of evidence on early social history which no other European country could show. The need of local help is felt so strongly by students of non-chronicled history that when such a specimen as Mr. Palmer's comes out, it appears all the more unfortunate that local "Notes and Queries" do not apply themselves more to problems such as these, which presently will be past answering. That there is ample scope for such inquiry Mr. Palmer has shown.

The district of Wrexham is particularly important for an examination of old land-tenures, because its position on the border-land of Welsh and English conquests produces local information of the most interesting kind, and Mr. Palmer is never so suggestive as, for instance, when in his comparison of the Cheshire and Flintshire acres, he pauses to ask, "Can it be that the acre of Cheshire and South Lancashire is derived from the Welsh settlers who occupied those districts before the victory of Æthelfrith, in 613, brought them within the circle of the English kingdom?" or when, in tracing out the position of the Welsh aillts, he states that he finds himself "more and more inclining to the thought that these were the descendants of the non-Cymric population which the Welsh, when they came hither, found in possession of the land." It is curious that we should have only just reviewed Mr. Beddoe's *Races of Britain*, where such problems as Mr. Palmer suggests seem also to be suggested; and knowing the results of Mr. Seebohm's famous work, no one can be heedless of the influence of such inquiries upon a much wider historical field than at first sight seems possible. The common-field system of cultivation, as it was known in England, is not yet solved, but we are not without hope that the new workers on the subject will follow Mr. Palmer's lead and give us local facts to guide us in the more general theories. There are many interesting details which Mr. Palmer works out in a masterly manner, and shows their importance to inquiries of this kind, and one special instance we may mention is the name of "place," applied to great residences. There are many "Place Houses" in England, at Titchfield in Hants, for example, which have a peculiar significance. We would also point out that the winter and summer shealings of Scotland are absolutely identical with those of Wales. If we have thus touched upon some of the side issues raised in Mr. Palmer's book, it is out of no disrespect to the more direct results of his studies, but in the hope that we may get our readers to look up facts like these and put them on record.

The East Anglian; or, Notes and Queries on Subjects connected with the Counties of Suffolk, Cumberland, Essex, and Norfolk. Ipswich and London. (Redway.) 8vo. (Part xii. December.)

This part contains some particulars from the churchwardens account of Little Cornard, Suffolk, and St. Stephens, Ipswich, besides other similarly interesting papers. We wish Mr. Evelyn White would add to the obligation all antiquaries owe him by gathering up local information on the ethnology of his district.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—Nov. 9th.—The Rev. G. F. Browne, President, in the chair. Mr. E. W. Gibson exhibited two mother-of-pearl beads lately found with several others at the depth of 4 feet on Mr. Gunnell's farm at Great Shelford by

coprolite-diggers. Mr. O. Johnson exhibited and kindly presented to the Society a pewter spoon-bowl, 2½ in. × 1¼, found at Horningsea, in 1884. Professor T. McK. Hughes described what he thought might be traces of a Roman village on the property of Mr. Ingle Ellis, near Shepreth, by whose kindness he had recently been able to carry on some explorations upon the site. He pointed out the interest of the district lying between Barrington, Foxton, and Shepreth, referring to the objects of interest of various dates which had been discovered there, and speculated upon the period of the conversion into a swamp of an area once occupied by Roman houses. He remarked that the villas of the wealthy Romans had been frequently described, but that little was known of the dwellings of the artisan and the tiller of the soil. Traces of three houses had been found at Shepreth; but so little had been opened up, that he thought we could not yet infer with any certainty whether they were the offices and less richly furnished rooms of a large country residence, or the greater part of some houses belonging to less well-to-do people. There was a suggestion of better rooms near in the tessellæ of white sandstone and the brightly painted wall-plaster found within the walls. But he reminded the Society that similarly painted plaster had been found in the rubbish-pits of Chesterford; where it probably came not from a large country residence, but from some of the houses in a small Roman town. He referred to the villa found near Ickleton, and to that explored by Mr. Seeböhm and Mr. Ransom near Hitchin. There was very little pottery found in and about the houses at Shepreth; but on the adjoining gravelly bank nearer Foxton Mr. Walter Foster had collected a large quantity of various types. Bones and oyster-shells occurred, as is usual wherever the Romans had been; but there were not large quantities of such remains. When the houses were dug into, it was found that there was in each a tiled passage, which in one case was traced round the corner of a room with a smooth concrete floor made of fine broken brick and mortar. There was frequently a considerable thickness of grey chalky clay, representing the fallen plaster of the walls and the decayed concrete, on which the tiles had been set. There were also some roof ridge-tiles having a semicircular section, and as these occurred at the lowest point reached, it raised hope that there might still be much buried up. Professor Hughes then drew the attention of the Society to some earthworks between the station and Mr. Ellis's house. From their size he thought they were not mere field enclosures; but he had not as yet any evidence to offer as to whether some of them might be the remains of a mediæval moat or perhaps even the ramparts of a Roman station. He thought they deserved investigation. Farther south there was a pit in a bed in the lower chalk known as the Burwell Rock, which from its hardness stands out in bosses here and there. This was a likely place for the Romans to have procured lime for their houses, and recent quarrying revealed pits of unknown age, which apparently had been sunk for the purpose of making lime, of which there was a considerable quantity found, now slacked of course by the percolation of rain-water. At the southern end of the chalk hill, the quarry cut across several shallow graves,

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sunk through the soil into the surface of the chalk. They lay like what elsewhere had been referred to the poorer class of Roman interments; but no relics had been found to indicate their age. On the whole, he thought that the district suggested many interesting archæological problems, and would well repay careful investigation. Mr. C. P. Tebbutt read a communication "On the existence and cause of the crooked lands" found on clay soils in the Eastern and Midland counties of England. He stated that the high-backed lands found in so many fields around Cambridge and elsewhere had been evidently raised by ploughing for purposes of drainage: they were separate properties, like the strips or "selions" described by Mr. Seeböhm in "The English Village Community." Mr. Tebbutt claimed to have discovered the important fact that they are all curved in the form of the letter S reversed, and he was of opinion that this fact was one of great significance. He believed this form was caused by certain tendencies in the process of ploughing, and endeavoured to show that the curved high-backed lands now to be seen must have assumed their present form in the *tribal* period, before ownership in strips of land existed. They are therefore among the oldest monuments of antiquity around us. Mr. F. Seeböhm confirmed the facts mentioned by Mr. Tebbutt both as to the wide prevalence of the high-backed lands and to the peculiar lines of the inverted S almost universally observed, and no doubt due to something connected with the ploughing. It was noticed in Germany as well as in England. He also stated that these "lands" belonged to the ancient Open-Field System. The strips between turf balks and these "lands" were in fact the same thing treated in different ways according to the soil. The "lands" and strips were generally acres, half-acres, or roods, and when the customary acres of various parts of the British Islands and other countries had been more carefully ascertained, their antiquity and importance for historical purposes would be more and more recognised. He referred to the recurrence of the same acre in the ancient district of Powys and in Brittany, and also of the Irish acre on both sides of the Irish Sea, as examples of this. But it would be premature to draw any wide generalization from the facts, till they had been more completely collected and examined.

Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—Nov. 13th.—The Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, who occupied the chair, commenced the proceedings by giving the presidential address. There is one point, he said, in connection with our local antiquities on which it seems more and more light is being thrown, viz., Who were the men who reared our pre-historic monuments, and when did they live? The tendency of modern research, instead of making them more modern, of throwing them indeed into the earlier middle age or the Roman-British epoch, as at one time was thought might be the case, is just the contrary, to raise the question whether some of them are not anterior to the arrival of the Celts in Britain, in fact to the settlement of the Indo-European races in Western Europe. Now the four great divisions of migration, the Celts, the Teutons, the Greeks, and the Slavonians, were not the aborigines of Europe, nor did they, it seems, first settle in the forests and heaths of West Europe, and reclaim them to human

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use. Other tribes and other nations of the human family had already for ages been settled in Europe, and even in our British Isles, and of them we have vestiges in the Lapps of the North, in the Finns, in the Basques, and some of the Portuguese of the Iberian Peninsula. In Ireland the strong tradition that many of the people were of Milesian or Spanish race, is probably not without foundation. He thought that the two most interesting counties of England, from an antiquarian standpoint, are Kent and Cornwall. Kent as a storehouse of wonderful and beautiful mediæval antiquities brings more vividly before us the men of England of the Middle Ages than anything else; Cornwall in its rich and unrivalled prehistoric treasures—its menhirs, its cromlechs, its holed stones, its barrows, its circles, its beehive huts, and so forth, recording in almost imperishable granite the industry of the perished races of a remote and mysterious past. But in one point they combine, and each excels in interest all the other counties of England, *i.e.*, in the relics of early Christianity. The question of the history of early Christianity in Cornwall is one which of late has attracted much thought. Recently the thought struck him of making a catalogue of local antiquities and curiosities of Penzance. At first it was thought they would be about 100, but they were above 200, each of which is worth noticing by an intelligent tourist, still more a resident.

Asiatic.—Nov. 23rd.—Sir H. Rawlinson in the chair.—A paper by the Rev. H. Friend was read "On the Buddhistic Element in Oriental Life." After making a few comments on Mr. Friend's paper, Mr. C. Bendall produced some specimens of coins, described as "Græco-Indian bearing the figure of the Buddha," the inscriptions on which he analysed. Dr. Duka exhibited and stated some particulars regarding a rhinoceros horn cup and African ivory anklet which had come into his possession.

Society of Antiquaries.—Nov. 19th.—The President in the chair.—A letter was read from the Rev. D. J. Stewart reporting the threatened destruction of the houses on the west side of Weston's Yard at Eton College, in order to provide a site for some proposed additions to the school. After some discussion the matter was referred to the Council to take such action as may be necessary. The Rev. J. McFarlan communicated particulars of a proposal to erect a building over the runic cross at Ruthwell for its better preservation. The Rev. G. C. Fenwicke exhibited a mediæval chalice, *circa* 1485, from Blaston St. Giles; also a pair of silver snuffers and tray, of the date 1691-2; and four deeds relating to the manor of Blaston. Mr. A. J. Evans exhibited a bronze rapier and a spear-head of particularly broad form, lately dredged up at Sandford Lock, also a bronze spear-head from the Wrekin. The President exhibited and read a paper on a number of fine bronze objects, part of a hoard found at Felixstowe, Suffolk. Mr. E. S. F. Moore exhibited and communicated an account of a number of Roman and other objects found while searching for coprolites at Felixstowe. Dr. Freshfield reported the discovery of a number of silver ornaments near the Cathedral Church of Kiev.

Royal Society of Literature.—Nov. 25th.—Sir P. de Colquhoun, President, in the chair.—Mr. W. Rendle read a paper "On the History of the Borough

Hospitals," being the second and concluding part. The former paper spoke of the foundation of St. Thomas's Hospital, *circa* 1100, within the precincts of the Priory of St. Mary Overy in Southwark; the fire in 1207; the rebuilding in 1228, and the historical sermon put forth on the occasion by the Bishop of Winchester. Both the hospitals were built upon the remains of Roman dwellings. In 1507 there was a complete rebuilding. At the gate of the church a market for Southwark people was held, and justice administered through the King's Court of the Marshalsea at the same place. In 1537 came the forfeiture of this religious house, the list of its possessions showing glass-painters and printers of great note living and carrying on business within the hospital precincts. Mr. Rendle further referred to John Keats living in Dean Street, and Thomas Wakley, founder of the *Lancet*, both of whom were students at Guy's in 1815; and to Maurice's chaplaincy at Guy's Hospital from 1836 to 1840. Mr. Rendle also mentioned the demonstration made by Dr. Southwood Smith over the body of his friend Jeremy Bentham, according to his will, for the mitigation of the prejudice against anatomy.

British Archaeological Association.—Nov. 18th.

—Mr. C. Brent in the chair.—Mr. Harris described a Saxon font now in South Hayling Church. Some interesting communications from the Rev. G. Butterworth were brought before the meeting by Mr. de Gray Birch relative to the discovery of an ancient Saxon chapel at Deerhurst. Mr. Loftus Brock reported the discovery of a stone with Saxon interlaced work at Moulton Church, Northants, of which Sir Henry Dryden sent a squeeze. Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited some curious terra-cotta lamps and other objects found at Heliopolis, and afterwards read a paper on the Church of St. Michael Coslany, Norwich, a building possessing one of the best examples of flint inlaid work to be found in the county. A paper was then read by Mr. de Gray Birch "On the Art of the Roman Pavements at Bignor."

Numismatic.—Nov. 19th.—Mr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. A. J. Evans exhibited two archaic silver coins of Caulonia of the usual type—a naked divinity, probably Apollo Katharsios, holding a lustral branch, and a small running figure with winged sandals (B. V. Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, pl. viii. 15), and one of Metapontum with a standing Apollo on the reverse (Head, *l.c.* pl. xv. 6). Mr. Webster exhibited a small copper coin of Valerian II., the twin brother of Gallienus, *rev.* PAX AVGG. Mr. Montagu exhibited and made some remarks upon three pennies of Henry VII.'s first coinage, struck at London, Canterbury, and York. Mr. A. E. Copp exhibited a line-engraved portrait of Sir E. Coke as Attorney-General, into which was let a silver medalet bearing his arms on one side and his crest on the other, dated 1602. Mr. Krumbholz exhibited a forgery of the time, a shilling of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. Evans read a paper on a portion of the great hoard of Anglo-Saxon pennies found in the City of London in 1872, and gave a list of 580 specimens, among which were many new varieties, including one of Harthacnut not hitherto described. The writer then proceeded to make some remarks upon the more interesting mints represented in the hoard, and specified the

following: 1. Langport in Somerset, an important place about the time of the Conquest and a royal burgh. The county of Somerset possessed, Mr. Evans said, in the reigns of Cnut and Edward the Confessor at least six, and perhaps as many as nine, mints. 2. Aylesbury, which ceased to strike before the reign of the Conqueror. 3. Bardney in Lincolnshire, an active mint about the same period. 4. Newport, which Mr. Evans was inclined to identify with Newport in Cornwall. 5. Bedwin in Wiltshire, only known as a Saxon mint since the discovery of the Chancton find. Dr. A. Smith made some remarks on the earliest coins struck in Ireland, which he attributed to the time of the Hiberno-Danish King of Dublin, Sihtric III., who was contemporary with Æthelred II., sole monarch of Saxon England.

Philological.—Nov. 20th.—Mr. H. Sweet, Vice-President, in the chair.—Dr. Stenhouse read a paper, "Notes on Biblical Aramaic with Special Reference to Hebrew." Mr. Standish O'Grady read a paper on the Irish tale called "Cath Finntrága, the Battle of Ventry Harbour," as edited by Professor Kuno Meyer.

Historical.—Nov. 19th.—Mr. Hyde Clarke, Vice-President, in the chair.—Mr. F. S. Flood read a paper "On the Story of Prince Henry of Monmouth and Chief Justice Gascoign," in which he tried to show not only the improbability, but the absolute impossibility of the truth of the famous legend.

New Shakspeare.—Nov. 13th.—Dr. F. J. Furnivall, Director, in the chair.—The Rev. Stopford A. Brooke read a paper "On the play of Richard III.," the leading ideas of which he found to be the justice of heaven and the evolution of Richard's character. Of the latter a striking feature was that he was conscienceless, except, indeed, in dreams, hence the rapidity of his crimes. We find no such rapidity in Macbeth, for instance, with its frequent remorseful pauses. Richard's words, "I am myself alone," gave us the key-note to his character. The other leading idea—the presence of doom—was seen in Margaret, the fate and fury of the play. She does nothing for its movements, but broods over it; having outlived her humanity, she has become almost an elemental power. In IV. ii. Richard's intellect begins to break down and superstition to show itself. His "Relenting fool!" in IV. iv. is his last effort of scorn for humanity, followed closely by a complete collapse of mental power. Towards the end the stimulus of action partly heals his mind and temper. We are not to be allowed to lose all sympathy with him; and so he dies bravely a soldier's death.

Anthropological Institute.—Nov. 10th.—Mr. F. Galton, President, in the chair.—A paper containing a short account of some experiments in testing the character of school-children as observers was read by Mrs. Bryant. From the written description of (1) a room, (2) a picture, which the children experimented upon were first shown and then required to describe, a rough diagnosis of their character as observers can be made, and hence some idea of their character generally is obtained, which, though very deficient in precision, and still more deficient in certainty, may have nevertheless a real practical value for educational and other purposes.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—Nov. 25th.—Dr. Bruce presided.—The Chairman gave a brief

notice of a Roman centurial stone lately discovered at Carnarvon, on the Roman Wall. He stated that the stone, which was exhibited to the members, had been found on the Roman Wall, where it passed over the Walltown Craigs, near Greenhead, and had been kindly presented to the Society through their fellow-member, Mr. Barkas. The Secretary intimated that P. C. Johnston, of the Black Gate, had presented the Society with an ancient iron lamp; Mr. W. L. S. Charlton, Tynemouth, with an iron cannon-ball, found in Percy Gardens, Tynemouth; and Mr. W. T. Moore, Newcastle, with three old iron keys. A very interesting paper on "Heddon-on-the-Wall: the Church and Parish," was read by Mr. Cadwallader J. Bates, M.A., and was illustrated by drawings, prepared by Mr. Knowles. Mr. Boyle also read a paper with respect to Heddon Church, in which he combated some of the views taken by Mr. Bates. Mr. R. O. Heslop read a paper on "The Names of Cortstopitum and Colechester," the former being the village of Corbridge and the latter the Roman Station near to it. Mr. Heslop had prepared a list of the renderings of the name of Corbridge from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Mr. Welford exhibited a photograph of a silver reliquary, alleged to contain an arm-bone of King Oswald of Northumbria, which is in the Cathedral of St. Elrens at Solothurn (Soleure), Switzerland.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

A Bibliomaniac, temp. 1703.—"Mr. Thos. Lydiatt, of New College," says Hearne, "was a person of singular Modesty, Humility, and Learning;" and he was "so intirely addicted [to his studies] that he laid out what money he got upon Books, so that he was in a manner starv'd to death, which made Dr. Potter, when he sent him a Benevolence of 5 lbs, give him a strict charge to spend none of it in Books, but take care to get what might recruit his macerated Body."—*Hearne's Collections* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), vol. i., p. 197.

Booksellers in London, temp. 1663.—"I am not to forget the vast number of booksellers' shops I have observ'd in London; for besides those who are set up here and there in the City, they have their particular quarters, such as St. Paul's Churchyard, and Little Britain, where there is twice as many as in the Rue Saint Jacques in Paris, and who have each of them two or three warehouses."—*Sorbière's Journey to England*, p. 16.

London Shops in 1663.—"I must tell you before I proceed to other more curious observations, that perhaps there is no city in the world that has so many and such fine shops; for they are large, and the decorations are as valuable as those of the stage. The scene is new everywhere, which extremely pleases and attracts the eye as we go along."—*Sorbière's Journey to England*, p. 16.

Early Prices for Book-binding.—The following very curious particulars are given in a folio sheet preserved in the British Museum. It is entitled *A General*

account of all the barrows, cromlechs, circles, camps, roads, dykes, etc., within an area of 100 square miles, with Avebury for its centre. It is illustrated with seventeen maps and 110 woodcuts. The London publisher is Mr. Quaritch.

It is interesting to notice that, through the publicity given in the *Athenaeum* to Charles Lamb's story of *Beauty and the Beast*, a second copy has been discovered, and was sold by auction by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson on December 17th. It is now to be hoped, says the *Athenaeum*, this very interesting little volume may be reprinted in book-form to prevent its being again lost.

The charming house which Pietro da Cortona built for himself in Rome is to fall a victim to the clearances which the Italians are making on the Capitol for the erection of a pretentious monument to Victor Emmanuel. It is some slight consolation to those who regret this act of vandalism that an Italian gentleman has published a graceful monograph, illustrated with good photographs, on the house.

A great improvement has been recently carried out in the commercial centre of the city of Lincoln, in connection with the erection of the new banking premises of Messrs. Smith, Ellison, and Co. The narrow thoroughfare known as Mint Lane, where the Saxon moneyers had their home as long ago as the days of King Alfred, has been considerably widened, and a short new street has been formed southwards, making a much-needed connection with the leading thoroughfares, Guildhall Street and Newland. This new street will greatly relieve the ancient gateway known as the Stonebow, the archway of which, supporting the mediæval Guildhall of the city, spans the High Street at this point. The corporation are fully alive to the value of this memorial of past ages, and have called in Mr. Pearson, R.A., to advise them how best to maintain its ancient character, and at the same time adapt it to the necessities of modern commerce. But a self-asserting minority, with the exaggerated plea of public convenience, clamours for the removal of this ancient gateway, and unless public feeling is awakened, there is some well-grounded fear that the ancient Guildhall of the city of Lincoln, with all its historical memories, may before very long be demolished.

A quantity of Roman coins are reported to have been found in the Chinese province of Shan-si.

The workmen unearthed a stone coffin on ground which is now being cleared for rebuilding, at the corner of Pudding Chare and Bigg Market, Newcastle. It measures 15 inches in depth inside, and 20 inches outside; 18 inches across the head; 16 inches across the foot inside, with 4 inches thickness of stone at each side. The length is 4 feet 9 inches inside; 5 feet 4 inches out. The coffin was found 3 feet below the pavement of the floor, but there were no bones in it.

At a recent meeting of the Académie des Inscriptions, M. Homolle submitted a report upon the result of the archaeological exploration in the island of Delos carried out under his direction. The entire surface of the *temenos* of Apollo has been excavated,

the circuit of the wall laid bare, the position of the gates and of the roads determined. About fifty fragments of sculpture have been discovered, several terracottas, and some pieces of bronze. One of the most interesting objects is a vase bearing the name of Iphicartides of Naxos. The inscriptions found number altogether about 224, entire or fragmentary. Some consist of more than 200 lines, and one has as many as 600. They date from all periods between the fifth and the first century B.C., but most of them from the third and second. Their contents throw much light upon the political constitution and the commerce of the Cyclades.

A very fine specimen of a bog-oak spade has been found embedded in a marshy hollow near the edge of a burn on the stone farm, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Dunfermline, and not far from the site of the Pitreavie tumuli. The implement, which is entire, measures 4 feet in length, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth of blade. It is considered to be about 200 years old, and one of not more than three or four relics of the kind which have been discovered in Scotland.

It is announced from Naples that three interesting frescoes have been brought to light in the Via Nolana at Pompeii. The paintings represent banquet scenes, above which are inscriptions purporting to be the conversation of the guests, one of whom would seem to be undergoing in a corner apart the effects produced by the peacock feather which the Roman *viveurs* usually took with them to luxurious repasts for a well-known purpose.

It is proposed to complete the restoration of the ancient Norman church, at Irby (the tower and porch being the chief remaining features), as a memorial to the antiquary Gervase Rolles, whose researches were mostly written in this parish. The old parish register, dating from A.D. 1558, contains many entries relating to the antiquary's family.

In regard to the newly-discovered Saxon chapel at Deerhurst, the *Builder* is informed that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have given permission to the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings to restore the chapel at the Society's own cost.

During a recent storm the Lilburn Tower at Dunstanborough, which, as is well known, is one of the grandest of the Northumberland castles, both on account of its architectural features and its strikingly grand position, suffered some damage from lightning. Several stones were dislodged from the top, and, rolling down the almost precipitous bank on which that side of the castle is built, caused the death of a number of sheep who were feeding at the bottom of the hill. It had for some time been the intention of the owners, the trustees of the late Mr. Eyre, to do something towards the preservation of the castle, and this accident has had the effect of causing that intention to be put into execution at once. Under the direction of Mr. C. Hodgson Fowler, architect to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, some 'restoration' in the true sense of the word has been successfully carried out. The fallen stones of the Lilburn Tower have been replaced, and that part of the building has been strengthened in places where it showed signs of weakness. At the south-east end of the castle a deep

chasm in the basaltic rock breaks through the outline of the cliff. During a storm from the north-east the sea rushes in through this chasm, which is locally called the Churn, and bursts forth at the top in a vast volume of foam. On the edge of the Churn, and overhanging the sea, is Queen Margaret's Tower. The lower part of the wall nearest the sea had fallen away, and the tower itself was hanging to destruction.

There is at present on view in the Vienna Museum a small bronze statue which is supposed to be a relic from old Persian times. It represents a man astride on a kneeling bull, both fore and hind legs of the bull being quite under the body. This attitude recalls the horse and bull capitals of columns at Persepolis, and in other respects the entire group seems to belong quite to the same district and time. The figure of the man is similar to what is seen on many of the reliefs of the ruined city; there is the same kind of cap, and the abundant hair falling around the neck. The front of the head has been broken off. The arms, too, which seem to have been attached in a particular way to the figure, are gone. Both man and bull are deeply carved. The style of ornament and the stiff drapery present a striking likeness to the extant memorials of Assyrian art. Usually in old Asiatic metal-work we find unmistakable signs that gold plates were hammered on to the bronze or other metallic core; but in the present instance the evidences point out that a malachite-green patina was employed as the covering, instead of gold. What the group was intended to represent cannot be even conjectured; but it seems to be in any case a monument from the time of the Achæmenide kings.

The *Builder* says:—The governors of the Charterhouse have given notice of their intention to introduce a Bill into Parliament to enable them to sell, exchange, and dispose of, or grant building or other leases of, the remaining portion of the Charterhouse, to remove buildings and dispose of the materials, and to apply the proceeds of any sale or rents to confirm leases already granted. It is also proposed to repeal so much as may be necessary of the Act affecting the hospital passed in the third year of the reign of King Charles I. and the Act 30 and 31 Vict., cap. 8. This is, in fact, the death-knell of one of the most interesting groups of buildings in London, the Charterhouse of the old Carthusian monks, of Sutton, of the Dukes of Norfolk, of Thackeray. It is proposed to remove the charity from London, and to drive a new street through the grounds from Charterhouse Square to Clerkenwell Road. Howard House, which was formerly the residence of the Dukes of Norfolk, and the fine dining-room of the poor brethren, are proposed to be spared. The scheme has been for a long time in preparation, and the plea for the destruction of the Charterhouse is the insufficiency of the income of the charity estate.



Correspondence.

GREAT DRIFFIELD CHURCH.

[*Ante*, vol. xii., p. 230.]

It would seem to be implied from Mr. Ross's letter in the November number of the *Antiquary*, that the tomb to the Northumbrian King Alfred was in Great Driffield Church. Whether I am right or not in assuming this, the actual fact is that Little Driffield Church is the one in question. On the wall (north?) of the chancel of that building there is a plain square stone tablet, of modern date, bearing this inscription:

Within this Chancel
lies interred the body of
Alfred
King of Northumberland
who departed this life
January 10th A.D. 705
in the 26th year of his reign
Statutum est omnibus semel movi.

Little Driffield is a small and straggling village a mile and a half from Great Driffield, and its church presents a striking contrast to that of the latter town. The font and one arch at the west-end are Norman, the tower of thirteenth century date. With these exceptions the church is modern, having been rebuilt in churchwarden Gothic in the early part of the century.

THEOPHILUS PITT, H.K.C., F.C.S.

THE OPEN FIELD SYSTEM.

[*Ante*, vol. xii., pp. 143, 278.]

I am very glad to find that my notes on "The Open Field in Herefordshire" are eliciting others. I hope to recur to the subject before long, having made some interesting discoveries on various points.

With reference to Mr. Soames' letter, he is quite right in identifying the "ridges" of one district with the "lands" of another (is the term "stretches," which he also gives, in actual use?); but I think he will find that neither of them must be confused with the "furlongs," which are quite distinct.

If his *dictum* that these "ridges" or "lands" are "always narrow in the heavy soils and broad in the light soils" is the result of wide and careful observation, it is a point of great interest and importance, and, at least so far as is known to me, novel.

With Mr. Soames' remarks on the process of enclosure, I beg most heartily to agree.

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

STEELE'S "CHRISTIAN HERO."

[*Ante*, vol. xii., p. 233.]

The following notes will serve as additions to the bibliography of the *Christian Hero* given in the interesting article by Mr. Solly in last month's *Antiquary*.

1. The first edition was advertised in the *Postman* and *Postboy* newspapers for April 15 to 17, 1701, as published "This day" (April 17); "Written by Captain Richard Steel."

2. The second edition was published on July 19, 1701.

3. The fourth edition was "Printed for J. T., and sold by O. Lloyd, near the Church in the Temple. London, 12mo., 1711." Title, dedication 6 pp., preface 6 pp.—pp. 1-70.

4. The eighth edition was published by J. Tonson, 1727. Title, dedication 6 pp., preface 7 pp.—pp. 1-78.

5. The 1741 edition was "For J. and R. Tonson." Title, dedication 6 pp., preface 7 pp.—pp. 1-78.

6. Besides the edition issued by the Tonsons in 1766, there was one "For C. Scott and J. Brown," London, 12mo., 1766. Title, dedication 10 pp., preface 10 pp.—pp. 1-131. There is also a symbolical frontispiece, perhaps originally designed for another work, with an inscription on a pedestal, "The Christian's pattern, or The Imitation of Christ."

7. Phorson's Berwick edition was published in 1792.

The call for a third edition in 1710 was no doubt due to the interest excited by the publication of the *Tatler*, and the fourth and fifth editions especially, seem to have been printed in such a form that they could be bound up with the first edition of the *Tatler* in 12mo. Professor Henry Morley has a copy of the fifth edition thus bound, with the fourth volume of the *Tatler*, in the contemporary calf. The type of these editions of the *Christian Hero* is, however, a trifle smaller than that used for the *Tatler*.

The judgment pronounced on Steele, in the *Comparison between the Two Stages*, is hardly so severe as Mr. Solly represents. Many faults are noticed, but the speakers, especially Ramble and Sullen, admit that the play has many merits; and Sullen says, "'Tis a dangerous matter to talk of this play; the Town hath given it such applause."

Some particulars about the Richard Steele, M.A., who was author of *The Tradesman's Calling*, and other works, will be found in the *Autobiography of Henry Newcome, M.A.*, published by the Chetham Society. I do not think he was connected with the author of the *Christian Hero*.

GEORGE A. AITKEN.

MAIDEN LANE.

[*Ante*, vol. xii., pp. 68, 134, 183, 231, 278.]

Mr. Stahlshmidt does much less than justice to Mr. Foster's ingenious theory respecting the origin of the name "Maiden Lane;" and in suggesting that the place was not in existence 350 years ago, he entirely misses the most important point of the theory. The fact of the place being called a *lane* forms a strong argument in favour of the view that it existed long before the district was laid out in streets. That being so, Mr. Foster's suggestion is allowable, and worthy of much consideration. Mr. Foster's additional note to the effect that at Barnstaple there is a "Maiden Lane" behind a "Strand" is very curious and interesting.

Mr. Stahlshmidt's own suggestion has no kind of warrant, and belongs to a class of etymological guesses, which were once only too common, which have done an immense deal of harm, and which one would scarcely expect to find put forward in a letter dated 1885. I hope Mr. Stahlshmidt will not think me

discourteous if I say that it is not worthy of a moment's consideration; but I think it is necessary to speak strongly when such suggestions are made.

HENRY B. WHEATLEY.

PLAYDEN CHURCH.

[*Ante*, vol. xii., pp. 182, 279.]

Mr. Thomas Elliott has rather mistaken the point of my letter in your October number. I wrote concisely to save space, and so failed to make good my meaning, which was that I am doubtful whether the circle is a numeral at all.

I think it may be merely an ornament in the centre of a date (I have seen such), and that his "1" is really a "7." His "local tradition" certainly tells strongly against this theory, however, and I am loth to express any further opinion unless I can see a rubbing of the whole inscription.

J. C. L. STAHLSCHMIDT.

FOOTBALL.

[*Ante*, vol. xii., p. 249.]

Mr. Hazlitt may be glad to know that there are many allusions to this much earlier than 1609. He will find them in many books dealing with mediæval London life.

It was one of the most popular games in the city in the middle ages, and regulations relating to it are found at intervals in the Corporation archives. At one time the authorities forbade it altogether, the why will be found, I think, in Riley's *Memorials of London Life*.

In the early part of the fifteenth century there was a "Guild of the Football Players," and they held their meetings at Brewers' Hall. I found it recorded in a curious old MS. book belonging to the Brewers' Company a year or two ago.

J. C. L. STAHLSCHMIDT.

CANTERBURY HOUSES.

[*Ante*, vol. xii., p. 274.]

The record by Sorbière of Canterbury in 1663 is the more interesting, as probably about a hundred of these houses still exist. I would recommend any antiquary (or, indeed, I may add architect, desirous of studying old English house-architecture) to visit Canterbury. It is not in the better modern thoroughfares, but in the lanes and by-ways, that one comes on these beautiful old houses, suggestive of much skill in developing grace and elegance with simple and inexpensive materials. The houses of Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Worcester, and Chester are sufficiently known; but I believe the Canterbury houses, lying in back parts of the city, have scarcely had justice done to them. A photographer might well find hundreds of interesting studies of mediæval English architecture in our metropolitical city. Tourists are too often satisfied with the Cathedrals, St. Augustine's, and the Castle, and do not search for the quaint picturesque bits still visible in the back-lanes of the city, which bring before us vividly the England of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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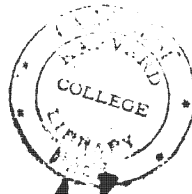
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FEBRUARY, 1886.

Stories of Noodledom.

By W. A. CLOUSTON.

"Excellent! Why, this is the best fooling when all is done."—*Twelfth Night*.

EVERY one of our well-worn popular jests has its history, no doubt, though they cannot all be traced to their original sources. Sam Foote, Harry Erskine, Sydney Smith, and other modern wits have been credited with jokes which are not only found in early English jest-books, but are as old as the days of Hierocles, and how much older we have no means of ascertaining in most cases. It has been justly remarked by Mr. W. R. S. Ralston—one of the best living authorities on the genealogy of popular tales—that "an unfamiliar joke is rarely met with in the lower strata of fiction;" and it may be truly said of the compilers of jest-books, from *The Hundred Mery Talys* to the latest catch-penny collection of "wit and humour," that they have done little more than "twist the same rope again and again," as old Burton hath it, "and make new books as apothecaries make new mixtures, by pouring out of one vessel into another."

A considerable proportion of our most familiar jests, which are commonly believed to be of genuine English origin—even "racy of the soil"—have come to us through the Greek and Roman writers of antiquity, or have been imported from the East. Buddhist literature, which consists largely of tales and apologies, is peculiarly rich in humorous narratives, and especially in stories of simpletons, or noodles, in which may be found the germs of similar jests that have long been

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common to all Europe, from Italy to Iceland, from Russia to Portugal. Characters and circumstances may be more or less modified according to the localities in which they have become naturalized, but the fundamental outlines are identical everywhere. And so we find a Persian witticism as old at least as the thirteenth century reappear—*mutatis mutandis*—in the sixteenth as a "merry jest" of an Englishman. A story can only become popular by being rendered "intelligible to the meanest capacity;" and to this end it must be dressed up in local costume: a monk, a priest, a laird, or a fool being substituted for the pedant of Hierocles, or the dervish and Brāhman of Asiatic fiction.

The oldest extant collection of noodle-stories is the *'Aorisa*, or *facetiae*, of the philosopher Hierocles of Alexandria, who flourished in the fifth century of our era. If these jests were really written by Hierocles, he was not the inventor of them, but simply collected and reduced to writing what had been orally current before his time, since a number of them are found in the works of much earlier writers. According to some modern scholars, the work is not the composition of the Alexandrian sage, and if this be so, his name has been employed by the original compiler, whoever he was, from the same motive that suggested to later jest-book makers the names of Archie Armstrong and Joe Miller as sponsors for collections of *facetiae*, albeit those worthies had no more a hand in their composition than they had in that of the Korán.

Of the so-called *facetiae* of Hierocles, twenty-eight are appended to the Greek texts of his *Commentary on Pythagoras' Golden Verses and Fragments of his other Writings*, edited, with Latin translations, by Needham, and published at Cambridge in 1709. The best and fullest collection is that edited by Professor Eberhard in a tract entitled *Philogelos Hieroclis et Philagrii Facetiæ*, published at Berlin in 1869. And here may be recognised many a "Joe Miller," as well as the originals of not a few "American" jokes—such as that of the pedant whose horse died just as it had been taught to live without eating; and that of another, who, having a house to sell, carried about a stone as a specimen of it. The jest in Taylor's *Wit and Mirth*—a collection that owes compari-

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tively little to preceding books of its kind—of the Frenchman who was told that he gaped in his sleep, and lay awake to see whether this was true, may be compared with that of the pedant in Hierocles who shut his eyes and stood before a mirror to see how he looked when he slept.* Another went on board a ferry-boat on horseback because he was in a hurry; and he has his counterpart in the Irishman who asked the man in charge of a canal-boat to give him a "lift" on his way, and being told he might lead the trace-horse, willingly consented thus to "work his passage." And akin to both is the story of the Irishman who paced the deck of a steamboat, crossing from Belfast to Greenock, and on being asked for his fare, excused himself because he had "walked all the way."

Some of the jests of Hierocles seem to hover between wit and droll stupidity—such as that of the pedant who was told by a friend that he had seen and spoken to him in a dream, and politely replied, "By the gods, I was so busy, I did not hear you;" or that of another, who met a doctor and said to him: "Excuse me, and don't be angry that I have not been sick;" or that of another, who hid himself behind a wall on seeing a doctor approach, and when his friends asked the reason, he said, "I have not been ill for a long time, and therefore I blush to be in the presence of a medical man;" or that of the man whose friend complained that the slave he bought of him had died, and he rejoined, "I assure you, while he lived with me he never played such a trick." This last is told, in a different form,

* This also occurs in *Les Contes Facetieux du Sieur Gaulard*, composed by Etienne Tabourot, who was born at Dijon in 1549, and died in 1590. From a manuscript translation, entitled, *Bigarrures; or, The Pleasant and Witlesse and Simple Speeches of the Lord Gaulard of Burgundy*, purporting to be made by J. B., of Charterhouse, probably about the year 1660, in the possession of Mr. Frederick William Cogens, London, fifty copies, with a preface by A. S., were printed for private circulation at Glasgow in 1884, one of which is in the Mitchell Public Library, Glasgow. The jest is thus related in this curious little work:

"His cousine Dantressessa reproved him one day that she had found him sleeping in an ill posture with his Mouth open. To order which for the tyme to come, he Commanded his Seruant to hang a looking glasse vpon the Curtaine at his Beds feet, that he might henceforth see if he had a good posture in his sleep."

of an Irishman who applied to a farmer for work. "I'll have nothing to do with you," said the farmer; "for the last five men I had were your countrymen, and they all died on my hands." Quoth Pat, "Sure, sir, I can bring you characters from half-a-dozen jintlemen I have worked for, that I never did such a thing."*

The typical noodle of the Turks is called the Khoja Nasr ed-Dîn Efendi,† who is credited with jests and fooleries which are current from China to Norway. Nothing seems to be known regarding the authorship of the Ottoman book of facetiæ in which the "Khoja" is the chief actor. It seems probable that he was a real personage—some Turkish "character" noted in his day, perhaps, for a curious combination of wit and stupidity. That the work was originally compiled before gunpowder was generally employed by the Turks, appears from the circumstance that he is often represented as using a bow and arrows; indeed, he is spoken of as contemporary with the Emperor Timûr, or Tamerlane. To the jokes which tradition may have preserved regarding him, others have probably been added from time to time, derived from Persian and Arabic sources, some of which are found in old Indian story-books. Occasionally he is credited with witty sayings—which were said ages before his day—but generally he is held up as an arrant noodle. For instance: One day the Khoja's wife said to him, "Buy me a kerchief of Yemen silk." The Khoja stretched out his arms sideways from his shoulders, and said, "As large as that?" And on his wife replying in the affirmative, he set off in hot haste to the bazaar, with his arms still outstretched, and meeting a man on his way, he bawled to him, "Look where you are going, man, or you will make me lose my measure!" One day a slave of the Khoja ran away. "Never mind," quoth the philosopher; "he has done no one an injury but himself, for I

* The same jest occurs in the *Bigarrures*, etc., of M. Gaulard: "Speaking of one of his Horses which broake his Neck at the descent of a Rock, he said, Truly it was one of the handsomest and best Curtalls in all the Country; he neuer shewed me such a trick before in all his life."

† Nasr ed-Dîn signifies "Victory of the Faith." Khoja and Efendi are titles of respect and honour, and seem bestowed on the noodle in mockery. Khoja is nowadays applied to a schoolmaster.

meant to give him his freedom ; but now he is my slave wherever he may be." This last is not remotely allied to the story, in Hierocles, of the pedant who, when likely to be shipwrecked, called for writing materials to make his will, and seeing his slaves alarmed [at their danger] bade them not be sad, for he meant to set them free—rather poor consolation in their circumstances.

Like the Irishman in our jest-books, the Khoja could not tell his right hand from his left in the dark ; and the Ettrick Shepherd's story of the "Two Highlanders and the Boar" has also its Turkish parallel: The Khoja and a friend went one morning to the den of a wolf to take away her cubs. Finding the wolf was abroad, the Khoja's friend went into the cave, while he remained outside to watch. Presently the wolf came up and rushed into her den, but the Khoja caught her by the tail before she had got more than halfway in, and held by it with all his might. The wolf, struggling to free herself, cast up a cloud of dust in the den, which blinded the man inside, who called out, "Hey, Khoja ! what does all this dust mean?" "If the wolf's tail break, you will know what it means," quoth the Khoja.

One night the same worthy went to the well, and seeing the moon reflected in the water, concluded that it had fallen into the well, and resolved to draw it out ; so he lowered the rope, and the hook at the end of it caught between two stones, upon which the Khoja, believing he had hooked the moon, pulled so hard that the rope snapped, and he fell on his back ; then, seeing the moon in the sky, he joyfully exclaimed : "Praise be to Allah ! I am sorely bruised, but the moon has got back into her proper place again." This is one of a wide cycle of stories in which the moon is supposed by a party of blockheads to be "a fine cheese." In the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsus, a Spanish Jew, baptized in 1106, the 22nd tale is of a wolf that was persuaded by a fox to descend into a well to fetch up the "cheese." Alfonsus probably had it from the Talmud, where a fox plays a similar trick on a bear. It is also one of the *fabliaux* of the trouvères of Northern France. And in our modern jest-books it is related of a party of Irish labourers returning home from work,

who form a chain, one hanging by another's legs until the lowest is within reach of the "green cheese," when the man at the top lets go his hold of the parapet of the bridge in order to "spit on his hands," and they are, of course, all soused in the river. In this form the story was, perhaps, first told in the *Sackefull of Newes*, a jest-book of the 16th century ; but in place of a "cheese" it is the cap of a youth, that had been thrown into the Thames by his companions. This idea is to be traced through an Indian tale of the Fools and the Bull of Siva, to what is probably the original, one of the *Jātakas*, or Buddhist Birth-Stories, of the "Talkative Tortoise," which reappears in most of the Eastern versions of the "Fables of Bidpai," or Pilpay: the Sanskrit *Panchatantra* (Five Chapters), and the *Hitopadesa* (Friendly Counsel) ; the Arabic and Syriac *Kallā wa Dimna* ; the Persian *Anvár-i Suhayli* (Lights of Canopus), etc. The tortoise is being carried through the air by its friends, a pair of swans, who hold a stick in their bills, which is grasped in the middle by the tortoise ; and hearing the people below exclaim at such a strange sight, the tortoise opens its mouth to chide them, and falls to the ground. A similar incident is found in Coelho's *Contos Portuguezes*, the characters being a heron and a fox, and there exist many other analogues.

Few jests, I dare say, are more familiar than that of the gentleman who was writing a letter in a coffee-house, and being annoyed by an Irishman looking over his shoulder while he wrote, concluded his letter thus : "I have other things to tell you of, but an ill-bred fellow is reading every word I write;" upon which the Irishman said : "By my sowl, sorr, I haven't read a word." This is a story of very respectable antiquity, being found in the *Baháristán* of the Persian poet, Jámí, fifteenth century, and it was, doubtless, not quite new in his time.

That some of the classical jests of antiquity migrated to Persia and India is not improbable. A story is told in a Persian collection of a poor wrestler who had lived all his life in the country, and, thinking to better his condition, went to a great city, where, being confused at seeing the vast crowds of people in the streets, he tied a pumpkin to one of

his legs in order that he should *know* himself. A young fellow observing the simpleton thus decorated, made up to him, and easily gained his confidence so far as to induce him to pass the night at his lodging. After the wittol was sound asleep the wag got up, and taking the pumpkin off, fastened it to his own leg. In the morning, when the wrestler awoke and discovered the pumpkin on the leg of his host, he was utterly confounded, and calling to him, said: "I am surely not myself, but somebody else. If I am myself, why is the pumpkin on your leg? If you are yourself, why is the pumpkin not on my leg?" There is a very similar story in Hierocles to this effect: A pedant, a bald man, and a barber, making a journey together, agreed to watch in turn during the night. The barber's watch was the first. He propped up the sleeping pedant, and shaved his head. At the end of his watch the barber roused the pedant, who, on feeling his bare head, cried out, "What a rascal is this barber! He has roused the bald man instead of me!" A variant of this is current in Scotland: There happened to be at an inn in Perth, among others, a negro and a Highlander, fresh from the heathery hills. During the night some wag blackened the Highlander's face while he slept, and on his being roused in the morning, perceiving the reflection of his face in the mirror, he indignantly said, "Tuts! tuts! the stupid body has waukened the wrang man!"—And in one of Sir George Dasent's *Norse Tales*, a butcher having made a goody drunk with brandy, strips off her clothes and tars and feathers her. When she awakes she says to herself, "Is this me, or is it not me? I'll go home, and if the dog barks at me, I can't be myself, but some strange bird!"

Although stories of simpletons form no small portion of the jests which are bandied about among the common people, the only English collection is the *Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham*, "gathered together by A. B.," that is, Andrew Borde, a physician to Henry VIII., who is also credited with the *Jests of Scogin*. The stories comprised in this famous little work are for the most part common to all the countries of Europe, and their prototypes are found in the oldest Buddhist writings. The popularity of these tales continued down to the first quarter of

the present century: the pedlar's store of chap-books was never without copies when he began his rounds; and much harmless mirth they must have caused at many a cottage fireside in the long and dark winter evenings. Those old chap-books have been thumbed almost out of existence; and the very few copies still extant are among the best-prized treasures of the book-collector.* The humour of some of the tales of the Men of Gotham is not very brilliant, yet the collection is remarkably free from objectionable jests; indeed, there is but one, the thirteenth, which can be considered as *contra bonos mores* in these "immodestly modest days," and it has evidently been introduced in order to increase the bulk of the book, since it is not peculiarly of the Gothamite class: A man defies his wife to cuckold him; she accepts the challenge; and while he prevents the beer from running out of the barrel till she fetches the spigot, she accomplishes her purpose. This is rather in the style of the *Decameron* tales; so, too, is that of the man of Gotham (and it might have been a man of any other place) who cut off the maid's hair instead of his wife's, which, with the exception of the incident of cutting off the horse's tail, is in fact taken from Boccaccio, mediately or immediately.

The humour of the first tale is not excelled, and perhaps is hardly equalled, by any that follow: Two men of Gotham, one going to Notts to buy sheep, the other coming from there, both meet at Notts Bridge. "Whither going? I've come from Notts." The other said he was going there to buy sheep. "Which way will you bring them home?" "Over the bridge." "By Robin Hood, but thou shan't!" "By Maid Marian, but I will!" Then they fall to blows, when up comes another Gothamite, with a sack of meal on his horse. On learning the cause of their quarrel, he gets one of them to help the sack on to his shoulder, and then pours all the meal into the river. "How much meal," he asks them, "is there in my sack?" They

* The Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham are reprinted in the Third Series of *Shakspeare Jest-Books*, carefully edited, with notes, by Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt (London, 1864)—a collection of great importance to the student of the history of popular tales and fictions; also in *Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century*, by Mr. John Ashton, London, 1882.

reply, "None." Then quoth he, "Even as much wit is there in your two heads."

Mr. J. Halliwell-Phillipps, in his *Notices of Popular English Histories*, printed for the Percy Society, remarks that allusions to these tales of the Men of Gotham are frequent in our literature. Wither, he points out, in his *Abuses*, page 80, says :

And he that tries to doe it might have bin
One of the crew that hedged the cuckoo in.

The exploit here referred to is as follows : On a time the Men of Gotham would have pinned in the Cuckoo, whereby she should sing all the year ; and in the midst of the town they made a hedge round in compass, and they had got a Cuckoo, and had put her into it, and said : "Sing here all the year, and thou shalt lack neither meat nor drink." The Cuckoo, as soon as she perceived herself encompassed within the hedge, flew away. "A vengeance on her!" said they ; "we made not our hedge high enough."

But much earlier than the time of Wither, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps observes, these tales had attained public favour. In *Philotimus*, 1583, the Men of Gotham are remembered as having "tied their rentes in a purse about an hare's necke, and bad her to carrie it to their landlord." This is the story : On a time the Men of Gotham had forgotten to pay their rent to their landlord. The one said to the other, "To-morrow is our pay-day, and what remedy shall we find to send our money to our lord?" The one said, "This day I have taken a quick [*i.e.*, live] hare, and he shall carry it, for he is light of foot." "Be it so," said all ; "he shall have a letter and a purse to put in our money, and we shall direct him the ready way." And when the letters were written, and the money put in a purse, they did tie them about the hare's neck, saying, "First, thou must go to Loughborough, and then to Leicester, and at Newark there is our lord ; and commend us to him, and there is his duty [*i.e.*, due]." The hare, as soon as he was out of their hands, he did run a clean contrary way. Some cried to him, saying, "Thou must go to Loughborough first." Some said, "Let the hare alone ; he can tell a nearer way than the best of us all do : let him go." Another said, "It is a noble hare ; let her alone : she will not keep the highway for fear of the

dogs." That was how the Men of Gotham paid their rents.

Our well-known tale of the Irishman who attempted to count the party to which he belonged, and always omitted to include himself, does not necessarily find its original in Andrew Borde's collection, where it is thus related : On a certain day there were twelve Men of Gotham that went to fish, and some stood on dry land ; and in going home, one said to the other, "We have ventured wonderfully in wading ; I pray God that none of us come home and be drowned." "Nay, marry," said one to the other, "let us see that, for there did twelve of us come out." Then they told [*i.e.*, counted] themselves, and everyone told eleven. Said the one to the other, "There is one of us drowned." They went back to the brook where they had been fishing, and sought up and down for him that was wanting, making great lamentation. A courtier, coming by, asked what they sought for, and why they were so sorrowful. "Oh," said they, "this day we went to fish in the brook ; twelve of us came out together, and one is drowned." Said the courtier, "Tell how many there be of you." One of them said, "Eleven," and he did not tell [*i.e.*, count] himself. "Well," said the courtier, "what will you give me if I find the twelfth man?" "Sir," said they, "all the money we have got." "Give me the money," said the courtier, and began with the first, and gave him a stroke over the shoulder with his whip, which made him groan, saying, "Here is one," and so served them all, and they all groaned at the matter. When he came to the last he paid him well, saying, "Here is the twelfth man." "God's blessing on thy heart," said they, "for thus finding our dear brother."

In the same form this droll story is current in Russia and the West Highlands of Scotland.* It also occurs in the *Gooroo Paramarian*—a very amusing work, written in the Tamil language by Beschi, a learned Italian, of the Jesuit Order, who was missionary in India from 1700 till his death in 1742—with this additional incident : While the gooroo (spiritual teacher) and his disciples are congratulating themselves on their lucky escape

* Ralston's *Russian Folk Tales*, Introd., p. 54 ; and Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. ii., p. 376.

from drowning in crossing the river, an old woman comes up, and they acquaint her of their late adventure, when she gravely tells them that in her young days it was the practice of herself and her companions, when they had a doubt of their complete number being present, to gather some of the cattle-droppings on the commons, knead them into a cake, and each one having made a mark in it with her nose, the marks were then counted. The gooroo and his promising disciples resolve to adopt this excellent plan in future.

It is possible that Father Beschi may have simply reproduced in this work stories which he had heard in Europe; but the Abbé Dubois states that they exist in Indian countries where Beschi's name is unknown.*

A variant of the story of the twelve Gothamite fishers is found in Powell and Magnusson's *Legends of Iceland* (Second Series, pp. 625-6), in which the Three Brothers of Bakki—the typical noodles of Iceland—come to one of the hot springs which are so common in that volcanic island, and taking off their boots and stockings, put their feet into the water, and sit down to bathe them. But when they would rise up they found they could not distinguish their own feet; and so they continued to sit, in a state of great perplexity, until a traveller approached, whom they told of their difficulty, when he gives each of the wittols a stroke with his staff on the feet, and thus each was enabled to know his own, for which piece of service they kindly thanked their benefactor. This version reappears, in a slightly different form, in Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. ii., pp. 386-7.

The intercourse of the Norsemen in former times with the Hebrides sufficiently explains the resemblance between many of the Gaelic and Norse tales. Here is another of the Gothamite exploits, which is also known in different Gaelic forms: A man went to market at Notts to sell cheese, and as he was going down the hill to Notts bridge one of them fell out of his sack. "Ah," cried he, "can you run to market alone? Then will I send one after the other of you—I charge

* Dubois gives a French rendering of the *Gooroo Paramartan* among the "Contes Divers" appended to his selections from the *Panchatantra*; and the work has also been translated into English by Babington, and published by the Oriental Translation Fund.

you all, meet me at the market-place." When he gets there and cannot find his cheese, he asks his neighbours if they had seen them; and on their replying that they had not, "Then," quoth he, "they must have gone on to York;" and so he hires a horse and goes after them. In a Gaelic version, when the noodle returns home, after hanging about the market all day in expectation of seeing his cheese come trundling in, and tells his wife of the miscarriage of his wares, she hastens to the bottom of the hill and finds them all safe enough. In another version a man is bringing home his wife's spinning-wheel from the turner's, and on the way the wind putting the wheel in motion, he sets it down and, bidding it go home, takes a short cut over the hills. In a third Gaelic variant, instead of cheese it is an old woman with a basket of balls of worsted thread. And these may all be compared with a story current among the Kabáíl, or tribesmen, of Northern Africa (according to M. Rivière's French collection), of a youth whose mother gave him a hundred reals, and he went to market to buy a mule. Meeting a man with a water-melon for sale, he bought it for his hundred reals, and then asked the man if its young would be as green as itself, and on his replying that doubtless it would be green, went off well pleased with his bargain. Coming to a slope in the road, he let the melon roll down before him; it burst and frightened a hare, which he fancied had come out of the melon; so he cried to the hare, "Go to my house!" and when he got home he was surprised to find the "young one" was not there.

It was a man of Gotham who, to save his horse from too heavy a burden, put two bushels of corn on his own back, and then mounted his horse and rode home;* and it was a party of his fellow-townsmen who at-

* This had been previously told of a man of Norfolk in a Latin poem, probably of the twelfth century, entitled, *Descriptio Norfolciensium*; and in later times it reappeared in our jest-books, where it is related of an Irish exciseman with a keg of smuggled whisky. The jest also occurs in the *Bigarrures*, etc., of M. Gaulard: "Seeing one day his Mule charged with a verie great Portmantle, [he] said to his goome that was vpon the back of the Mule, thou lasie fellowe, hast thou no pitie vpon that poore Beast? Take that Portmantle vpon thine owne shoulders to ease the poore Beast."

tempted to drown an eel that had eaten all their red herrings and salt-fish, which they had put in a pond against Lent, an exploit which is reproduced, with little variation, in Campbell's Gaelic Tales (vol. ii., p. 377).

The witless devices of the Men of Gotham are paralleled in the *Avadānas*, or Indian (Buddhist) tales and apologues, which have been translated from the Chinese into French by M. Stas. Julien; in the great Sanskrit story-book, entitled *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Ocean of the Streams of Narrative; and especially in the *Jātakas*, or Buddhist Birth-Stories, which date from two centuries before our era, and from which the Brāhmans, after the fall of Buddhism in India, derived the groundwork of many of their fictions. Thus we are told in the *Jātakas* (No. 44) of a party of simpletons who, being pestered by mosquitoes when at their work in the forest, said to each other, "Let us take bows and other weapons, and make war upon the mosquitoes, till we have shot dead or cut to pieces every one." So off they went; but in trying to shoot the mosquitoes, they only shot, struck, and injured each other. In the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, we read that certain villagers having been required to furnish the king with a quantity of dates, and finding a palm-tree that had tumbled down of itself, it occurred to them that the easiest plan would be to cut down all the date-palms in their village, which they did accordingly; and after gathering the whole crop of dates, they raised up the trees and planted them in the ground, thinking they would grow again. And surely the Men of Gotham never excelled this exploit of the Indian wittols: One of the camels of a merchant having broken down on a journey, before going off to buy another animal he gave his servants strict charge, should it rain, to take care that the leather of his trunks did not get wet. While he was absent rain came on, and the servants, after laying their jobbernowls together, hit upon a plan of preserving the leather of the trunks from being wet, by taking out all the clothes and wrapping the trunks carefully in them. It was an Indian Gothamite who had a cow that yielded a hundred *palas* of milk every day; and in order to have a sufficient supply for an approaching festival, he did not milk the cow for a whole month, and then found that her

milk had failed. Another of the same kidney took some aloes-wood to a certain island for sale, and finding no purchasers, and that charcoal was in great demand, he burnt his aloes-wood, and reducing it to charcoal, sold it for the usual price of that article, and returning home boasted of his cleverness in so doing. But still more ingenious was the device of the mercantile simpleton who took a quantity of cotton to market, but no one would buy it because it had not been properly cleaned: seeing a goldsmith purifying gold by heating it, he concluded the same process would also clean his cotton, so he threw it all into the fire and it was consumed to ashes. In the 47th of the *Jātakas*, it is related that a youth, in charge of a liquor-shop, observing the customers eating salt and juggery with their wine, concluded that the liquor was too "fresh," and so he threw a measure of salt into the wine-jar, to the intense disgust of the customers, when he next supplied them.

Truly says the Hindoo sage, "association with fools brings prosperity to no man." Thus in a Canarese story-book, entitled *Kathā Manjari*, we read of a young man who asked a foolish friend to accompany him to the house of his *fiancée*, but cautioned him not to say a word about his clothes, which were all borrowed, except the turban. When they were sat down, the master of the house asked the noodle if he was quite well, and he replied, "Your intended son-in-law has nothing of his own except his turban, and he bade me not to mention this." In the same collection it is related that a foolish fellow travelled with a shopkeeper, and when it became dark the fool lay down in the road to sleep, but the shopkeeper lay in a hollow tree. Some thieves coming along the road, one of them stumbled over the noodle's legs, and cried out that he had struck his foot against a log of wood. On hearing this the noodle indignantly exclaimed, "Go away! go away! Is there a knot, well tied, containing five annas, in the loins of a *plank* in your house?" The thieves then seized him and took his money. As they were moving away, they asked him if the money was good or bad. "Ha! ha! is it of my money you speak in that way, and want to know if it is good or bad? Look! there is a shopkeeper

in the hollow of that tree: show it to him." Then the thieves went up to the shopkeeper and despoiled him of two hundred pagodas.

We have all heard the story of the Irishman who gave his hens hot water to drink in order that they should lay boiled eggs; it was a Norwegian cousin of his that sowed a quantity of salt in her field, because the parson had said in his sermon that "As a man sows, even so shall he reap;" and one of his Indian kin who sowed roasted sesame seed, an incident which is also found in Coelho's *Contos Portuguezes*, p. 112, and is related of Ino in Greek mythology.

There is a wide cycle of stories in which a person is granted by a fairy or saint the accomplishment of *three wishes*, the result being invariably that he is no better than he was before he had the boon granted. Perhaps the best known version in this country is that of the woman whose first wish was that she had three yards of black pudding, and straightway it appeared on the table; her husband, enraged at her folly, wished the pudding would stick to her nose; and the third wish was employed in having it removed. Prior's "Ladle" is a variant of this favourite nursery tale; and the oldest form of it is found in the Eastern versions of the Book of Sindibád (it does not occur in the Western group, the *Seven Wise Masters*), but though highly humorous, it is "not suitable for general perusal."

One of the characteristics of the noodle—in story-books, at all events—is his following instructions quite irrespective of circumstances, and tales which turn upon this have a striking family likeness wherever they are found. Let us take, as a specimen, "The Adventures of the Simple Son," from M. Leger's *Contes Populaires Slaves*: The booby's mother tells him one fine day that he should go out into the world, mix among folk, and get himself sharpened—rub himself up a bit. So off he goes to the village, and seeing two men threshing pease, he rubs himself first against one of them, and then against the other; and after the men had in vain told him to desist, they give him a good drubbing. On his return home he acquaints his mother of his mishap, and she tells him that he should have said to the men, "God save you, good people. Do you wish me to

help you to thresh?" and then they would probably have given him some pease for his trouble. Next day he again goes to the village, and meeting a funeral procession, he cries, "God save you, friends. Do you wish me to help you to thresh?" and gets another thrashing for this ill-timed speech. With aching bones he reaches home, exclaiming that they had beaten him and torn out his beard. His mother says he had done wrong; what he should have said was, "May God have pity on you!" When he goes to the village next time he meets a wedding-party, and dropping on his knees, he began to weep, and cry, "May God have pity on you!" upon which the wedding-guests set on him and beat him so that he could scarcely crawl home. His mother, on hearing his account of this new misfortune, told him that he should rather have danced and sung for joy, and then they might have given him food and drink. It was some days before his ribs were well again; but once more he sets off to the village, this time taking his bagpipe under his arm. The shed of an artisan happened to be on fire, which when the noodle perceived, he began to play on his pipe and dance and caper about in great glee, for which he was rewarded as on former occasions. His mother told him now that she feared he was a downright blockhead; he should have carried water, like other folks, to put out the fire. Next time he passes through the village, he sees a man at the corner of a street roasting a young pig, so he fetches water, and dashing it on the man's fire, puts it out, and gets another thrashing for his well-meant service. After this his mother kept him at home, where he is still, for aught I know to the contrary.

Strange to say, there are noodles even among grave and reverend judges—if all tales be true—and their decisions are sometimes passing wonderful. There is the well-known instance wherein the ass of an Indian washerman having strayed one day into a Bráhmán's garden, was playing havoc among the vegetables, when it was observed by the Bráhmán's wife, who chased it with a bamboo stick until it fell into a ditch and broke one of its hoofs. The washerman coming up, and seeing the injury done to his ass, beat the Bráhmán's wife so severely that she lost her expected

child. The Bráhmaṇ was then sued by the washerman for the damage done to his ass, and the washerman was sued by the Bráhmaṇ for having caused his wife's illness. After hearing both parties, the sapient judge gave a decree, which perhaps we had better not quote in these pages, though it may be useful to note that it was so disastrous in its nature that the Bráhmaṇ immediately went away and hanged himself. A version of this story will be found in the *Folk-Lore Journal*, vol. iii., p. 340.

Many other diverting stories of noodles might be cited, especially such as belong to the cycle in which a man goes abroad in search of three greater fools than those of his own household, and meets with some strange adventures. *Sed abunda fabulatur.*



The Black Assize at Oxford in 1577.

BY FREDERICK POLLARD, M.D.

UNTIL about a hundred years ago, when the labours of John Howard were beginning to bear fruit, and reforms in the management of our prisons were at last seriously occupying the attention of the legislature, the condition of the gaols of this country was a disgrace to a civilized community. The old castles and other buildings employed were almost without exception wholly unsuited for their purpose, and provided neither for security, health, nor decency. The gaolers were not salaried officers, but lived by extortions practised upon their miserable captives. There was no official inspection of prisons, and the supervision of them by the magistrates was so imperfect that prisoners were often robbed and tortured, and sometimes even murdered, by avaricious or vindictive gaolers. The supply of food was, as a rule, grossly inadequate, so that semi-starvation was the usual accompaniment of prison life. Day and night the unhappy captives were herded together in dark, unventilated, filthy dens, and here they passed their time in idleness, destitution, and rags. Such was the unhealthy condition of the gaols that fevers were almost always prevalent

in them, and especially typhus, which was commonly called "gaol-fever," so that to be committed to prison even for debt was often practically to receive sentence of death. The public, however, troubled themselves very little about the condition of the prisoners, and we should probably have known hardly anything of the prevalence of "gaol-fever" among them, if it had not happened from time to time that the diseases from which the prisoners were suffering spread in a most alarming and conspicuous manner among the general population. These epidemics occurred especially at the times at which the accused were brought forth from their dungeons for trial, and they spared neither judges nor jury, barristers nor spectators.

The assizes at which such outbreaks of fever took place acquired the name of "Black Assizes," and there are several of them on record, the first occurring in 1522, and the last in 1750. The most celebrated, and in many respects the most interesting of these "Black Assizes," took place at Oxford, in the year 1577. It is briefly alluded to by Raphael Holinshed, in his *Historie of England*, published in 1587, and by the various chroniclers of the seventeenth century. But a more elaborate and detailed description is given by the well-known antiquary, Anthony Wood, in his great work on the *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, published in 1684. Mr. Wood drew much of his information regarding the epidemic from a very curious entry in the *Register* of Merton College, which was made while the fever was still raging; but some of the details he seems to have obtained from other sources.* Moreover, there is a letter extant which was written about the same time by an Oxford student to a well-known clergyman, the Rev. Bernard Gilpin, and was published in the biography of the latter gentleman.† With the help of these different accounts, I shall endeavour to present to my readers a brief description of the events of this memorable "Black Assize," and of the terrible epidemic which followed it.

It appears that a certain bookseller, named

* The Merton College document is given at length in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1758, at p. 263.

† *The Life of Bernard Gilpin*. By William Gilpin, M.A., of Queen's College, Oxford, 2nd edition, London, 1753.

Rowland Jencks, was living in Oxford about this time, and had given the authorities of the University a good deal of trouble. He was a Roman Catholic, and a Radical, and he seems to have been in the habit of speaking his mind very freely concerning the "powers that be," both civil and ecclesiastical.

Jencks was a "privileged" bookseller—that is to say, he was in some way recognised by

interposed, and caused him to be arrested. He was sent to London in May, 1577, to be examined by the Chancellor of the University and the Queen's Council. After examination he was sent back to Oxford, committed to prison, and ordered to be brought to trial at the ensuing assizes.

At this time both the prison and the Assize Court were situated within the walls of Oxford

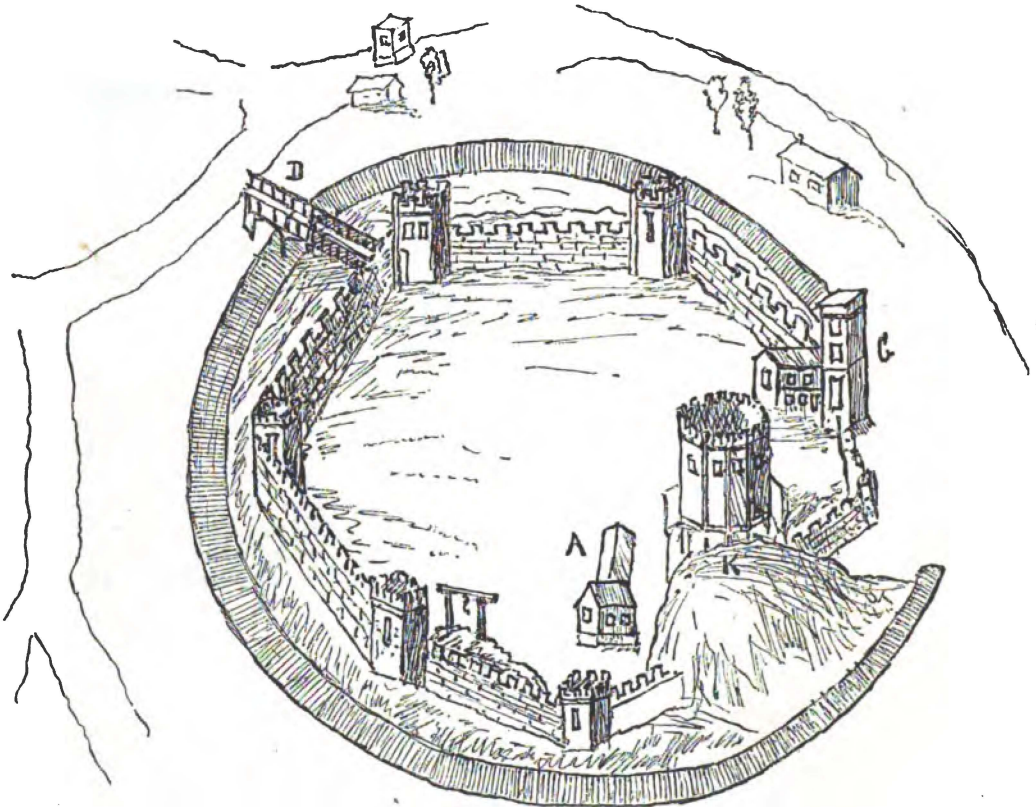


FIG. 1.—RALPH AGAS'S VIEW OF OXFORD CASTLE; DRAWN IN 1538; FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1578.

A. ASSIZE COURT. K. KEEP. G. ST. GEORGE'S TOWER AND CHURCH. D. DRAWBRIDGE. (After *King*, p. 18.)

the University, and could claim certain privileges from it. On the other hand, this relationship also gave the University a certain authority over Jencks, and accordingly, after this "saucy and foul-mouthed bookseller" had for a considerable time continued to utter his "scandalous words against his Princess, the Commonwealth, and the Established Religion," the University authorities at length

Castle. The accompanying sketch is copied from a bird's-eye view of the Castle, which is given in *King's Vestiges*,* but which is stated to have been originally published by Ralph Agas in 1578, the year after the "Black Assize."

It will be observed that the Castle consisted

* *Vestiges of Oxford Castle*. By Edward King, F.R.S. and F.A.S., London, 1799, folio.

of seven towers, six square and one multangular, connected by a high wall, which was almost entirely surrounded by a moat. The entrance was by a drawbridge (D), and through one of the square towers. The multangular tower was on the top of an artificial mound, and was called the keep (K). The tower to the west of the keep was called St. George's Tower (G), and is still in existence. It was used as the county prison, and the building projecting from it was St. George's

the only one remaining at that time, and also the mound with ruins of the multangular tower, formerly known as the keep. The accompanying sketch is copied from this latter portion of Hearne's plate, but the rest of the picture, showing St. George's Tower, is not included. To the right of the remains of the keep are seen some ruins which are thus described: "Remains of the house in which the assizes were formerly held, until, on account of the sudden and fatal pestilence, it

CONSPICUUS RECENS CASTRI etc.

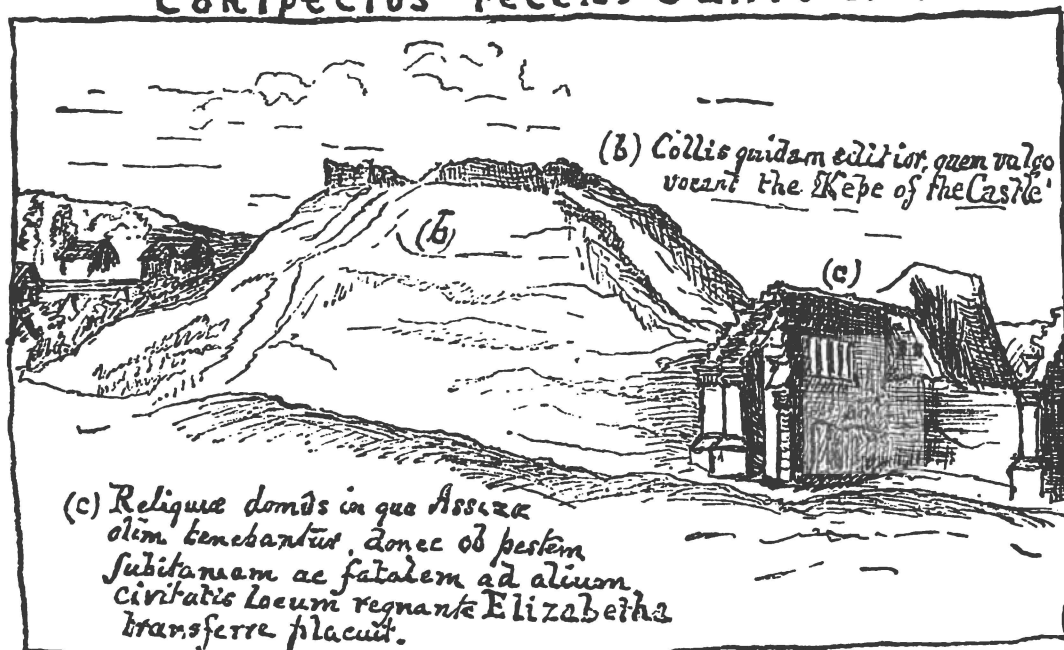


FIG. 2.—RUINS OF OXFORD CASTLE.

B. HILL ON WHICH THE KEEP STOOD. C. REMAINS OF OLD ASSIZE COURT. THE REST OF THE PLATE, SHOWING ST. GEORGE'S TOWER, ETC., IS OMITTED. (*Guilielmus Neubrigensis*, p. lxxxviii.)

Church. The Assize Court appears to have been the small building (A) in the yard of the Castle, and to the east of the keep; while very near it was an eminence with a gallows on it.

Another view of the Castle, taken nearly two centuries later, is given in Hearne's preface to the *History of William of Newbury*.^{*} This plate shows St. George's Tower,

was thought fit, in the reign of Elizabeth, to remove them to another part of the city."

But to return to our narrative. The summer assizes at Oxford, in 1577, opened on the 4th of July, the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Robert Bell, being the presiding judge. Nothing strange or unusual occurred until the 6th, when Jencks was brought into court. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to lose his ears. Immediately after judgment was pronounced, an extremely offensive smell, or suffocating vapour, seems to have been per-

^{*} *Guilielmi Neubrigensis Historia, sive Chronica Rerum Anglicarum*. Thomæ Hearnii Præfatio, Oxonii, MDCCXIX.

ceived, and to have made a great many people alarmingly ill. Wood describes in graphic language how "many people being in danger of suffocation, they were dragged out in a moribund or half-dead condition by others, who themselves would survive only a very few hours." Ten or twelve days later a great number—some three hundred—of additional cases of sickness occurred. A large proportion of those seized with the fever died—apparently about one-half. The number of fatal cases during the five weeks following the assizes was about three hundred in Oxford, and two hundred in adjoining villages and other places. Among those who died were the Lord Chief Baron, and Sir John Banham, Queen's Counsel, the High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, two knights, eight esquires and justices of the peace, almost all the jury, a hundred students, and many citizens.

The violence and severity of the outbreak caused the greatest panic and disorder in the University. All lectures and classes were suspended, and nearly all the professors and students who were not too ill to be removed hastened away, many of them only to be seized with the fatal malady after they reached their homes, or on their way thither. The writer in the Merton College *Register* describes in pathetic language the sufferings of the patients, and the desolation which the epidemic caused: "The spirits of all are crushed. The physicians fly. The wretched are left. The dons, doctors, and heads of colleges, almost to a man, are gone. . . . Every hall, every college has its dead, either here or on their way home. . . . The sick labour under a most severe pain, now in the head, now in the stomach; are harassed with delirium; are deprived of their intellect, memory, sight, hearing, and other senses. . . . Some, leaving their beds, agitated by I know not what frenzy of sickness and pain, felled their attendants with sticks, and made off; some of these ran about the streets and open places like madmen, others jumped headlong into deep water." This terrible description is corroborated by the above-mentioned letter of the Oxford student, in which the following passage occurs: "Sometimes they are quite mad, rise upon their keepers, run naked out of houses, and often endeavour to put an end to their lives." This writer goes on to say

that the rage of the pestilence was beginning to abate in Oxford, but that "it begins to spread in the country, where, if our accounts are true, it hath carried off numbers of people." It is also stated in the Merton College document, that at the end of a month those who were first seized and had not succumbed, were already convalescent, and that many citizens and students were to be seen walking about "with linen bandages round their heads"—*linteis capitibus*—indicating, I suppose, the shaving and blistering which the unhappy patients had undergone.

As regards the real nature of the epidemic, the most extraordinary and contradictory opinions prevailed. All the chroniclers who record the incident—viz., Holinshed, Stow, Baker, and Camden—speak of a "sudden damp," or a "pestilent savour," which was perceived immediately after Jencks received sentence. Some attributed this to a noxious exhalation from the ground. But Dr. Plott, in his *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (p. 24), objects to this view, quaintly remarking that if the poisonous vapour had come from the earth, it would have affected the prisoners equally with the judges and jurors, whereas, says he, "we find not that they died otherwise than by the halter." The Roman Catholics rather encouraged this idea that the epidemic was caused by a pestilential exhalation from the ground, which they affected to believe was a special mark of divine displeasure against the persecution and condemnation of Jencks and his co-religionists. Protestants, on the other hand, attributed the "noisome savour" to the machinations of the Catholics, and there is a very curious and circumstantial account given in Webster's *Display of Witchcraft*, in which the writer describes with great minuteness how Jencks before his trial, during some walks which he was allowed to take in the city, obtained from an apothecary some very deadly poisons, and embodied them in a sort of candle, "which, as soon as ever he was condemned, he lighted, having provided himself with a tinder-box and steel to strike fire; and whoever should know the ingredients of that wick or candle, and the manner of the composition, will easily be persuaded of the virulency and venomous effects of it."*

* Quoted in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1750, p. 255.

Even the writer in the Merton College *Register* lends some countenance to the idea that "papistical depravity" was at the bottom of it all, although in the same sentence he mentions a far more probable cause of the fever. "Many suspect it to arise," he says, "either from the foetid and pestilential exhalation of the criminals coming from the jails (of whom two or three died a few days before in confinement), or from the artful, diabolical, and clearly papistical blasts from that rascal of Louvain (*flatibus e Lovaniensi barathro*) most vilely and secretly emitted against us."

The "rascal" referred to was probably Jencks, who appears to have come originally from Belgium; and after his release from prison he returned thither, and there ended his days.

Of course, these stories are apocryphal, and are only interesting as exemplifying the bitter spirit of religious antagonism which prevailed at the time.

The most probable explanation of the events which attended and followed the "Black Assize" appears to me to be as follows. A comparison of several old plates of Oxford Castle, in the courtyard of which the Assize Court was situated, leads to the conclusion that the latter was a small and inconvenient place; and we can readily suppose that, the Court being densely crowded by a throng of people, who were too deeply intent on the proceedings to take much heed of the state of the atmosphere, by the time sentence on Jencks was pronounced, many would be utterly overpowered by the closeness of the atmosphere, the heat of a July day, and the smell of the filthy clothes in which the prisoners were habited. The effects on those present would be very like those experienced by the captives shut up in the Black Hole of Calcutta, only in a less intense degree. Thus, Holinshed tells us that "almost all were smothered;" and Anthony Wood, in the passage already quoted, speaks of many people being dragged out in a half-dead condition. I take it that those who were thus seized with fatal symptoms on the spot were really victims of heat-stroke. It is probable that in the confusion and panic caused by the subsequent epidemic, the number alleged to have been

affected in this way was much exaggerated. The really serious outbreak began ten or twelve days after the assizes. The Merton College document, which is the most trustworthy source of information we have, does not allude to these cases of sudden illness at the time of the assize, but mentions expressly that the patients were seized ten or twelve days later; and that on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of July (the assizes were on the 4th, 5th, and 6th), 300 persons were taken ill, of whom 100 died within the space of twelve days. It would be unsuitable in this place to examine in detail the accounts of the symptoms stated to have been presented by the sufferers; but these, together with the length of the interval which elapsed between exposure to infection at the assizes and the outbreak of the fever, lead irresistibly, I think, to the conclusion that the latter was typhus, the germs of which had been brought into Court by the prisoners, and were by them communicated to great numbers of people present, the fever subsequently spreading to a larger circle of victims.

Such, then, was the celebrated "Black Assize" at Oxford, which for a time cast so terrible a gloom over the ancient city. We can easily understand the panic into which the inhabitants were thrown when it became known that a large number of people had been seized with severe, and perhaps fatal, illness while present in the Assize Court. But the panic must have been redoubled when, a week or two later, it was found that hundreds of people, who had doubtless been congratulating themselves on having taken no hurt at the assizes, at which some of their friends had been struck down, were becoming alarmingly ill. And there were some special reasons why this outbreak of illness excited more widely-spread attention and discussion than did others of the same kind. One was its taking place at the great seat of learning, attacking many students and members of the University, and causing all the colleges to be closed, and professorial and tutorial duties to be entirely suspended. Another reason lay in the bitter feeling that was prevalent at the time against Roman Catholics, which, as we have already seen, caused various sinister rumours to be circulated regarding the origin of the pestilence. To very few persons does

the true significance of the tragic event appear to have suggested itself—viz., that the keeping of prisoners in a condition of filth, over-crowding, and destitution was a constant menace to the health of the population at large. The acute mind of Lord Bacon, however, perceived the reality and importance of this danger, and he wrote as follows: "The most pernicious influence, next the plague, is the smell of the jail, when the prisoners have been long, and close, and nastily kept; whereof we have had in our time experience twice or thrice; when both the judges that sat upon the jail, and numbers of those that attended the business or were present, sickened upon it and died. Therefore, it were good wisdom that in such cases the jail were aired before they be brought forth" (*Sylva Sylvarum*, Cent. x., No. 914). Nevertheless, the "good wisdom" to commence a thorough reform of our gaols was not vouchsafed to the legislature until two centuries after the events described in this paper, by which time many people were becoming so alive to the importance of reforming the prison system, that all that was needed was an ardent apostle like John Howard to show and lead the way. From that time, improvements steadily continued, until now our prisons are perhaps the healthiest dwellings in the kingdom.



The Lord Mayor's Show in 1590.

(COMMUNICATED BY W. CAREW HAZLITT.)

WITH the exception of the Pageant for 1585, written by George Peele, and republished among his Works by Dyce, that for 1590, given entire below, appears to be the earliest known to exist. Peele perhaps wrote the Device for 1588; but it is traceable no further than the Stationers' Register. That he composed the one presented in 1591 is established by the unique copy at Guildhall, formerly in the Bindley and Jolley collections, and purchased at Jolley's sale in 1844 for £21. Like this, it consists of four leaves in 4to. The Gough exemplar of Peele's Pageant for 1585 is equally unique; nor is a second extant, so far

as I am aware, of the present. It has quite recently come to light, and has every appearance of having been privately printed for the Corporation or the Fishmongers. It has the additional interest of being the only pageant in which the Mayor is described as having been also installed Mayor of the Staple.

The adoption of the Walworth episode may be ascribed to the disturbed political condition of the kingdom at this time, both at home and abroad, and also to the new Mayor's connection with the company to which Walworth had belonged. We see here already current the error as to the origin of the dagger in the City Arms.

Stow (*Survey of London*, edit. 1633, p. 591) apprises us that Allot was the son of Richard Allot, of Limburgh, in Lincolnshire, and that he only served part of the year.

Nelson, the writer of this tract, was also the author of a metrical account of Babington's Conspiracy, 1586, which I reprinted in the First Series of my *Fugitive Tracts*, 1875, and of an Epitaph on Sir Francis Walsingham, 1590. In the dedication to Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, attached to the former production, Nelson speaks of being under obligations to that functionary. I can say nothing more about him, save that I take him to have been identical with the stationer of the same name.

The | Device of | the Pageant: | Set forth
by the Worshipfull Companie | of the Fish-
mongers, for the right honour- | ble *John*
Allot: established Lord Maier of | *London*,
and Maier of the Staple for | this present
yeere of our Lord | 1590. | By T. Nelson.
| *London*. 1590. | Quarto. Four leaves.

THE SPEECH SPOKEN BY HIM THAT RIDETH ON THE MERMAN, VIZ.

Attend my Lord, and marke the tale I tell,
whose form you see is monstrous, strange and rare,
Before a manlike shape, behinde a fishes fell.
this strange disguise doth make full many stare.
And since they prease to know why I come here,
Let them be still, the cause shall soone appeare.
Within this cōmon wealth (my Lord) all those y^e live
in awe
Do seeke each daie for to performe and keep the stab-
lish law,
Yea such do keep y^e sabboth day in reuerence as they
ought
And fish dais too as wel as flesh, which many set at
nought.

Yet if the same well obserued, flesh seldome would be
deere,
And fish abound at each mans boord more plentie in
each yeere.
Then Englands store would be increast with butter,
cheese & beefe,
And thousands set to worke for fish, that now beg
for reliefe.
This shape so strange, shew they are strange, and do
digres frō reason
That shun in eating fish and flesh, to keepe both time
and season.
Which fault reformd, our cōmon wealth would flourish
in such wise,
As neuer anie did beholde the like with mortall eies.

THE SPEECH SPOKEN BY HIM THAT RIDETH ON
THE VNICORNE.

Oh worthie citie now reioyce in Christ,
for through his grace with peace he hath the
blest ;
Hee sends thee still such godly magistrates,
as dailie seekes to keepe thee from vnrest.
Muse not my Lord, to see the Sunne doth shine
on England's peace, who sits on princely throne,
It doth presage her Sunne shine still shall last,
and make her foes afeard at euerie blast.
So long as peace directed is by truth,
and Gods pure word receiued as it ought,
So long the Lord will blesse this little land,
and make it flow with plentie in each place.
Rule now my Lord and keepe this Citie well,
reforme abuses crept into the same,
So shall your fame eternizd be for aie,
And London still preserued from deciae.
And I that do support the Goldsmith's armes,
which long in loue to you haue bin vnited,
Will do my best to shadow you from harmes,
and finde the meanes your loues may be requigthed.

FAME SOUNDING A TRUMPET SAITH.

The blessed peace which England doth possesse,
and so hath done this thirtie two yeres space,
I Fame am sent and chargde to do no lesse,
with trumpets sound, but spread it in each place.
That all may wish with hearts that do not faine,
our roiall peace in England still may raine.

THE PEACE OF ENGLAND.

I represent your peace and chiefest good,
that euerie houre doth praie for your defence,
I sit as shadow for that roiall bloud,
whose life is pure, and still hath this pretence,
That whilst she liues euen with her heart and
might,
she seekes in peace for to defend your right.

WISEDOME ON ONE SIDE SUPPORTING THE STATE,
SAITH.

Wisedome supporteth still the publike state,
Wisedome foreseeth ere it be too late.

POLLICIE ON THE OTHER SIDE SUPPORTING THE
STATE, SAITH.

Yea Pollicie preuents each traiterous fact,
And doth performe full many a famous act,
Both Pollicie and Wisedome will not cease,
Each night and daie for to preserue this peace.

GODS TRUTH.

Gods sacred truth loe here I represent,
whom Englands peace doth stil maintain in place,
I bring you comfort for your soules content,
which Englands peace doth willingly imbrace :
And for her sake by whom Gods truth doth stand,
the God of heauen doth blesse this little land.
Prudence and vertue shades our peace each daie,
chaste is her life, and therewith rests content,
In vaine delights she shuns to runne astraie,
her vertues are most rare and excellent.
Long may she liue still to preserue this peace,
Lord still I pray her health and joyes increase.

PLENTIE.

This famous fleece doth to adorne our land,
which daily doth with milke and honie flow,
That Fame doth make all nations vnderstand,
like peace and plentie neuer man did know.
For wool and lead, for tin, corne, beere and beefe,
Of Christian nations England is the chiefe.
Muse not to see this famous fleece doth stand
vpon a wooll packe, fixt at peaces feete,
The reason is, as you may vnderstand,
worthie Iohn Allot for his place most meete,
Is Maior of London and the Staple too,
And will performe in both what he should doo.

LOIALTIE AND CONCORD.

Faithfull and loyall are hir subjects seene,
Concord vnites them still in loyall bands,
Their tender hearts is linked to our Queene,
and concord craues no other at their hands,
Thus loyaltie and concord doth agree,
That London still therein shall famous bee.

AMBITION.

Ambition still puft vp with hate and pride,
Doth dailie seeke to worke sweete Englands fall,
He neuer rests, but seekes each time and tide,
How Englands peace might soone be brought in
thrall,
And common wealth plunge into ciuill broiles,
That forraine foes might triumph in our spoiles.

COMMON WEALTH.

Our Senates graue and worthie magistrates,
Shall still indeuor to maintaine our peace,
By banishing ambition from our gates,
And seeking meanes this peace may neuer cease :
Yea vertue so by him aduanst shall be.
That vice shall flie and not be seene in me.

SCIENCE AND LABOUR.

Science still seekes those things we dailie wish,
and Labour toiles to bring vs flesh and fish,
Yea Science sure doth practise euerie daie,
that Labor might keepe England from deciae.

Science and Labour still preserues mans health,
and are chiefe props of this our common wealth.

RICHARD THE SECOND.

Helpe Walworth now to dant this rebels pride,
Aske what thou wilt thou shall not be denide.

IACKE STRAW.

Iacke straw the rebell I present, Wat Tyler was my
aide,
Hob Carter and Tom Miller too, we all were not
afraid,
For to depriue our soueraigne king, Richard the
second namde,
Yet for our bad ambitious mindes by Walworth we
were tamde.
He being Maior of London then, soon danted all our
pride,
He slew me first, the rest soone fled, and then like
traitors dide.

COMMON WEALTH.

I represent sir William Walworths place,
A Fishmonger, and Maior of London twice,
I slewe Iacke Straw, who sought my kings disgrace,
and for my act reapt honors of great price.
First knight was I of London you may reade,
and since each Maiorgaines knighthood by my deede.
Yea for that deede to London I did gaine,
this dagger here in armes giuen as you see,
I won my companie this creast which doth remaine,
this to my selfe and my posteritie.
Thus did the King with honors me adore,
and Fame herselfe still laudeth me therefore.

It is to be vnderstood that sir William
Walworth pointeth to the honors wherewith
the king did endue him, which were placed
neere about him in the Pageant.

The first was the dagger giuen in the shield
to the Citie of London, the second was the
creast giuen to the Companie, namely two
armes bearing vp a crowne, and the third
was to the said Walworth and his posterity
for euer, two armes bearing vp a milstone,
shewing thereby that the said sir William
Walworth performed a matter so vnpossible,
as it is for a man to holde vp a milstone be-
tweene both his armes.

TIME.

Time serues for all things,
Time runneth fast,
We craue your patience,
for the time is past.

FINIS.

[The early mention of the scarcity of fish,
and the advisability of increasing the supply,
is curious and not inappropriate to the events
of the present day.]

Lewisham Wells.



HE fashion of using springs and
wells possessed of mineral qualities
for healing and restorative pur-
poses is of considerable antiquity.

It dates back to a much earlier period than
that of sea-bathing. The Romans, we know,
when masters of this country, were familiar
with the valuable properties of the warm
springs of Bath, and they named them *aquæ
solis*, the waters of the sun, and *fontes calidi*,
the fountains of heat, with special reference
to their naturally warm and health-giving
character. At other places in Britain there
are clear evidences that mineral springs were
known to the Romans, and were used by
them. For the sites of their buildings we
find that they often selected the vicinity of
such springs, showing in this the same good
sense which usually marked their choice of
a genial aspect and pleasant surroundings
for their habitations. In later times, when
ignorance and superstition were engendered
and encouraged by a corrupt religious system,
these wells were regarded with peculiar
reverence, and were resorted to for their sup-
posed miraculously healing powers. In these
cases the presence of natural medicinal
qualities was ignored in order that while the
credit of the cure should be given to the
honour of the patron saint, the offerings of
the convalescent should enrich the funds of
the church. St. Dunstan, after his famous
encounter with the Evil One at Glastonbury,
is said to have quenched the fiery heat of his
tongs in a stream which from that circum-
stance became thermal and chalybeate.
Some customs in relation to mineral wells
which have been preserved until recent times,
are of such a character as to lead to the
belief that they are descended from times
anterior to the introduction of the Christian
faith in this land. A noteworthy instance of
this is to be found at St. Teclas's Well, in
Wales, where, accompanied by much mystic
ceremony, a cock or hen is offered by the
person seeking for restoration to health in a
very similar manner to that of the heathen
sacrifices to Æsculapius.

To what antiquity the Lewisham Wells

may be referred it is difficult to say. There can be no doubt that they were celebrated in times anterior to the Reformation; this is indicated by the name Lady Well, which still designates the spot; but we do not possess any clear historic evidence until the year 1648, when an event occurred which made their virtues famous. What those special virtues were, and how they were discovered, we now proceed to narrate. Benjamin Allen, M.B., in his *Natural History of the Mineral Waters of Great Britain* (London, 1711, 8vo.), classes medical springs under five general heads. These are again subdivided into various classes. "Dulwich Water," as he calls the Lewisham springs, comes under the head of aperitive waters,* and it is described specifically as "A Water medicated with a Salt of the Nature of common Salt, but of a mixt Nature, with a Nitrous Quality, and a little more Marcasitical" (than the water in Hertfordshire). In the year 1680, John Peter, a physician, published a curious little treatise† upon these wells, in which he says that pigeons frequented the springs so much on account of their partiality for the water that the place received the name of "Pigeons' Quillet."‡ The manner in which the virtues of the water were discovered is curious. A poor woman, afflicted with a loathsome disease, whose case had been given up as hopeless by the doctors, was advised to try the water, not because of any known virtues therein, but because her habitation was near the springs. She used the water outwardly and internally with such good effect, that, although her distemper had assumed serious and malignant symptoms, she found herself quickly restored by its daily use. From this circumstance the spot acquired some popularity and patronage. The

* Under the same head are classed the medical waters of Shooter's Hill, Streatham, Lambeth, Kensington, and Epsom.

† "A Treatise of Lewisham (But Vulgarly Mis-called Dulwich) Wells in Kent. Shewing The Time and Manner of their Discovery, the Minerals with which they are Impregnated, the several Diseases Experience hath found them good for; with Directions for the Use of them, &c. By John Peter, Physician. London, Printed by Tho. James for Sam. Tidmarsh at the King's-head in Cornhil. 1680." A copy is in the British Museum Library.

‡ "Quillet"—a croft or grassyard."—Halliwell-Phillipps.

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waters were given gratis to all comers. "As God hath freely bestowed his favours upon this water, so it is now dispensed *gratis* to any that desire it, either to themselves, or to any they shall send for it, every one being left at liberty to gratifie the Poor people (that attend there dayly to cleanse the Wells, that the water may be taken up fresh and pure) as they shall think fit, there being no customary usage, or fixt gratuity apportioned." Dr. Peter's book, although decidedly readable and even amusing, is apt sometimes to draw upon the imagination. An attempt to enclose the Wells with a brick wall, and to give the profits of such monopoly for the "Poor's use," was, it tells us, frustrated by the Divine hand in a striking manner. The water lost its virtue, "taste its *odour*, and effects," proving that "*in behalf of the Poor (incapacitated to right themselves) God oftentimes immediately steps in for their assistance.*" The scheme of enclosure was abandoned. In a not less wonderful manner were the dealings of Providence manifested in the cures which attended the patients who drank the waters under Dr. Peter's personal supervision. The Wells seem, indeed, to have been a kind of Bethesda, where were cured all kinds of diseases without the angel's presence to trouble the waters. They were useful for affections of the liver and of the spleen, for black and yellow jaundice, for tumours, for worms, and for gout. It "corroborates the Brain and Nerves, and so prevents or cures the Apoplexy, Falling Sickness, Palsy, Dizziness, Ach of the Head, and all such like Symptoms." Nor is this all; "it maketh gross and fat Bodies lean, and the lean fleshy." For external affections its potency is not less remarkable. "Leprosy, Itch, Scabbs, Pimples, Ring-worms, Scurvy," are cured by its use; "it dissolves tumoures, and cureth old Ulcers." Dr. Peter tells us that the substances peculiar to the water were Nitrous Salts, Alum, and some Sulphur. The same authority gives eight and a half pints a day as the quantity to be drunk by the patient. This was the maximum, and it was supposed to be reached after a course of ten days' practice. It was to be drunk soon after sunrise, and in a warm state, unless the patient was of a robust constitution.

Various names have been given to the Lewisham Wells by different writers. Ben-

F

jamin Allen speaks of them as Dulwich Water, but Dr. Peter contends for the name Lewisham Wells, and he quaintly remarks that "we should even confront *Providence* itself, if we should not stamp the Name of the Parish upon these Wells, where the disposing and digitating hand of *Providence* hath destined the eruption of those Springs that supply them. The first terminating or setting out of the *Bounds of Parishes* were not so void of Providential direction, or so casual as some may opine. Upon which consideration I take it to be a Right due from everyone to give these Waters their *Proper Names*, viz. *Lewisham Wells*."

The wells whose virtues Dr. Peter praises so much were situated at Westwood Common, about two miles west of the parish church. Those mentioned by Allen, and described as being "at the Foot of a heavy Claiy Hill, about 12 in Number," were situated near Lady Well Station. Two of the old wells were in existence until about the year 1866, when they were ignominiously destroyed by the construction of a sewer. This destruction was unfortunate. It is but fair, however, to say that they had for some years previously fallen into disuse and decay. Fortunately, we have preserved for us in that part of Charles Knight's *Journey-Book of England*, which relates to this neighbourhood (*The Journey-Book of Kent*, p. 59), a little woodcut of the "Lady Well," from which it appears that the water was almost close to the surface of the ground—so close that a child is represented dipping a jug into it. The well was enclosed by an iron railing carried upon upright wooden posts.

GEORGE CLINCH.



Precious Stones.

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

PART I.



WHEN we use the expression "precious stone," we must be content to understand it in a conventional sense, for one at least of the most precious of the class is not really a stone at

all. The pearl is a mere concretion of the carbonate of lime forming the shell of the oyster or mussel, which accumulates upon some foreign body accidentally introduced—usually a grain of sand—for the purpose of preventing the irritation its roughness would otherwise occasion to the animal. There are three terms, viz., precious stone, gem, and jewel, which are constantly confused, and which require a more rigid definition than is usually given to them. The expression "a precious stone" explains itself, and includes both the raw material and the artistic product; for every gem is a precious stone, but every precious stone is not necessarily a gem. The term "a gem" is conventionally applied to an engraved stone, and the value of the gem in general depends more upon the artistic skill of the engraver than upon the preciousness of the material in which it is displayed. A jewel is a precious stone set in an ornamental form, as a ring or a brooch, but oftentimes it is merely a specimen of ornamental work in some precious metal—a trinket, in fact. An attempt has been made to divide off the chief of the precious stones, such as diamonds, pearls, rubies, etc., from the less valuable ones, and to style them gems; but this is not in consonance with sound practice, for engraved gems are not always remarkable for the value of their materials.

Precious stones have always been highly esteemed by the Jews, and the Bible is full of references to them. In that remarkable twenty-eighth chapter of Job, where the patriarch speaks of the knowledge of natural things, we read of sapphires, of the precious onyx, of corals, of pearls, of rubies, and of the topaz of Ethiopia. Besides the separate stones mentioned in various parts of the sacred volume, there are three distinct lists of precious stones: 1. The description of the four rows of three stones each, with the names of the children of Israel engraved upon them, which composed the breastplate of judgment (Exod. xxviii. 17-21; xxxix. 10-14). 2. The list of the ornaments of the King of Tyre, comprising nine stones, viz., sardius, topaz, diamond, beryl, onyx, jasper, sapphire, emerald, and carbuncle (Ezek. xxviii. 13). 3. The apocalyptic vision of the heavenly Jerusalem, in which the twelve stones named jasper, sapph-

ire, chalcedony, emerald, sardonyx, sardius, chrysolite, beryl, topaz, chrysoprasus, jacinth, and amethyst, figure as the foundations of the heavenly city (Rev. xxi. 19-21). There has been considerable confusion in the translation of the names of some of these stones, and the Authorized Version is often incorrect. Thus there is every reason to believe that the diamond was confounded with the white sapphire or corundum. Chrysolite was the same as our Oriental topaz, and the topazion was the peridot, a yellowish-green stone. The twelve precious stones mentioned in St. John's vision are not arranged in the order of those on the breastplate of the high-priest, but according to their shades of colour, and here and elsewhere the writer of the book of Revelation exhibits an intimate acquaintance with the colours and qualities of the gems.

Pliny is our great authority respecting the mineralogy of the ancients, and his references to books that no longer exist show that before his time quite an extensive literature had grown up on this interesting subject of precious stones. One of the earliest writers was Sotacus, who had seen at the Persian Court a wondrous gem, colourless and transparent, found in the serpent's brain. Mr. King considers this to be the earliest notice of the true diamond. Gems and precious stones have been offered to the gods from the earliest times, and these valuable objects were to be seen in the ancient temples, arranged with the greatest profusion. The contents of the treasury of the Parthenon are enumerated in Boeckh's *Inscriptions*, but the Greek temples seem poor when compared with the shrines of imperial Rome. The appreciation of precious stones in ancient times does not appear to have been universal, if we may judge from an incident in the war with Persia in the reign of Diocletian, related by Gibbon, who writes: "A bag of shining leather filled with pearls fell into the hands of a private soldier; he carefully preserved the bag, but threw away its contents, judging that whatever was of no use could not possibly be of any value."

The romances of the Middle Ages and their successors are full of gorgeous accounts of buildings ablaze with the lustre emitted from precious stones. Stephen Hawes's *The Pastime of Pleasure, or the Historie of Graunde*

Amoure and la Bel Pucel, contains a description of a hall framed of jasper with crystal windows, and a roof overspread with a golden vine, whose grapes were represented by rubies; the floor was paved with beryl, and the walls were hung with rich tapestry. Sir John Mandeville describes a hall which contained "a vine made of gold, that goeth all aboute the hall, and it hath many branches of grapes, some are white, etc. All the red are rubies, etc."

In John Norton's *Ordinal* there is an account of an alchemist who projected a bridge over the Thames of a very remarkable character:

Wherefore he would set up in high
That bridge, for a wonderfull sight.
With pinnacles guilt, shininge as goulde,
A glorious thing for men to behoulde.
Then he remembered of the newe,
Howe greater fame shulde him pursewe,
If he mought make that bridge so brighte,
That it mought shine alsoe by night.

And in order to obtain this result he studded the pinnacles with carbuncles, which diffused a blaze of light in the dark.

Richesse, in the "Romaunt of the Rose," is covered with precious stones:

But alle byfore ful sotilly
A fyn carboncle sette saugh I.
The stoon so clere was and so bright,
That also soone as it was nyght,
Men myghte seen to go, for nede,
A myle or two, in lengthe and brede.

Lucian relates that the lychnis (lamp-stone) fixed in the head of the goddess Astarte's statue, lighted up the whole temple in which it stood; and Alardus, a Dutchman, writing as late as the year 1539, states that a chrysolampis, set in a gold tablet dedicated to St. Adelbert, gave out sufficient light to serve instead of lamps, for the reading of the hours late at night.

Chaucer, in his *House of Fame*, refers to a book called the *Lapidary*, apparently *Le Lapidaire de la vertu de pierres*, a MS. of which is preserved in the National Library, Paris.

Most precious stones were formerly supposed to be endowed with medicinal properties and virtues, and among them jasper took the lead in value, Galen himself vouching for its admirable qualities from his own ample experience. It cured fevers and dropsies, stopped hæmorrhages, baffled the effects of

witchcraft, and promoted parturition. Emerald jasper was pre-eminent in these qualities, and moreover insured chastity and continence in the wearer, on which account it was considered advisable for ecclesiastics to wear emerald rings. The turquoise was supposed to have many and various good qualities that made it second only to jasper in popular estimation. It was believed to strengthen the sight and spirits of the wearer, to take away all enmity, and reconcile man and wife, and to move when any peril was about to fall upon the wearer. But its most wonderful property was that it protected its wearer against injury from falls. The blood-red cornelian stopped the most obstinate of hæmorrhages; coral hindered the delusions of the devil, and was an antidote against nervousness and causeless fears. Crystal clouded if evil was about to happen to the wearer, and the ruby changed its colour on like occasions. Opal sharpened the sight of its possessor, and clouded the eyes of those that stood about him. The diamond was an antidote against all poisons, and the wine-coloured amethyst protected from the effects of intoxication. Hyacinth secured sleep, and agates cured the disease of the eyes called amaurosis. Topaz cured and prevented lunacy, increased riches, assuaged anger and sorrow, and averted sudden death. With such wide-spread belief in the virtues of the stones, possessors of these amulets must have highly prized them, although one would think at times they must have been somewhat disappointed with them. The wonderful properties of one of these stones are set forth in Sir Perceval of Gales (Thornton Romances):

Siche a vertue es in the stane,
In alle this werlde wote I nane
Siche stone in a ryng;e;
A mane that had in were [war]
One his body for to bere,
Ther scholde no dyntys hym dere
Ne to dethe bryng. — Ll. 1858-64.

The Poles are said to believe that each month of the year is under the influence of a precious stone, which exerts its power over the destiny of any person born during the period of its sway. It is therefore customary among friends and lovers to make reciprocal presents of trinkets, ornamented with the stones appropriated to their birth-months. The following is a list of the stones peculiar to each month, with their meanings:

January.—Garnet: Constancy and Fidelity.
February.—Amethyst: Sincerity.
March.—Bloodstone: Courage and Presence of Mind.
April.—Diamond: Innocence.
May.—Emerald: Success in Love.
June.—Agate: Health and Long Life.
July.—Cornelian: Contented Mind.
August.—Sardonyx: Conjugal Felicity.
September.—Chrysolite: Antidote against Madness.
October.—Opal: Hope.
November.—Topaz: Fidelity.
December.—Turquoise: Prosperity.

As might be expected, authorities differ among themselves as to the moral qualities attributed to the various stones. Shakespeare, in his *Lover's Complaint*, speaks of

Each stone's dear nature, worth and quality,
and then goes on to enumerate the "fair gems":

The diamond,—why 'twas beautiful and hard,
Whereto his invised properties did tend;
The deep-green emerald, in whose fresh regard
Weak sights their sickly radiance do amend;
The heaven-hued sapphire and the opal blend
With objects manifold.

The comparative value of precious stones has varied greatly at different periods; and the diamond, which now takes the lead as the very chief of jewels, has not always held that position. Even now a perfect ruby, exceeding one carat in weight, is worth considerably more than a diamond. Thus £300 has been given for a ruby of three carats, although a diamond of the same weight would sell for no more than £90.

We will begin our enumeration of the so-called precious stones with a notice of the pearl, because its very name implies the first place.

Pearls are found over a considerable geographical area, but the best are brought from the coasts of Ceylon. Their beauty is entirely due to nature, and art cannot improve it. When the surface is examined with a microscope, it is found to be indented with a large number of delicate grooves, which, by their effect upon the light, give rise to the play of colours.

The largest pearl known to the Romans weighed more than half an ounce, but one in the Beresford-Hope Collection weighs as much as three ounces. It is pear-shaped, and measures 2 inches deep, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in circumference at the longer end.

Tavernier mentions in his travels a remarkable pearl belonging to an Arabian prince. He says, "It is the most wonderful pearl in the world—not so much for its bigness, for it weighs not above $12\frac{1}{8}$ carats; not for its perfect roundness, but because it is so clear and transparent, that you may almost see through it." The Great Mogul offered, by a Banian, 40,000 crowns for this pearl, but the possessor would not part with it. A pearl in the possession of the Shah of Persia is valued at £60,000.

Perles baroques, or pearls of an irregular shape, are usually set in some fanciful form with gold enamel. In the Devonshire Cabinet there is a fine specimen of a distorted pearl, which is made to represent a mermaid; and the Green Vaults at Dresden contain a remarkable collection of monster pearls in the shape of human figures, animals, fruits, etc. Black pearls have been very fashionable at times.

Few objects of nature have so many beautiful associations connected with their names as this wonderful gem. The "goodly pearl," and the "pearl of great price," are household words from their use in our English Bible; but interest also centres round the name "Margarite" (Greek, *μαργαρίτης*; Latin, *margarita*), which has given a favourite Christian name to the female sex. This is evidently closely related to the Persian word *mur-wari*, although Grimm has given a different derivation. The very remarkable explanation of the great German philologist is as follows: "Coarse gravel (*glarea*) is termed in old High German, *krios*, *gries* (masc.); and in the new High German, *gries* (masc.). The Anglo-Saxon *groot* (English, *grit*) means *terra*, *pulvis*; the old Norse (neuter), *griot*, *lapis*. As men found the pearls on the sea-shore, they took them for stones, and named them, in old High German, *merikrios* (masc.); in middle High German, *mergries*, or *mergrieze*; in Anglo-Saxon, *meregroot* (neut.). To the ancients, *μαργαρίτης*, *margarita*, was a barbarous word (Pliny, ix. 35). *Mergries* affords a correct sense, and cannot be deduced from *margarita*. In *margarita*, therefore, a German word of a very early time has been preserved to us in one of the oldest monuments of our language (Gothic, *marigriuts*, *marigruitōs*, or *marigruit*, *mari-*

gruita). At a later period it was superseded by the foreign *perula*, *perle*; and we find *mergreizen* used in the sense of grains of sand."* However ingenious this conjecture may be, there is this fatal objection to it—*μαργαρίτης* was an adjective, the primary substantive being *μαργαρον*, consequently the last part, *γάρης*, could not be deduced directly from any German form of the substantive *grit*. As my friend Mr. Danby Fry puts it, the real problem is the origin of *margaron*, not of *margarites*. It is, however, a remarkable coincidence that the Teutonic compound meaning "sea-grit" should so closely resemble the Greek word, which is apparently of Persian origin.

(To be continued.)



The Antiquity of Surnames.

By A. FOLKARD.



HERE are few subjects as to which more divergent opinions have been expressed than as to the period at which surnames were first adopted.

The fact seems to be that the generality of inquirers have contented themselves with the conclusions of the earlier writers on this topic, and have not given due consideration to the mass of evidence which has been developed since the time such conclusions were formed. As will be seen hereafter, this additional evidence has but just served to awaken doubt as to the correctness of the limitation to their use which has been assigned, but little endeavour appears to have been made to analyze and digest it. It will be the object of this article to briefly submit to the reader some of the more salient points of that evidence, chiefly as it affects the antiquity of the practice among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers; but, secondarily, an endeavour will be made to show that they even perhaps derived the custom from a still greater antiquity, and that it was certainly not unknown among the races across the German Ocean from which they themselves sprang. Research through the records now available

* Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, 1831, part iii., p. 380.

to inquirers, dating from the earliest periods, and mainly consisting of the charters and writings appertaining to the old monastic institutions of the Low Countries and the Norman provinces of France, has gone far towards demonstrating that the use of surnames is of no modern date, and that even among the wilder peoples of the Allemanic races, surnames—as *family* names, and altogether apart from such as were employed to denote mere characteristics—were neither unknown nor uncustomary.

Before proceeding to give the grounds for these conjectures, such as the writer has been able to gather, it may be as well to refer to what one of the earliest authors dealing with this topic has advanced. That admirable authority, Camden, we find writing: "About the yere of our Lord 1000 (that we may not minute out the time), syrnames began to be taken up in France, and in England about the time of the Conquest, or else a verie little before, under King Edward the Confessor, who was all Frenchified. And to this time do the Scottishmen refer the antiquities of their syrnames, although Buchanan supposeth that they were not in use in Scotland many yeres after. But in England certain it is, that as the better sort, even from the Conquest, by little and little tooke syrnames: so they were not settled among the common people fully, vntil about the time of King Edward the Second, but still varied according to the father's name." Thereupon the great historiographer proceeds to deal out cruel ridicule upon those who, as he thought, deluded themselves by the belief that they could trace, by similarity of names, the probability of their descent from dates long anterior to that which he assigned as that of the institution of surnames. It should be observed, however, that since Camden wrote, now more than three hundred years ago, far more material has become available from which to obtain evidence than existed during the Elizabethan era.

Space will of course preclude quotation from the many authors who followed in the wake of Camden. Among these may be prominently mentioned Du Cange, Pegge, Sharon Turner and others, who all held to the view that in England, at all events, the introduction of surnames arose certainly not

earlier than under the reign of King Edward the Confessor, who was undoubtedly, as Camden quaintly puts it, "Frenchified" in all his tastes and habits. As all the authorities above-named have confined their remarks mainly to the introduction of the practice in the British Isles, it may be argued that their opinions do not affect the question raised by the writer as to the antiquity of the source from which that introduction arose; but we shall see that there are other authorities who claim to find proof that even within these islands the practice was not uncommon long antecedent to the period assigned by the writers quoted.

Here we may pause in our review of the antagonistic opinions held by different students to consider how far it could be consistent with even a very moderate degree of civilization that there should be no means of distinguishing either families or individuals. Consider the hindrance to all sorts of business either public or private which must result from such a want! And it must be tolerably evident that even in very early times the amount of designation that could be found in such nomenclature as Ulfric the White or Leofric the Red must prove insufficient for the purposes of even the most limited community which was possessed of the slightest rudimentary civilization. We find such insufficiency perplexing a scribe of the time of Richard II., who, having to draft a deed involving two Simons, after having described one of them as "Simon Blondus" (or Fair), had to content himself with referring to the second man as "another Simon." Further evidence of such insufficiency being felt we have, though of a date which would fail to afford much support to the argument, were it not that it relates to the Irish, who were at the period to all intents and purposes mere savages, divided into small clanships.

In 1465 King Edward IV. actually passed an Act to compel the Irish people to adopt surnames, and making it lawful to kill anyone as a "robber" who could not prove his use of one, unless he were accompanied by some one possessed of that voucher for respectability. We may well conclude, therefore, that to enable a country to be ruled on civilized principles some fuller designation than that afforded by personal peculiarity or employ-

ment was a necessity strongly apparent. Now such principles undoubtedly formed the groundwork—imperfectly as they may have been acted upon according to our present notions—of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers and of their progenitors in the countries across the German Ocean, and it would be almost impossible to credit that the power of clear individual designation was wanting to them. Let us turn, therefore, to those authorities who believe in the existence of such a power at dates much earlier than the writers before quoted have assigned as their limit.

No modern writer on the subject of surnames has perhaps done more to elucidate it than the late Mark Antony Lower, and yet even he confesses it to be one so vast and far-reaching that he can only claim to have dipped into it. Still, no authority hardly can be more safely quoted than Mr. Lower, who, in his introduction to his *Patronymica Britannica*, wrote: "They were occasionally hereditary among the Anglo-Saxons at a date anterior to that event (*i.e.*, the Conquest), and many generations before the general adoption of family designations." Mr. James Finlayson, in his *Surnames and Sirenames*, also contends that the practice is of much older date than generally thought. Mr. Ferguson, in his but comparatively lately published work on English surnames, expresses his agreement with Lower as to the very early date of their occasional use; while Kemble, in his *Names, Surnames, and Nicknames of the Anglo-Saxons*, also gives such a view support. It appears to the writer, however, that there is a considerable amount of evidence that the use of surnames was far more common than even these authors claim for it. It does not do to dogmatize on any subject enveloped, as this is, in the mists of an antiquity impossible to penetrate with full clearness. Facts may be stated, but the deductions to be drawn from them will of course vary, and perfect coincidence of opinion cannot be expected.

And first it may well be considered what reasons existed in olden times for the general limitation to the use of a single name in documents. Primarily, it may be argued that in many cases the same cause may be assigned for the practice as has led historians of modern date to allude to notabilities such

as Cranmer, Wolsey, Peel, and others only by the *ir* surnames; but of course this would apply to but few of the instances which have to be dealt with. The most probable explanation is the same which undoubtedly accounts for the custom of abbreviation in all old writings—abbreviations so peculiar and obscure, that many occasionally occur which baffle the most patient and accomplished of antiquarian inquirers—and that was the need of economizing the valuable prepared parchment, and the laborious character of the penmanship adopted, which rendered it desirable to lighten it as much as possible. Hence it may well be that the old scribes confined themselves to such designations as would satisfy the circles in which the parties were concerned. What is strongly confirmatory of the possible correctness of this hypothesis is the fact that in the case of nearly all the old Anglo-Saxon charters granting manumission to slaves—the lowest, it should be borne in mind, of the grades of the social community—and in which cases, of course, the clearest identity should be recorded, a very large proportion of these unfortunate creatures were designated by double names; the character of the second one being such as to preclude the probability in nearly every instance that they were mere nicknames, or derived only from personal peculiarities or attributes.

It will be as well, in the furtherance of the writer's object, if, having referred to this part of his subject, he here gives the evidence in proof of what he has above stated. Chiefly from the manumissions given in Thorpe's *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*—which are nearly all without date, and may vary in that respect to quite the earliest periods of Saxon occupation in England for all that is known or can be proved to the contrary—are extracted the following names: Osborne Clopel; Abuneth Ælfnorth; Byhstan Hate; Alword Child; Adogre Milian (this one *circa* A.D. 940); Unjost Cilifri; Æthelwine Muff; Godric Map; Richard Kykebeam; Alfric Hals; Ælfgar Hellebula; Osbern Fadera; Algar Palard; Alfred Pugard; Edwi Nobal; Ayleword Pudding; Edith, daughter of Leofric Loc; Ayelword Wuding; Halwyn Hoce; Ælgrifa Maphap; Ælfric White; Godwin Black; Edith, daughter

of Godric Cocraca ; William Hoseth ; Ælfric Hasl ; Ælwi Black ; Roger Derendig ; Godwin Bake (still a Cornish surname) ; Ælfric Cerm ; Ælfric Scot ; Ægelric Scot ; Gunhild Thurkill ; Scæwi Hagg ; Wulfwine Hareberd ; Godric Ladda ; William Lambert ; Alfric Spot ; Robert Pudding ; Rotbern Sceanca ; Richard Trenchard ; William Mariscal ; Wulfric Wig. The foregoing examples are but a few of many hundreds of similar instances that might be quoted, and they are all taken from the manumissions made or registered at the Church of St. Peter's, Bodmin, Cornwall, a locality which cannot but be considered sufficiently distant from much chance of intimate intercourse with the French coasts by the lower orders of the people. Here we have the slaves, the lowest and most degraded in the social scale, designated by two names. And why? Evidently because in such cases power of distinctive recognition was a necessity too imperative to be curtailed by considerations for economy of parchment or the labour of the scribe. It is worthy of observation here that in nearly all cases of signature by clerics as witnesses, but one name, and that the Christian name, is signed to deeds which give two to the slave.

Mr. Lower, to whose opinion reference has before been made, affords us strong evidence of the use of a family surname among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. In the introduction to his before-mentioned *Patronymica Britannica*, he quotes in support of his contention of the greater antiquity of that use from the *Codex Diplomaticus*: "Hwita Hatte was a keeper of bees in Hæthfelda: and Tate Hatte, his daughter, was the mother of Wulsige the shooter: and Lulle Hatte, the sister of Wulsige, Hehstan had for his wife in Wealadene. Wifus and Dunne, and Seoloce, were born in Hæthfelda; Duding Hatte, the son of Wifus, is settled at Wealadene; and Ceolmund Hatte, the son of Dunne, is also settled there; and Ætheleah Hatte, the son of Seoloce, is also there; and Tate Hatte, the sister of Cenwald, Moeg hath for his wife at Weligan; and Eadelm, the son of Herethrythe, married the daughter of Tate. Werlaff Hatte, the father of Werstan, was the rightful possessor of Hæthfelda." In this document we have an instance where it was evidently desired to establish a claim to property. In such a case

clear identification of all the branches of the family was most desirable, and hence it will be observed the surname is expressed or implied to every lineal member of it; while collateral members, whose identification was of remote interest, received but one name from the composer. This deed is, unfortunately, not dated, but it is in Saxon, and considered by Lower most certainly to be of a date prior to the Conquest. In 980, nearly one hundred years before that event, Elwardus Snæw founded the Cell at Cranbourne, Dorset. In 962, according to the *Charta Anglo-Saxonica*, we find mentioned Wulfsige Tydiceseg; and in 963 Æpelstan Cirdward signs as a witness. Ælfrih Modercope is appointed Abbot of St. Edmund's in 1060, Ælfric Wightgares being also named.

Before quitting the evidence of Christian and surnames being applied to the lower orders in Anglo-Saxon times, it may be pointed out that, had the surnames quoted merely been nicknames or only personally descriptive, such could have been readily applied in all cases where distinctiveness was required, as in the charters of manumission. It is only reasonable, therefore, to conclude that, in the instances of single names occurring in such deeds, the surname was unknown, or had been dropped owing to conditions which, as will presently be shown, have led to similar results even up to our own day. From this the inference may be drawn that the double names quoted were properly "sur," or family names. Another form of the surname commonly appears in a compound with a distinctive Christian name. A man signing himself "Durkytel," writes respecting his "brother's sons, Ulfketel and Durfketel." Here there are evidently a father and his two sons with the father's brother, all with the present not uncommon surname of Ketel, or Kettle. Further evidence of this form is afforded in a deed of manumission whereby Scæwold and his twin sons, Scirewold and Brihtwold, are set free; and, indeed, such cases are so commonly met with that they largely account for the prevalence of single names in Anglo-Saxon writings. Not unfrequently it happens that the surname precedes the Christian name in these compound words; and the transfer of position seems also not to have been unusual, for we find the name of Æthelred

Mucil, father of the wife of King Alfred, in several instances written Mucil Æthelred. One case may be cited in this connection where Ælf is evidently the prefixed cognomen or patronymic, the allusion being to Ælfeges, Ælfstane's son, and Ælfices his brother. Also Ælfere, Ælfices' father. In both cases the date is of 962.

Enough has been given to establish the fact that at dates long anterior to the Conquest surnames were in use among the Anglo-Saxons, as also to show that they were, as a rule, only used in documents wherein the occasion to particularize was important.

(To be continued.)



Quaint Conceits in Pottery.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F.S.A., ETC.

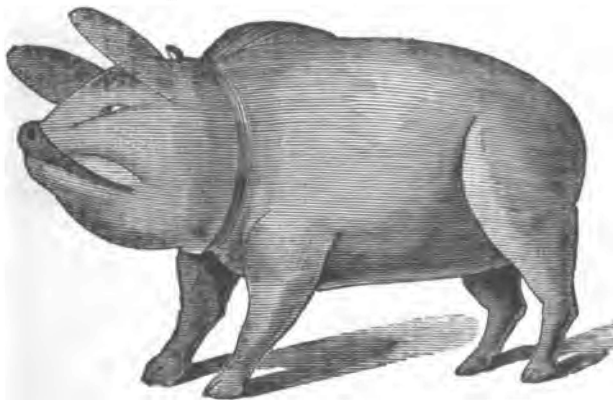
II.—"SUSSEX PIGS" AND "TOBY FILL-POT" DRINKING VESSELS.

HAVING in an earlier volume of *The Antiquary* taken occasion while giving "a few words upon Drinking Vessels in the form of a Bear," to introduce some illustrative engravings of typical examples of those curious productions

"Toby Fill-Pot;" and in my next to follow up the matter by describing some vessels in form of mounted knights and other like and equally quaint conceits of the old workers in clay.

The "Sussex Pig," like the Bear-formed drinking vessels, is so constructed that it can stand either upon its four legs, in a natural attitude, or upright on its hams and tail; and, like the Bear, the head lifts off and forms a cup for drinking from. An example in my own possession is remarkably well formed, and the body would hold, I suppose, about a quart of liquor. It is made of a fine clay, and well glazed with somewhat of a "Rockingham" glaze over a delicately mottled surface, which gives it a peculiarly rich and pleasing appearance. When filled and set upright on its tail ready for use, the head serves as a cover or lid, and the fore-legs do duty as a handle. The head, when removed for use, forms a good-sized and well-shaped cup, and the snout becomes a convenient holder. The ears being brought forward, they and the snout form three legs for the cup to stand upon.

The "Pig," thus described, is one of the old institutions of Sussex, and is still occasionally used both at weddings and on other festive occasions, when it takes its place at



THE SUSSEX PIG.

of the potter's art, it has occurred to me that a brief notice of one or two other varieties of vessels of an analogous kind would, in like manner, prove of interest to my readers. I therefore desire on the present occasion to call attention to the "Sussex Pig," and the

table as a Loving Cup. At the former, the body being filled with the liquor, the head is taken off, filled to the brim, and each guest is invited, and expected, to quaff it off, and thus "drink a *Hogs-Head* of Ale to the Bride's health." The heartiness and appropriateness

of the toast being of course literally carried into effect by drinking from the cup-formed *head* of the ceramic *hog*. As a "Loving Cup" it is thus passed round, each in succession drinking a "hogshhead" of liquor in pledging the bride, or an honoured guest.

The Pig, it may be incidentally mentioned, is recorded as the badge (or, as I have seen it expressed, the crest) of the County of Sussex, as the White Horse is that of Kent; and it is said by Mr. Egerton, with its appropriate motto, to be attributed to that county as pointing to a temper on the part of its inhabitants which may be either simple obstinacy or that honourable sturdiness of resistance to pressure, whether in matters of opinion or of practice, which in England produces village Hampdens, and fortunately, when occasions need, national ones also. The badge or crest is said to be a "Hog" passant, and the motto, "*We wun't be druuv!*"

Whether or not the Pig, as used for a drinking-vessel, is, or was, the accepted badge of the county, certain it is that Sussex has always been famous for its pork and its bacon, the excellence of which has become proverbial; and equally certain it is that the flesh of the hog has always been one of the standard dishes of the people, and has formed the substance of many a Christmas and other present in the olden time. Thus, for instance, on Christmas Day, more than two centuries ago, the Rector of Horsted Kynes records that "*I sent to Mr. Hely a ribspare and hoggs puddings, for which he return'd me a box of pills and sermons;*" the "ribspare" being what is usually called the "spare-rib," or "sparrib." Again, on Christmas Day, 1667, "*I sent Mr. Herryman a faire large ribspare and hoggs pudding worth 4s., for the which he returned mee 24 oranges and 6 lemons.*" Again, in the instance of two days' feasting in another Sussex house, the bills of fare were, for New Year's Day, "Plum-pottage, calve's head and bacon, goose, pig, plum-pottage, roast beef, sirloin, veale, a loin, goose, plum-pottage, boiled beef, a clod, two baked puddings, three dishes of minced pies, two capons, two dishes of tarts, and two pullets;" and on the next day, "Plumm-pottage, boiled leg of mutton, goose, pig, plum-pottage, roast beef, veal, leg, roasted

pig, plum-pottage, boiled beef, a rump, two baked puddings, three dishes of minced pies, two capons, two dishes of tarts, and two pullets."

The drinking vessels known by the expressive name of "Toby Fill-Pot," are moulded in form of a short podgy man, with tolerably capacious paunch, dressed in old-fashioned garb, and bearing "cock-and-pinched hat," the three pinches of which—one in front over the forehead, and the other two one on either side—serve as spouts for



TOBY FILL-POT.

pouring out the liquor; while the crown of the hat itself lifts off for use as a cup for drinking from. In some, indeed, in most instances, the figure is standing, but in others, seated. Sometimes a jug, foaming with frothed liquor, is held in one hand, and a drinking mug or glass in the other; in other instances a snuff-box is held, from which a pinch of the pungent powder is being taken in the most approved and experienced manner; in others both ale-mug and snuff-box are held, but in all cases the "jolly toper" is made to

wear a thoroughly satisfied and happy expression of countenance, and to be in the height of enjoyment.

The dress is, in its form and colouring, in many instances that of the old-fashioned country clergy of a century or more ago—men of the "Vicar and Moses" type, to whom I shall again have occasion to refer, and who have in many other ways been made the butt of the potter.

The "Toby Fill-Pot" jugs, which in all cases appear to have a handle at the back of the figure, are sometimes met with in ordinary earthenware, either of brown body or covered with a rich brown Rockingham glaze, or of white or cream-coloured earthenware, and sometimes even china, more or less richly, and even gaudily, painted, and now and then gilded. In size they vary from holding a quart or three pints down to a lesser capacity; and the design was, in some instances, adopted for jugs of quite a small size. In my own possession, besides the larger ones, are two or three, the smallest of which is only about three inches in height.

Somewhat akin to the Toby Fill-Pot is the Bellarmine, on some examples of which hands are introduced; but of these I defer any notice until another opportunity, later on, offers itself, when I shall endeavour to say a word or two as to their origin and historical allusions.



Beatrice Cenci.

BY RICHARD DAVEY.

THE name of Beatrice Cenci is one which ought to have been buried in oblivion; and if she has now to undergo the ignominy of being overthrown from the lofty station upon which political and religious prejudices have placed her, her over-zealous and to a certain extent ignorant admirers are alone to blame. They set her up for honour, and now Truth and her own testimony mute for three centuries step forward to hurl her from her pedestal.

When I wrote my serial in the *Spirit of the Times*, I proved that her heroic virtues

were grossly exaggerated, and I clearly saw that she was, to use the vulgar expression, "no good." I had a copy of the Vatican MS. sent to me by Mgr. Nardi, and those portions of the trial which Farinacci, her advocate, has published at the end of his famous defence, and these, with Canon Torrigiani, Signor Scolari, and D'Albono's books, assisted me in detecting a number of inconsistencies in the tragic legend which has so singularly influenced literature and art both native and foreign.*

I had long since made up my mind that the celebrated portrait in the Barberini Palace at Rome was either not by Guido or else not a portrait of Beatrice at all. It is now clearly ascertained that it *is* by Guido, and emphatically not a likeness of the parricide. It is also, as we shall see in the sequel, equally positive that Beatrice Cenci was not a girl of sixteen, but a woman over twenty, and moreover the mother of an illegitimate child, whose father assisted her to perpetrate her crimes. But we will at once proceed to examine this all too famous story step by step, and we shall soon perceive that if it is not as romantic as the one so familiar to readers of Shelley, Stendhal, Story, Querrazzi, the Duchesse d'Abrantes, etc., it is nevertheless deeply interesting, and moreover affords us a very remarkable insight into the manners and customs of the Romans in the sixteenth century.

We have hitherto been assured that "Beatrice Cenci belonged to one of the oldest and noblest families of Rome." She was the daughter of Francesco Cenci, who was the bastard son of Christoforo Cenci, clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, honorary Canon of St. Peter's, and Papal Treasurer to Pope Gregory XIII. A number of contemporary documents and accounts concerning him have been lately discovered in the Roman State archives. He was not in full orders—only titular Canon of St. Peter's, but at one time he undoubtedly administered the parish church of St. Thomas near the Cenci Palace. The Roman house of Cenci is exceedingly ancient and respectable. It derives its name from the family of Centii, which is of Republican origin, and dates therefore

* I have compiled a complete list of the numerous works on Beatrice Cenci.—R. D.

back to times beyond the Cæsars. We read of it frequently in the mediæval history of Italy, as always siding with the Ghebellin or Papal faction, and as even being strong enough, assisted by familiars, to take sides either with or against houses as powerful as were those of the Barons Orsini, Colonna, Frangipani, Savelli, Monterone, etc.

In 1112 Bishop Cenci built the quaint little church of San Tomaso à Cenci, which adjoins the famous family mansion near the Ghetto, or Jews' quarter of Rome. During the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries the Cenci figure frequently as amongst the most honourable of the Roman patricians, but toward the middle of the fifteenth century they appear to have lost a considerable part of their wealth and influence. This was amply made up for by the aforesaid Christoforo Cenci, Apostolic Treasurer to Pope Pius V., and father of the notorious Francesco. All who are familiar with Papal history will remember that this holy Pope was far more occupied with the spiritual concerns of the Church than with those of his temporal kingdom.

Taking advantage, therefore, of the Supreme Pontiff's indifference, Messire Christoforo failed not to rob his Holiness right and left, and to appropriate to his own use the money entrusted to him for the private expenses of the Pope—the most abstemious man imaginable.

At his death it was found that Messire Christoforo had amassed a very large fortune, which he left to his only son Francesco.

The family, moreover, had possessions in the Kingdom of Naples, and two residences in Rome itself. One of these is the well-known Palazzo Cenci, at the entrance to the Ghetto, or Jews' quarter, which Shelley shall describe for us: "It is an immense gloomy and deserted pile of massive architecture, without doors or windows, or any sign of human habitation, and tells, as forcibly as a building can, the record of crime. It seems stricken with the curse of which Beatrice Cenci was the victim. It contains a noble courtyard, surrounded with granite columns, and adorned with antique friezes of fine workmanship, built up according to the ancient fashion of Italy with balcony over balcony of open work. I was greatly struck by one of

the gates, formed of immense stones, and leading into gloomy subterranean chambers, through dark, narrow, and lofty passages. I never beheld a fitter abode for deeds of horror, without a name." This palace was restored by Francesco in 1576, and was, probably, the birthplace of Beatrice.

All the various manuscripts of the period which relate this terrible story, those belonging to the Minerva library (of which, through the kindness of Monsignore Nardi, I have a copy), and to the royal libraries of Pavia and Genoa, begin with the self-same words, "*La nefandissima vita*—the most abominable life of Francesco Cenci." I am of opinion that these manuscripts, of which there are several, and their printed editions, are reproductions of the one in the Minerva library above mentioned, evidently written by a witness, and probably printed in pamphlet form directly after the trial for public sale in the streets, a custom still in vogue in Italy whenever there is a notable execution. When the difficulties concerning the confiscated property of the family, which we shall mention hereafter, began between the survivors and the Roman authorities, they must have been withdrawn from the book market, and as many of them as possible destroyed.

The Signor Christoforo Cenci, notwithstanding he was in minor orders, lived openly with a woman named Beatrice Arias, whose husband was still living, although apparently he did not trouble himself much about her. Christoforo on his death-bed, probably to soothe his conscience, and by the advice of the priest who confessed him, married this woman, whose husband, Giovanni Arias, had conveniently died six months previously. On May 22nd, 1562, Messire Christoforo renounced his position of "Clerk of the Apostolic Chamber"—*Officiarius Clericatus Camere Apostolicæ*; and by another document still extant, dated the same day, we learn that he married, with the permission of the Pope, the aforesaid Beatrice.

He died early in June, 1562, leaving, by a will dated 1561, his son Francesco his sole heir, but providing for his widow by bequeathing to her a house to live in, yielding an annual rent of about 500 scudi. In so doing he makes use of a singular phrase: "I do this in the hope that she will live therein

chaste and honest"—*honestè et castè vixerit*. She had not been a widow a month ere she was cited by her son's tutor to appear before the tribunals on a charge of theft. The tutor, who was a priest, accused her of stealing one of his gowns. She was, however, discharged, but whether innocent or guilty it is noteworthy that Beatrice Cenci's grandmother should have been tried for such a misdemeanour. The following year, 1563, she married again, a fellow named Evangelista Recchia, who had been her late husband's agent. He died shortly afterwards, and his wife followed him to the grave in 1574. Her will, however, is dated a year earlier. By it she leaves all her possessions to her son Francesco, except a few minor legacies to her brother Baldassare Arias, a captain in the Pontifical army, and to her sister Lucrezia, wife of Stefano Querra. This last mentioned woman's son subsequently played a conspicuous part in the tragic events which have made such a stir in the world. He is usually known as Monsignore Querra, and in the novels, romances, tragedies, and poems on the subject is described as the young and handsome clerical lover of Beatrice.

From what I have said of the grandparents of our heroine, it will readily be perceived that they were neither of them of much respectability, for Christoforo Cenci was "had up" in the Roman courts about a dozen times for various misdeeds, and his wife once on a charge of petty larceny. Francesco Cenci, the son of this worthy couple, was born in 1549. When he was but eleven years of age he made his first appearance before justice for having, together with his tutor, attacked and savagely ill-treated a man name Quintillio di Vetralba. His father paid a fine. An account of this affair will be found in *Libri Investigationum*, 1560, fol. 80. At fourteen he was affianced to Ersilia Santa Croce. The novelists generally call this lady "Virginia," and assure us that she was poisoned by her husband, in order that he might marry Lucrezia Petroni. She lived with him twenty-one years, bore him twelve children, and he did not marry again until nine years after her death. She was married to him on Oct. 24, 1565, and seems to have had a good enough influence over him, for during her lifetime he was not in trouble so often as he was subse-

quently. However, he was not long wedded to her before he had a lawsuit with his cousins Cesare and Virgilio Cenci; but on this occasion, whatever the charge was, he was evidently in the right, for there is a verdict extant to the effect that the "brothers Cenci will be pardoned on the conditions that they promise to keep the peace with Marcello Santa Croce and Francesco Cenci, for four years." January, 1567, sees Francesco once more in the law courts, charged with "assault and battery" upon the person of Marcello Santa Croce (his brother-in-law), but he got off on payment of a fine of 10,000 crowns. The following year, 1568, he was again in a serious scrape, and in the Roman Archives we find this curious document (*Libri Costitutorum*, 1572, fol. 85):

22nd 8^{ber}, 1568.

LAWSUIT OF LUDIVICO SON OF LORENZO, OF ASSISI, MULATEER, AGAINST THE SIGNOR FRANCESCO CENCI.

The plaintiff states as follow: "I entered the service of the Signor Francesco Cenci on September 1st as mulateer and letter-carrier. I was very badly treated, and as the food provided for me was poor and insufficient, I asked the Signor Agostino, a Venetian, who is factotum in the house of the Signor Francesco, to pay me my wages and let me go. He said he would speak to his master about the matter, and a little later told me that the Signor Cenci had said I was to stay where I was, unless I wished to have my skull broken. At a later hour in the day, the Signor Francesco called me into his study, and shutting the door, without further ado took up a piece of wood and threw it at me, whereby he cut open my head. When he had done this he kicked me out of the room, and called the aforesaid Signor Agostino to him, and told him to pay me my wages and put me out into the street. This took place at Ruffina, near Frascati. I came on at once to Rome and saw G. B. da Sutri about the affair, and he had me cared for by a doctor. G. B. da Sutri is in the employ of the Signor Francesco. He said he would see that I was paid for my trouble and for keeping the matter secret, but no money being forthcoming I determined to have the Signor Francesco brought before the judge." The Signor

Francesco got off by paying 5,000 scudi. In 1572 we find him once more in hot water. This time for locking one of his servants, named Pompeo, in a room for three days without food. He himself gives a version of the affair. "Sir Judge, this is what really happened. I told Pompeo to go upstairs and lock the door at the head of the corkscrew staircase (*scala a lumaca*), because there was a friend staying with me named Alessandro Ogliati, and I did not wish him to go into that part of the house where my women live. I was jealous of him. I went to see if Pompeo had done as I had told him, and I found the door open. This vexed me exceedingly, and I hit him a blow with a stick about the head. I was sorry for it afterwards. I deny having locked him up for three days without food. I only kept him one day in the room." For this offence the Signor Francesco was banished for six months from Rome, but he was afterwards pardoned through the intercession of Cardinal Caraffa, and on paying a fine of 10,000 scudi or crowns.

For some time after this he seems to have kept quiet enough, but on June 12th, 1577, we find him cited to appear before the Governor of Rome by Maria Milanese, his cook.

MARIA MILANESE deposeth: "For some days past the Signor Francesco has been asking me for a certain key which I never had. His children must have it. The last time he asked for it he flew into a passion, because I persisted in saying I had it not. He struck me with the broom stick across the head (you can see the marks), and I fell down swooning. Later on he came to see after me and gave me another blow and kicked me fearfully, calling me all the time evil names. I have been, in consequence, three days and nights in bed with fever and unable to eat." To the credit of Roman Justice, his Lordship was sent to prison this time, and remained in the Castle of St. Angelo some weeks.

Again in 1578 he spent a short time in durance vile, in another prison, Tor Savelli, for blasphemy.

On November 22nd, 1586, he made his will, in which he declares that he wishes to be buried with his family in San Thomaso-a-

Cenci, and that his funeral shall take place at night, and be a very plain one. "Only seven priests and friars are to be present, the orphans, seven torches and no more." He leaves money to all his sons, except the eldest, and also "to my daughters Antonina and Beatrice, now in the Convent of Monte Citorio for their education, each 18,000 crowns, also the rent of the shops in the Piazza della Dogana with 120 crowns annually." To his illegitimate daughter Lavinia he leaves 5,000 scudi. He mentions his sons Christoforo, Rocco, Bernardo, and Paulo, and leaves them amply provided for. The eldest son Giacomo had evidently already offended him, and he says "although it tears my heart to say so, for good reasons I only leave him 100 crowns in gold, as obliged by Roman law." This will, which still exists, begins with the words, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," a proof that he was not an atheist, as has been asserted, and it is equally clear that with the exception of Giacomo he had provided for all his children in a handsome and fatherly manner. He had, as we shall presently see, good reasons for disinheriting Giacomo.

Under Sixtus V. Francesco was legitimized by a special decree of that Pontiff, dated May 19th, 1590. He paid 28,000 crowns for this document, in which the Pope mentions the fraudulent acts of his father Christoforo Cenci, his infamous connection with Beatrice Arias, and the doubts entertained as to the validity of the death-bed marriage already alluded to, and concluding by observing that in consideration of the sum paid of 25,000 crowns or scudi, his Holiness is willing to grant the act of legitimization. It should here be observed that during the short but powerful reign of Pope Sixtus, Signor Francesco made himself scarce, and lived at Naples, where probably, if we took the trouble to search for them, we should find some remarkable records of his presence there. Those who know Naples well are aware that certain vices "*Que inter hominibus non nominandi sunt*," have passed from pagan times, notwithstanding Christianity, into common practice. Meantime his wife, Ersilia Santa Croce, after twenty-one years of stormy married life, died. It is only after his return from Naples to Rome that we find him once

more before the tribunals accused of abominations, and heavily fined, as much as 100,000 scudi to save his life. These trials are still extant, most minute in detail, and exceedingly curious as throwing strong light upon the domestic manners of the age, but, as may well be imagined, they are utterly unfit for publication. It is also about this time that we find "Maria la bella Spolentina"—the fair Spolentine—figuring upon the scene. This woman was the nurse to his youngest son Paul, and his mistress. In September, 1591, we have a charge brought against Francesco by her, for the usual "assaults and battery." This trial, however, upset a very hornet's nest upon his head, for it led to very ugly disclosures concerning his way of life. Amongst the witnesses appears a certain Stefano Bellono, whose evidence is sufficiently characteristic.

April 10th, 1591, STEFANO BELLONO in the box. He declares that: "On Holy Saturday I was helping the Cenci family to pack up, as they were removing to their old house near the Ripetta. The Signor Francesco told me to lead a certain mule, which was very restive. I said I could not, because I am not a professional mulateer. At this he kicked me, and then hit me about the face and ruined my moustachios. Then he called out to his son Bernado, who is twelve years old, and told him to give him the pitchfork, and with this he hit me over and over again. At last I consented to lead the mule, but when we got to Piazza Banchi the mule began to kick, and I was in pain from my wounds, so I let it go, and I don't know what became of it. When I got home again, Maria the Spolentina told me to go up to the Signor Francesco, who was in bed. I at first refused, but they told me that if I disobeyed, worse would befall me, so I at last ascended the stairs and went into where the Signor Francesco sleeps. He sprang out of bed, stripped off my clothes and flung me into a closet, where I remained fasting two whole days and nights."

In November, 1593, after nine years widowerhood, Francesco Cenci, being forty-four years old, married Lucrezia Petroni. These dates prove beyond question that he did not poison his first wife to marry the second. He had for the time freed himself of the Spolentina, and pensioned her off, and

he had moreover paid up about 180,000 crowns to get clear out of the hands of justice. However, three years later the Spolentina caused him to be arrested for non-payment of her pension, and then Pandora's box seems to have fairly opened upon him. Accusations of all kinds literally rained on his devoted head, and he is proved guilty of all manner of wickedness.

(To be continued.)



Newly Discovered Mediaeval Fresco Paintings in an Old Danish Church.

PROFESSOR KORNERUP, the well-known Danish artist and archæologist, has this autumn discovered, and already partly restored, a rare treasure of old wall paintings in Kongsted Church, close to Fakse, Denmark.

Through the professor's careful examination, it has transpired that the entire interior of the church has been completely covered with paintings, which, however, are of different age, as the pictures of the choir and the nearest part of the nave are older and richer than those in other portions of the church. The first-named paintings have already been cleaned from the whitewash of centuries which covered them, the rest is not quite so far advanced.

Professor Kornerup is of opinion that this discovery is one of the most important which has for a long time been made; not only are the different figures good and of great historic value, but the shields and girdles and the equipment of the knights are, according to the learned professor's opinion, almost unique.

Judging from the style of the dresses, Professor Kornerup puts their date at about 1440.

In the choir are representations of the sufferings of Christ: Christ before Pilate, the Scourging of Christ, and the Putting on of the Crown of Thorns; the Saviour carrying his Cross to Golgotha, and the Crucifixion. In the choir is also a representation of the

Trinity: the Father holding the crucified Saviour, and carrying on His breast the Dove, the emblem of the Holy Ghost. To the right of this is the Virgin Mary with the Child; and on the left side John the Baptist, wearing a camel-hair shirt under a wide mantle, and on his arm carrying the Lamb, on which all the sins of the world were to be laid. On each side of these pictures, as well as in the corners of those first mentioned, are painted Angels swinging censers. Under

these are pictures of Saints; of the Apostles there are St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew; and of female Saints, among others, St. Dorothy and St. Karen. In the nave have so far been laid bare: the Annunciation, the Martyrdom of St. Stephen, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple; the paintings in the nave can, however, hardly compare with those of the choir.

GEORG BROCHNER.

Copenhagen.



FIG. 1.—STAGE COACH, 1804.

The Dawn of the Nineteenth Century.

MR. ASHTON has lately followed up his previous successes by publishing a most entertaining and instructive book, *The Dawn of the Nineteenth Century*,* and we venture to predict that there are few of the many readers who will take up this book with delight who have any notion what a distance there is between the present day and a hundred years ago. It is almost incredible when we come to measure the extent of social and political progress which has taken place during the present reign, and it cannot be fully grasped unless we turn to the records of life at the dawn of the century and search out, like Mr. Ashton has done for us in his book, what

* Published by Fisher Unwin. London, 1886, 8vo., 2 vols.

was then going on. It was, indeed, a strange beginning, from our modern point of view, and the historian of the period will have much to do.

The nineteenth century began its career under very heavy political clouds. Napoleon sent, on the Christmas Day of 1799, his message of peace to George III.; and Lord Grenville sent back one of the noblest replies from the sovereign of a free people to the ambitious despot of a nation who had not yet learned how to be free. How this was followed up by a war which has not even yet quite lost touch with the present age, it is not for us to record. Great heroes, sailors, soldiers, statesmen, died in the service of their country, and their funerals, stately and pompous, enter largely into the festivals of the period. One of the earliest outcomes of this state of military tension was the inauguration of the Volunteer movement. And then, finally, before the century was very old, and before it had begun that progress by

which it is so essentially marked, peace was proclaimed.

But all the while that war and its many results—not all of them evil, it is to be hoped—were the dominant factors in the early

whole ox and sheep at Windsor. The mode of distributing this to the crowd was by throwing portions amongst them for a scramble. This was followed by a bull-baiting.

Some very interesting illustrations are given



FIG. 2.—STAGE WAGGON, 1804.

history of the century, social events were progressing which it is well to study, and Mr. Ashton's book enables us to do this most admirably. George III., in 1809, celebrated his jubilee, and this rare event was the occa-

by Mr. Ashton showing the stage-coach (Fig. 1) and the stage-waggon (Fig. 2) in 1804, and perhaps in no better way could be exemplified the enormous strides which the nineteenth century has made. These machines, and the



FIG. 3.—LORD DILLON RIDING IN ROTTEN ROW, TEMP. 1804.

sion of much rejoicing, only two other monarchs having thus caused their subjects to have a year's rejoicing—Henry III. and Edward III. One of the ceremonies celebrating this event in 1809 was the roasting a

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few canals then in existence, did the inland goods carriage of the whole of England, the route to Tunbridge Wells taking over twenty-four hours to accomplish! Sedan-chairs were at this time used to take ladies to evening

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parties. Riding in Rotten Row was then, as now, the fashion; and a figure of Lord Dillon, (Fig. 3) copied by Mr. Ashton, well illustrates the typical dress of a dandy of the period. One other mode of conveyance was the silent highway of the river, and much might be written on the Thames as a highway. A scene by Rowlandson, supposed to take place at Wapping Old Stairs, is perhaps exaggerated, but it gives us an idea of the inconvenience before the days of "penny steamboats."



FIG. 4.—FIRST GAS LAMPS IN PALL MALL.

Our ever-honoured contemporary, *Notes and Queries*, has begun some notes upon the history of the Thames; and though it begins far back in the stone age of prehistoric times, it cannot conclude without touching upon the events which placed our noble river as the chief means of communication between the principal parts of the metropolis. The means of communication were at this time of the most wretched description, and to this was added the miserable system of lighting by oil-lamps. Under the dark shades of these fitful lights it was in many parts not safe to

travel, and great indeed must the change have been when, in 1810, gas-lighting for the streets was first established (Fig. 4). In Pall Mall may be said to have been born that romantic London character, the lamplighter. His history is one of great interest to old Londoners, and the novelist has almost given him a place among the mythical heroes of fancy, especially as he has disappeared before the century was out.

Gretna Green marriages, card-playing, club life, cock-fighting, prize-fighting, cudgel-playing, hunting, billiards, play-going, duelling, formed the staple occupations of the gay life of the time, and from the caricatures of Rowlandson and other less known humourists, may be gained some knowledge how all these were carried on. Mr. Ashton has depicted specimens of them all, and no one can help seeing the interest and value of such records of a past life. One other subject must be mentioned—modes of punishment. It seems curious to think that in the early years of this century the old watchmen were the guardians of the law. A watch-house of old London is still standing in Smithfield, but it wants an illustration like that given by Mr. Ashton (Fig. 5) to bring before us the full significance and surroundings of such a memorial of the past; and when we pass from them to the modes of punishment and find ourselves gazing at the representation of the pillory at Charing Cross (Fig. 6), it is difficult to understand that we live now in the century the dawn of which saw all this in full vigour. These watchmen were not energetic enough to cope with the evils of the day, and how serious these evils were can only be ascertained by consulting some contemporary records. Looking back, then, to the occurrences of 1786, just on the verge of the century, the following events are recorded in the month of January:

"*Jan. 2.*—The postboy carrying the mail from South Cave to Hull, was stopped on Anlaby Common by two footpads, who took from him the mail and the horse on which he rode, and at some distance cut the mail from the saddle. . . .

"*Jan. 6.*—This evening a very singular robbery is said in the papers to have been committed. A gentleman, with despatches from our ambassador at the Court of France,

was suddenly stopped in Pall-mall, the traces of his chaise cut, and the *Despatches forcibly and artfully seized and carried off*. . . .

for stealing, in the chambers of Edward Poore, Esq., in Lincoln's-Inn, some wearing apparel, a Bank Note of 20l., and a Bank



FIG. 5.—WATCHMEN, TEMP. 1804.



FIG. 6.—PILLORY AT CHARING CROSS.

"*Jan. 10.*—The following malefactors were executed before Newgate : Charles Seymour,

Post bill of 48l. ; Joseph Lennard and George Wilson, for breaking into the chambers of

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Mr. Dekins, in Gray's Inn, and stealing a quantity of apparel; Thomas Harris, for sheep-stealing—he denied the fact; Thomas Shipley, for robbing the house of Dr. Warren; Michael Druit, for forgery; John Murray, for counterfeiting a man's will. They all behaved with decency, which, it seems, is now-a-days an high commendation!

Before concluding our too brief notice of what is contained in Mr. Ashton's book, we must point out that the illustrations, all of them excellently copied in outline from contemporary drawings, tell their own tale without much assistance from Mr. Ashton. We are quite satisfied with this, if it is Mr. Ashton's will. The book is one continued source of pleasure and interest, and opens up a wide field for speculation and comment. No one can take it up in a moody moment without losing much of his discontent, and many of us will look upon it as an important contribution to contemporary history, not easily available to others than close students, and not made into its pleasing and entertaining form without a literary skill which is not by any means common. It will be seen that we have utilized for this notice a few of the most interesting illustrations, for which we are indebted to the courtesy of the publisher—to whom and to author alike the reading public owes a debt of gratitude for so genuinely popular a book.



Reviews.

Historic Houses in Bath, and their Associations. By R. E. PEACH. (London: Simpkin, 1883; Bath: R. E. Peach). Pp. xviii., 158. Second Series, 1884; pp. 158.

ONE can easily understand that the chief difficulty the author of these volumes has had to contend with has been the condensation of the too ample materials at his command, for scarcely any city in England can boast of such a pedigree as Bath. From the time when Suetonius over-ran the south-western part of this island down to the days of Beau Nash, it has possessed a remarkable prominence in our social history.

Another difficulty which Mr. Peach declares, in his preface to these welcome volumes, that he felt was "the profusion of local stories and traditions;" but this is one not likely to be shared by most antiquaries, who, with Bacon, gladly make use of such "to

save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time."

Again, it may be true that "the gossip, the scandal, and the follies of a past age are not worth reviving, and are beneath the notice of the dignified historian;" but then, dignified historians are *rara aves*, and to many people modern Bath is less real than the Bath of the last century. The Bath of the days of Lydia Languish and Squire Western; the Bath which Rowlandson has drawn with his broad (sometimes too broad) and facile pencil—indeed, the *real* Bath is that which, in the words of Macaulay, "the genius of Anstey and of Smollett, of Frances Burney and of Jane Austen has made classic ground."

Moreover, it is precisely the gossip of a past age which gives such books as these their value, as throwing side-lights on the manners and customs of our ancestors. Take, for instance, the story which Mr. Peach gives of Philip Thicknesse, who, being desirous of winning a certain Widow Concannen, consulted a learned old judge who suggested an infallible method of succeeding, viz., to get into the lady's bedroom (she lived on the Parade), to put on his nightcap, and to look out of window when the walks were full of company! Again, fancy the sensation which would be caused in the decorous (and may we say it?) dull Bath of to-day, if one of our Royal family were to emulate the habits of the Princess Amelia, who, we are told, "drank beer like a fast young man of our own time, and took snuff like any old woman of her own" (she was only twenty-five), and who rode abroad "at a spanking rate in a hunting-cap and laced scarlet coat." No wonder she developed what Mr. Peach calls *en bon point*—we presume he means *embonpoint*. By the way, the author may add to his list of errata such slips as the foregoing, and the misspelling of the name of Goldsmith's biographer, which should be "Forster," not "Foster" (this occurs more than once). Again, the *nom de plume* of the writer of *Middlemarch* was George "Eliot," not "Elliot."

On his account of Londonderry House (the photograph of which a note invites us to find as the frontispiece, but which occurs at page 39), we have a more serious criticism to make. He describes it as having at the rear "a well-modelled room" (*sic*) which marks "a Renaissance of ceramic or plastic art;" and then tells us the medallions he so admires are made of *plaster*, and suggests that Wedgwood, when in Bath, to show the special aptitude of ceramic art for decorative purposes, walked down from his lodgings and executed these very medallions. It certainly is new to hear of Wedgwood as a plasterer, and had he executed these medallions himself we do not think he would have called them ceramic art. Again, the untutored mind is rather puzzled when he talks of "muscular architecture," and uses such hard words as "Ichnography" and "obliterative alteration," for surely when a thing is obliterated there is an end of alteration.

We are surprised that Mr. Peach makes no mention of Evelyn's visit in 1654, nor of that of Mr. Pepys. The latter, by the way, got lost on Salisbury Plain on his way to Bath, and has given us a graphic account of his experiences of the place and its customs (not forgetting his expenses there); how "the town was most of stone, and clean, though the streets generally

narrow;" how he rose at 4 o'clock ('twas in June, 1668), "being by appointment called up to the Cross Bath, where much company come, very fine ladies," and so forth, in his own delightful fashion. Wood says, that in 1644 people of both sexes bathed together day and night, and we know that a century later ladies went into the Bath with bouquets, coffee was served on trays, and gentlemen carried their snuff-boxes in little boats!

Did space permit much might be said about the physicians of Bath, those very numerous and good-natured gentlemen who cured a writer in the *Guardian* "of more distempers in a week's time than ever he had in his life." But it goes without saying that Bath and its associations is a subject replete with interest; to say nothing of Roman days, when the most perfect and extensive system of Baths known in Britain were constructed, and of the people who used them, nor of the visit of the Virgin Queen in 1574, and after her of numberless royalties down to snuffy Charlotte and our present sovereign, we meet in the pages of Mr. Peach's books—Fielding, Gibbon and Smollett,

beth, and yet under the Tudors it was perhaps even more historically interesting than under the later sovereigns. For there is the charm and romance of its first builder, that extraordinary figure in English history, Cardinal Wolsey, to commence the story; and there is the glorious halo shed by Elizabeth's always fascinating career at the end of the story. When, therefore, among the results of this year's literary productions we come to Mr. Ernest Law's book, we know we are to be engaged upon a subject that has more than ordinary charm to those who like to linger in the paths trodden by the illustrious and great of old.

Hampton Court has very little history before the lease of the old manor was granted, in the year 1514, to "the most reverend Father in God, Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York," for a term of ninety-nine years at a rent of £50 per annum. There is evidence in this lease that a manor-house formerly occupied the site, but of course all traces of it are lost by the subsequent history of the place. For those who would like to see a copy of this lease, the original



FIG. 1.—WEST FRONT OF WOLSEY'S PALACE, HAMPTON COURT.

Anstey and Jane Austen, the brilliant Sheridan and his exquisite wife (herself the daughter of a Bath music-master), the brave Wolfe, the unfortunate André, and the heroic Nelson. Gainsborough lived at various houses in Bath for many years, and painted some of his loveliest works therein, and it has been the retreat of Wilberforce, of Pitt, of Scott, Southey, Wordsworth and Landor, and we know not how many beside.

Doubtless a certain disconnectedness is inseparable from such a subject, and these volumes are not free from it—a drawback, however, which is partly remedied by indexes. The author must be credited with much patient research, and has put together information which will be perused with interest not merely by local antiquaries, but by all who value memorials of the past.

History of Hampton Court Palace in Tudor Times.
By ERNEST LAW. (London, 1885: Bell and Sons.)
4to., pp. xxiv.-375.

Hampton Court as we know it is associated rather with William III. than with Henry VIII. and Eliza-

beth, and yet under the Tudors it was perhaps even more historically interesting than under the later sovereigns. For there is the charm and romance of its first builder, that extraordinary figure in English history, Cardinal Wolsey, to commence the story; and there is the glorious halo shed by Elizabeth's always fascinating career at the end of the story. When, therefore, among the results of this year's literary productions we come to Mr. Ernest Law's book, we know we are to be engaged upon a subject that has more than ordinary charm to those who like to linger in the paths trodden by the illustrious and great of old.

Wolsey soon set to work to build. Besides being engaged all day in his many public duties, virtually carrying on the government of the kingdom, we find him superintending the most minute details in regard to the works at Hampton Court, besides doing the same for his school at Ipswich, his College at Oxford, and his other palace at Whitehall. He was a patron of the arts to a wonderful extent, and no doubt England owes much to his encouragement. Hundreds of artificers of all sorts were daily engaged on "my Lord Cardinal's works," in the parks, gardens, and buildings. Many curious entries for wages of gardeners, and for spades, shovels, barrows, seeds and plants, occur in the original bills preserved at the Record Office. Mr. Law gives some curious specimens from these interesting documents. Nor did the Cardinal neglect the sanitary arrangements. Every part of the building was carefully drained, and the rain-water and other refuse was carried on by great brick sewers three feet wide and five feet high into

the Thames. Further, and not less important, was the water-supply, which was obtained by collecting in several conduits, or water-houses, the water from the springs at Coombe Hill, about three miles from Hampton Court, and conveying it in a double set of strong leaden pipes from Coombe to Surbiton, *under* the Thames above Kingston Bridge, and so through the Home Park to the Palace. With such substantial beginnings as these we are not surprised to find that the main design was as grand as the results left to the modern visitors show it to be. The first portion taken in hand was the great west front of the building, which extends, with its two wings, from north to south 400 feet (see Fig. 1), and by the month of May, 1516, the building had so far advanced that Wolsey was able to receive the King and Queen at dinner in his new abode. With what feelings the King first entered this magnificent abode of his chief Minister we can gather some glimpses from Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, which portrays the young monarch as a jovial companion and friend, with a hearty laugh and a kind word for all, who would sometimes "oblige the company with a song," accompanying himself on the harpsicorde or lute, who, in short, built up for himself at this time that wonderful amount of popular regard which all his later despotisms and passions could scarcely eradicate from the minds of the English people. Henry was then "bluff King Hal," and Wolsey his "owne goode Cardinall."

There are many other phases of Court life in Tudor times contained in this most interesting and valuable volume. That the work has been a labour of love to the author is evident, and the accompanying maps and drawings combine to make the work one well worthy of the subject with which it deals. Everyone almost visits and knows Hampton Court. Both the antiquary and the ordinary sight-seer will do well, next time they make their pilgrimage, to have Mr. Law's book in their hands, for he manages to give a new life to a still vigorous page of bygone English history.

Moon Lore. By the Rev. TIMOTHY HARLEY, F.R.A.S. (London: Swan Sonnenschein, Le Bas and Lowrey, 1885.) 8vo., pp. xvi. -296.

The Man in the Moon has been an acquaintance of most of us from our earliest years, and when an author comes forward to give us full and authentic particulars respecting him, we naturally turn to his pages with pleasure. Many of us have an honest dread of the voluminous correspondence which appears at stated intervals in the newspapers on the lunar theory, but the author of the book before us wisely steers clear of such painful topics.

The Moon has always held an important place in popular superstition, and therefore Mr. Harley found an ample field when he chose to collect the folk-lore connected with the subject. He has brought his materials into a manageable form, and produced a very interesting book. This is divided into four sections, as follow: I. Moon Spots; II. Moon-worship; III. Moon Superstitions; IV. Moon Inhabitants. Under the first section we are told about

the Man in the Moon, the Woman in the Moon, the Hare in the Moon, the Toad in the Moon, and other Moon myths. When we come to Moon-worship, we arrive at a sort of land of topsy-turveydom, for we are told that the Moon is mostly a male deity. The Servian girl cries to the Sun:

"O brilliant Sun! I am fairer than thou,
Than thy brother, the bright Moon."

However, we shall be content to consider Luna as a goddess, and considering her influence upon the tides we are not surprised to see her treated as a water-deity. Moon superstitions are very numerous, and we all know how widely the belief in lunar influences has acted upon our language. The chapter on the difficult question as to whether the Moon is inhabited or no is well put together, and the result is that it is not impossible to suppose that there may be life on our satellite; but we must await further information before we answer the question at all decidedly.

We can confidently recommend this interesting volume to the notice of our readers. It is well got up, and forms a handsome volume.

A Concise Dictionary of the English Language, Literary, Scientific, Etymological, and Pronouncing. By CHARLES ANNANDALE. (London, Glasgow, etc.: Blackie, 1886.) 4to., pp. xvi. -816.

The title of this admirable new dictionary exactly describes its contents. We have taken the trouble to compare it with others, and have found that in many particulars this dictionary is a decided improvement, while its handy form and clear type, though so closely printed, render it a most useful addition to a library. Dr. Annandale has contented himself with being practical, and he has thus produced a book which, while not displacing others, will find a place of its own.

The Municipal Records of Bath, 1189 to 1604, published with the approval of the Town Council, and at the special request of the Bath Literary Society. By AUSTIN J. KING and B. H. WATTS. (London [no date]: Elliot Stock) 4to., pp. vii. -63, and appendix, xlv.

This is of course a very different book from Mr. Peach's, which is also noticed in this issue. It is essentially one for the student of mediæval history such as is hidden away among our municipal and other local muniments, and so long as we are without some proper organization to take in hand the publication of this important branch of historical manuscripts, we must trust to the generosity of private enterprise. London, Nottingham, Pontefract, Chesterfield, have published papers from their archives, and it is pleasing to think that the ancient city of Bath is not long behind-hand. The editors have done their work fairly well, and they have been unremitting in their endeavours to give the most careful and trustworthy

information: They preface their handsomely bound book by an excellent fac-simile of the charter of Richard I. to Bath, dated 7th December of the first year of his reign, and the appendix contains valuable lists and transcripts of the most important of the Bath archives.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Society of Antiquaries.—Dec. 10th.—Dr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. John Parker exhibited a court-roll of the manor of Aylesbury of the time of Henry VII., and read a paper on the descent of the manor from Saxon times till it came into the possession of the Earl of Ormond, and from him to the Boleyn family. It was sold by Sir Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, father of Anne Boleyn, to Chief Justice Baldwin, from whom it passed to the family of Pakington, which held it until 1802, with the exception of the Commonwealth period, when it was occupied by the regicide Scott. In 1802 it was acquired by the Marquis of Buckingham. The borough was incorporated in 1553; and, until the reign of Charles I., it was the custom of the lord of the manor and the corporation to nominate the members of Parliament alternately. The President exhibited an Anglo-Saxon coin of Edward the Confessor struck at Aylesbury, and some silver tokens in illustration of the paper.

Dec. 17th.—The President in the chair.—Prof. Boyd Dawkins exhibited and described a hoard of bronze objects found near Norwich, consisting of palstaves, celts, chisels, gouges, knives, swords, spear-heads, and daggers, with one or two articles of which the use was unknown. The Dean of Westminster exhibited the great mace and loving-cup of the City of Westminster. In pre-Reformation times the government of Westminster was in the hands of the abbot; at the dissolution it was transferred to the bishop; and, on the abolition of the See of Westminster, to the dean, who still appoints a high steward. Mr. St. John Hope exhibited the mace of the boroughs of Milton and Gravesend. It is of silver-gilt, measuring four feet eight inches in length—the largest but one in England. Dr. Evans exhibited a puzzle-latch of iron of the beginning of the sixteenth century, which had no apparent handle, but was opened by moving what seemed to be part of the fixed frame-work. Mr. Westlake exhibited a box of Limoges enamel, with a representation of the dead Christ, and a glass beaker with armorial bearings of the holy Roman empire. Mr. Trist exhibited an Italian silver-gilt ring of the seventeenth century, formed of two female figures and set in ruby.

Yorkshire Philosophical Society.—Oct. 6th.—A list of specimens and books presented to the society was read by Mr. Platnauer, the Curator. The specimens are as follows: Rostrum of saw-fish, presented by the Rev. Canon Raine, M.A., D.C.L.; twelve beetles from Mexico, by Mr. Backhouse; six species of recent shells from the North of India, by the Rev. W. C. Hey, M.A.; a series of fossil shells from the

coal shale of Bradford, by Professor A. H. Green; two bats, by Mr. W. Storey (Pateley Bridge); a series of bones of hippopotamus, rhinoceros, auroch, and red deer, etc., from the low gravel of Barrington; about thirty species of fossils from the gault of Folkestone; a collection of about 250 specimens of minerals, collected by the late Professor Kronty; sets of models of loraminefera, etc., by D'Orbigny; a series of recent fish remains, a large collection of recent echinodermata and fossils (the Etherbridge demonstration series at the British Museum), also a large cabinet for the arrangement of the latter, and seventy-four diagrams on cloth, by Mr. M. Reed, F.G.S.; a pale robin, by Mr. N. Colley, Malton; three photographs of a circular building near the Roman Camp, Maryport, Cumberland, by Mr. J. Robinson, Maryport; a large piece of amber, by the Rev. Canon Raine; a series of sections from a boring at Towthorpe, by Col. D. C. Walker, R.E. A large collection of Peruvian pottery, consisting of more than fifty vessels in cream-coloured or dark ware, by an anonymous donor; a mediæval gravestone with the names of William Pollard and his wife, found in Coppergate, York, by Mrs. Craven; a large number of Egyptian antiquities, by the Council of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, through Mr. R. S. Poole; an auto-type (one of four) of the celebrated Greek inscription found at Brough, in Westmoreland, by the Rev. G. F. Browne, Cambridge; two British urns from the Whitby moors; six Danish and three North American urns, one Roman urn found in a kiln at Castle Howard, five urns from the Swiss Lake Dwellings, with a number of fine American flint weapons, by Mr. T. W. U. Robinson, Hardwick Hall, Sedgfield, Ferryhill.

Royal Historical Society.—Dec. 17th.—Oscar Browning, Esq., in the chair.—Mr. Hubert Hall read a paper on "The Imperial Policy of Elizabeth; from the State Papers, Foreign and Domestic."

Clifton Shakspeare Society.—Dec. 19th.—J. H. Tucker, Esq., in the chair.—"Romeo and Juliet" was the play for consideration. A paper was read by Mr. Leo. H. Grindon, on "The Botany of 'Romeo and Juliet.'"

Anthropological Institute.—Dec. 8th.—Francis Galton, Esq., President, in the chair.—Mr. H. H. Johnston exhibited a collection of photographs of African natives and scenery. Mr. H. W. Seton-Kerr exhibited a number of photographs of North American Indians, taken by him during his recent visit to Canada. Mr. Joseph Hatton exhibited several ethnological objects collected by his son, the late Frank Hatton, in North Borneo. Mr. W. M. Crocker also exhibited some objects from Borneo; and Mr. R. Meldola some photographs of the Nicobarese. A paper by Mr. E. H. Man, "On the Nicobar Islanders," was then read.

New Shakspeare Society.—Dec. 11th.—Dr. Furnivall, Director, in the chair.—Mr. Henry Sharp read a paper on "The Prose in Shakspeare's Plays, the Rules for its use, and the assistance that it gives in understanding the Plays."

Royal Asiatic Society.—Dec. 21st.—Col. Yule, President, in the chair.—Mr. W. Simpson read a paper on the "Newly-discovered Caves at Panj-deh," in which he gives his own views on Capt. de

Laessø's already reported explorations, the result of which that officer had already communicated to the lecturer in February last. He thought there was little doubt they were Buddhist, like others in this northern part of Afghanistan.

Numismatic Society.—Dec. 17th.—Dr. Evans in the chair.—Mr. Copp exhibited proofs in silver and copper of the halfpenny of 1717 and a silver proof of the farthing of 1718; also a pattern in copper of Wood's halfpenny of 1724, and a gold piece of eight struck for Peru. Mr. H. Montagu exhibited an unpublished pattern in silver and copper of a half-crown made by W. Binfield, an artist who worked in Paris at the beginning of this century, and was engaged on the Durand series of medals. Mr. Roach Smith communicated a notice on a hoard of Roman large brass coins found on Hamden Hill, in Somersetshire. The portion of the hoard described by Mr. Roach Smith contained coins of the Roman emperors and empresses from Domitian to Philip I., numbering in all 293. Prof. P. Gardner gave a sketch of the arrangement of the coins of the Greek kings of India adopted in the British Museum Catalogue now in the press, especially in connection with the accounts given by the Chinese writers of the history of Bactria in the first century B.C. and the first A.D.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—Dec. 17th.—The Rev. Dr. Bruce in the chair.—A note from the Rev. Scott Surtees was read upon certain discoveries at Dinsdale, in the course of excavations near his house. Mr. Blair read "A notice of an inscription on a beam in Hexham Abbey Church," by Mr. C. C. Hodges. The Chairman then said that a suggestion was thrown out at last meeting that an excursion might be undertaken along the whole line of the Roman Wall in the approaching summer, and to assist the council in making the necessary arrangements he read an interesting paper on a similar pilgrimage made in 1849.

National Society for Preserving the Memorials of the Dead.—January 24th.—Two papers were read: "Thorpe Mandeville Church," by the Rev. A. G. P. Humfrey, with special reference to the Kirton monument; and "English Monuments, Mediæval, Jacobean, and Georgian," by Mr. J. Lewis André.

Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.—**Annual Conversazione.**—Dec. 9th.—First to attract attention were a series of maps of Leeds. As an indication of the gradual extension of the town, these were the most valuable contribution to the collection. Leeds was a straggling place when that time-worn map which the Philosophical Society possesses was issued. It bears no date, but is supposed to belong to the year 1720. The town boasted of but three churches—the Parish Church, St. John's, and Holy Trinity. Hunslet and Headingley were separated from what is now the centre of the town by what appears to have been a wilderness, broken only by a few houses fringing Woodhouse Moor; in fact, it is recorded that even at a later period it was customary for people living in Leeds to take "country lodgings" at Little Woodhouse. Kirkgate, now one of the principal business streets, was then an aristocratic suburb, for, according to the views which form the

border of the map referred to, the houses of many of the leading families of the time occupied that thoroughfare. Maps and plans of more recent date show the gradual development of the town, and indicate several changes in the street nomenclature. Camp Road is now known to very few people as Long Balk, though many will doubtless remember the time when Guildford Street was Merry Boys' Hill, where stood the old Green Dragon Hotel, once a noted rendezvous for clothiers attending the market. This ancient hostelry is one of the bits of old Leeds represented in a series of coloured drawings and pen and ink sketches. The series also included views of Ingram Hall, in Richmond Street, an old brick building, said to be the original residence of the Ingram family, and now used as cottages; Red Hall, in a room of which Charles I. was incarcerated; Ivy House, the old Moot Hall, Kirkstall Abbey, the old church at Headingley, which was pulled down in 1826 or 1827, and many other structures which have either disappeared, or which remain among the few links connecting modern Leeds with the almost forgotten past. Other reminders of former days were found in the numerous portraits of old Leeds worthies which hung upon the walls in this room and in the library, and which were interesting not so much from their artistic merit as from the associations which they recalled, Dean Hook, Dr. Priestly, John Harrison, Thoresby. A volume of a Leeds parish church register, extending from 1572 to 1588, in which it was as difficult to decipher the caligraphy as the different "marks" adopted by the various persons whose names appeared in the document, was exhibited. The first minute-book of the Leeds Infirmary recorded the meeting held at the New Inn, on the 20th May, 1767, to consider the expediency of opening an infirmary, at which it was resolved "that a parochial infirmary in this place will be of great utility." An old copy of a rent-roll of Kirkstall Abbey was shown, along with casts from several monastic seals, including Kirkstall. Though the offence for which that peculiarly shaped instrument known as the "branks," or "scold's bridle," was resorted to is not altogether extinct, the punishment has long since gone out of fashion. It is a sort of iron case for the head, fastened behind by a padlock, and having in front a piece of iron about two inches in length, which was held in the mouth of the garrulous female who should unfortunately render herself liable to the punishment. A small object discovered many years ago among the ruins of Kirkstall Abbey was a wonderful example of the skill of early mediæval artificers in the sculpture of ornaments of bone or ivory. Its real purpose is not positively known, but it is supposed to be an ancient chess-piece, formed from a fine-grained tusk of a walrus. Close by were a number of coins and tokens, together with a couple of coining implements, found in 1832 in the roof of a house in Briggate formerly occupied by one Arthur Mangee or Maney, a goldsmith, who was executed at York, in 1696, for imitating the current coinage, and who was the maker of the mace used by the Leeds Corporation. These are but a few of the specimens, and want of space forbids more than the bare mention of old oak carvings, flint implements, cannon balls, and other relics of the conflicts between the Royalists and Parliamentarians in this district during the Civil

Wars; a pair of old hand-shears, such as were used by the old croppers in shearing wool; an old Tuscan straw bonnet, in which a fashionable lady used to promenade Briggate seventy years ago; the hat worn by Colonel Lloyd, who commanded the Leeds volunteer corps which was raised to repel the threatened invasion of England by Napoleon; old copies of the *Leeds Intelligencer*; a series of admirable drawings of St. John's Church, and a large bird's-eye view of Leeds.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

A Visit to the Old Seraglio at Constantinople.

—In the *Times* of December 8, 1885, Mr. J. C. Robinson, the well-known antiquary and expert, describes the realization of a dream which had haunted him for years. The substance of his narrative is as follows:—The directions with His Majesty's *Irada* were to present myself on the Monday after its date of issue at the Royal Palace of Dolma Bagtche, on the Bosphorus, at six o'clock, Turkish time, when an aide-de-camp would be in attendance to accompany me to the old Seraglio. There is nothing specially impressive in its outward aspect. The old Byzantine walls of circumvallation, studded with square flanking towers, are almost the only very ancient features of the place. The building in which the treasury is housed has a wide *loggia* or corridor in front, and the back wall on either side of the central door is glazed in and forms a case in which is arranged a vast collection of ancient arms and armour. This part of the arms collection has its continuation or complement in a still more numerous series of weapons within doors, the latter comprising the more costly and splendid gold-mounted, jewelled, and enamelled specimens. A high official, the keeper of the Imperial treasury, and a staff of no less than thirty sub-officers and attendants, were assembled at the unlocking of the door [spies on each other—*custodientes ipsos custodes*]. The officers and attendants ranged themselves in two lines facing each other and leading up to the doorway, and a green velvet bag containing the massive keys was passed along to the principal official, who in a solemn manner took out the keys one by one, and apparently compared and verified them in the presence of a couple of coadjutors. When the outer wooden door was opened, a massive barrier of wrought-iron was disclosed, crossed by several long bars or bolts, on which were hung heavy padlocks. One by one these were opened and removed, and at last the ponderous gate swung upon its creaking hinges, and the well-guarded precincts were entered, on my part with expectation strung up to the highest pitch and with delightful feelings of child-world awe, as if it were a plunge into an enchanted open-sesame cave from which there might perchance be no exit. Very cave-like and mysterious indeed is the first aspect of the three great, square, lofty rooms, *en suite* with each other, occupied by the collection. The rooms are dimly lit by grated windows high up in the walls, and a gallery with a low balustrade surrounds them at mid-height. The deep old-fashioned glazed cases

containing the bulk of the objects, especially those in the lower story, are thus quite in the shade. The most conspicuous, though by no means the most interesting, thing in the first room is a great throne or divan of beaten gold, occupying the entire centre, set with pearls, rubies, and emeralds, thousands on thousands in number, covering the entire surface in a geometrical mosaic pattern. This was a spoil of war taken from one of the Shahs of Persia. Another canopied throne or divan, placed in the upper story of the same room, is a genuine and most interesting work of old Turkish art, doubtless made some time during the second half of the sixteenth century. In shape not unlike one of the tall mosque pulpits, this throne is a raised, square seat, on which the Sultan sat cross-legged. At each angle rises a square, vertical shaft, supporting a dome-shaped canopy, with a minaret or pinnacle surmounted by a rich gold and jewelled finial. The back is panelled or closed in, as if by a cloth of estate, and there is a footstool in front for aid in ascending the high-raised seat. The entire height of the throne is 9 or 10 feet, the materials precious woods, ebony, sandal-wood, etc., encrusted or inlaid with tortoiseshell, mother-of-pearl, silver, and gold. The entire piece is decorated inside and out with a branching floriated design in mother-of-pearl marqueterie, in the style of the fine early Persian painted tiles, wonderfully intricate and in admirable taste, and the centre of each of the principal leaves and flowers is set with splendid cabochon gems, fine balas rubies, emeralds, sapphires, pearls, etc. Pendent from the roof of the canopy, and occupying a position which would be directly over the head of the Sultan when seated on the throne, is a golden cord, on which is hung a large heart-shaped ornament of gold, chased and perforated with floriated work, and beneath it again a huge uncut emerald of fine colour, but of irregular triangular shape, nearly 4 inches in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. Of the richly decorated arms and armour, the most notable work in the first apartment is a splendid suit of mixed chain and plate mail, wonderfully damascened and jewelled, worn by Sultan Murad IV. in 1638, at the taking of Bagdad. Near to it is a scimitar, probably part of the panoply of the same monarch. Both the hilt and the greater portion of the broad scabbard of this weapon are incrustated with large table diamonds forming chequer-work, all the square stones being regularly and symmetrically cut and of exactly the same size—upwards of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch across. This chequer-work of table diamonds seems to have been a favourite motive of old Turkish jewellery, for there is another sumptuous work of art in the same room similarly adorned. This is a massive cylindrical tankard in solid gold. The handle, cover, and a raised band round the centre of the drum or body of this piece are admirably chiselled with floriated and cartouche ornamentation. Judging from the style of decoration shown in these details, this tankard would seem to be of German, or more probably Hungarian, work of the second half of the sixteenth century. As in the sword previously described, a chequer-work of flat table diamonds covers the entire cylindrical body of the tankard, which is some 9 inches high and about 6 inches in diameter. The stones, although of rather smaller size than those of the sword, are also exactly square and of equal dimensions.

There can, I think, be little doubt that this incrustation of diamonds was a Turkish embellishment super-added on the original work. From rough calculation, I imagine there must be upwards of two thousand diamonds on this piece alone. The backs of the wall-cases are hung with splendid velvet saddle-cloths embroidered and set with jewels, several of them being literally stiff with gems. One in particular I noticed, 7 or 8 feet square, ornamented with a beautiful diapered pattern closely covering the entire surface in fine regularly chosen pearls of the size of large peas. There is a golden helmet of somewhat cylindrical or beehive shape, also set with fine gems. It was evidently of Persian origin, with something even of Sassanian aspect. Next to this should be noticed a pair of massive chiselled gold stirrups, masterpieces of intricate design and delicate execution. Splendid enamelled jewel-hilted daggers, sabres, scimitars, maces, battle-axes, etc., were literally by the score. The glazed cases in all the three rooms are filled with thousands of things of all kinds, distributed without any order or system; in short, the most delightful confusion reigns everywhere. It must be said, however, that a great proportion of these things are of the commonest and most trivial kind, side by side, indeed, with splendid objects of Oriental curiosity, of fabulous intrinsic value. It was somewhat surprising, however, to find an entire absence of the costlier and more noteworthy articles of old French and other European bijouterie.

February, 1786: A Record of some Events then Occurring.—It is worth while recalling some of the most curious social and political events of the century of the present year, and we shall note them from month to month. They will serve to illustrate the history of the times.

February.—The Coroner's inquest sat on the body of Price, who forged the bank-notes, and brought in their verdict Self-murder; and the same night he was put in the ground in the fields, and a stake driven through his body.

Tuesday, 7th.—About three this morning a fire was discovered in the lower apartments of the house lately occupied by the Chamberlain of London, which is supposed to have begun in the rooms preparing for an office for the City Surveyor. The wind being very high, and the flames increasing with amazing rapidity, soon destroyed the Chamberlain's office (*with the books in which were registered the admissions of freemen*), and greatly damaged the house adjoining; but the adjoining parts of Guildhall received very little damage, and the other offices and their contents were all saved.

Wednesday, 15th.—Five malefactors were executed before the debtors' door, in Newgate; viz., for forging and uttering an Order for payment on Sir William Leman and Co., bankers; for a burglary, and stealing a crown-piece, and two dollars, a guinea, and four table-spoons; for stealing several silver spoons, two silver salts, twelve shirts, and other apparel; for robbing on the highway, at Saltpetre Bank, of a hat and handkerchief.

London Municipal Privileges.—The following note from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1786, Part I., p. 77, is worth a note: "On Friday, 13th January, the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, etc., going to St. Margaret's Hill, in the Borough, to hold the

Quarter Sessions, found Sir Joseph Mawbey in the chair, holding the Quarter Sessions for the county, and trying a prisoner for felony. The Lord Mayor waited patiently till the trial was over, and sentence passed on the prisoner to be transported to Africa. It was then expected that Sir Joseph would have resigned the chair, instead of which he was proceeding to other trials, which brought on a warm altercation between the Recorder and Sir Joseph. The Recorder insisted he was infringing the rights of the City. Sir Joseph insisted on the privilege of the County. The Recorder pointed out Guildford, Croydon, or Kingston, as the proper places for that business. At length Sir Joseph quitted the chair, and the Lord Mayor took his place."

The Lenches.—A group of villages, bearing the general name of "Lench" (spelt "Lenz" in *Domesday Book*), lies clustered on the last spur of the Clent Hills, which here die away in the Vale of Evesham. They are called Rous Lench, Church Lench, Ab Lench, Atch Lench, Sheriffs Lench; the word "Lench" probably signifies "Height," or "Ridge." A village on a height in the Black Forest is called "Lenzkirche," which is precisely "Church Lench." The only one of these villages which appears to have possessed a Manor House, and to have been resided in by its Lord, is Rous Lench, which before the Norman invasion was apparently called "Biscopeslenz," and belonged to the See of Worcester. When the Domesday Survey was compiled, a Norman invader called Urso, held "seven hides," etc., etc., and supported a priest, etc., at "Biscopesleng." He was hereditary Sheriff of Worcester, and gave its name to Sheriffs Lench, which he held also. His only daughter and heiress married William de Beauchamp, whose descendants became Earls of Warwick. William de Beauchamp afterwards held "Biscopeslenz." By-and-by, one Roger de Lench held Biscopeslenz, under William de Beauchamp. In 1300 the parish was the Lordship of Thomas de Lench. In June, 1329, his sacred Majesty, King Edward III., visited the parish, which was, by that time, called "Lench Randolphi;" where he was probably entertained by Thomas de Lench, in the ancient Manor House which stood within the moated enclosure in the park, which moated enclosure still exists. About the time of Richard II., apparently, the family of Lench vanished off the scene; and another family, named Rous, who were seated at Ragley (a few miles off, now the seat of the Marquess of Hertford), acquired the estate, and presently changed the name of the parish from "Lench Randolphi" to "Rous Lench." During their time the old Manor House was demolished, and a new one, in the half-timbered style, forming a great quadrangle, was erected (perhaps in the reign of Henry VII.) half-way up a slope in the park. Here, it is said, Cromwell slept the night before the Battle of Worcester. The Rouses were his chief supporters in Worcestershire, and partly ruined themselves in consequence. Here, too, the Rev. Richard Baxter, the great Nonconformist Divine, was an honoured guest, being received by Jane, Lady Rous, the first wife of Sir Thomas Rous, Bart., on two occasions; on the latter of which he wrote a portion of *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* (about 1645). Sir Thomas Rous's last surviving son, Sir Thomas, dying without

leaving issue, Dec. 29, 1721, the estate devolved upon Mr. Thomas Philips, a descendant of the last baronet's eldest sister, who took the name of "Rous;" and dying Dec. 30, 1768, unmarried, he left the estate to the representative of the last baronet's youngest sister, who was Sir Charles William Boughton, Bart.; who assumed the name and arms of Rous, and whose grandson, Sir Charles Henry Rouse-Boughton, Bart., sold the estate in 1876 to the Rev. W. K. W. C. Chafy. Mr. Chafy was already the owner of Sheriffs Lench; and, by acquiring the Rous Lench estate, he again united the Lenches mostly under one head, a position they had not occupied since the time of William de Beauchamp, soon after the Norman Conquest.

Prices of Book-binding in 1646.—(Continued from *Ante*, p. 35.)—A further instalment upon this interesting subject is here given.

Books in quarto Lattine.			£	s.	d.
Sculteti Medulla	} Rolles			1	4
Mellificium Historicum					
Vossi Gram. Hispani					
Biblia or the like					
All Latine bookes 4 if large paper				1	0
If thick at				1	2
All Latine bookes 4 pot paper rolles				0	10
If thick at				1	0
Bookes in 8, 12 and 14.					
Buxtorphi Lexicon	} Rolles			0	8
Passoris Lexicon					
Lumbard in Senten. or the like					
All thinn Latine bookes 8 rolles				0	7
All latine bookes 12 and 16 rolles				0	5
All bookes 14 and 32 fillets				0	5
Bookes in folio English.					
Atlas 2 voll or the like in fillets			1	0	0
Isaackson's Chron. or the like. Rolles				3	0
Gerard's Herball	} Fillets			4	4
Parkenson's Herball and the like				3	0
Booke of Martyrs or the like, fil.				12	0
Rolles				8	0
Newman's Con. Turkish Hist.	} Rolles			2	6
Rawleigh's History					
Andrew's Sermons or the like					
Annotations. Survey of London. Josephus Hist.	} Rolles			2	0
Perkin's Workes 3 vol or the like					
Sands Ovid. Bakers Chronicles or the like	} Rolles			1	10
Hackwells Apoll. Cotgraves Dictionary, Hierons Workes, Boysses Workes or the like					
Canterburies Doome	} Rol.			1	8
Hookers Policie, Pembls Workes					
Feld of the Church or the like					
Daltons Justice, Henry the 7th, Holy State, Holy War or the like	} Rolles			1	4

Antiquarian News.

It is a pleasure to record that the many valuable monuments with armorial insignia on them in the Cathedral Church at Winchester have found an artistic preserver in Mr. H. D. Cole, an Isle of Wight gentleman residing at that city, who, a student of heraldry and a good hand with pen and pencil, is making sketches of all the tombs with shields on them; and he being his own publisher, issues the result of his labours at an almost nominal price to friends. The sketches are very good, and have each a brief statement of the persons commemorated and the situation of the tomb, so that whatever may happen to the gravestone or mural tablet, there will always remain the memorial work of Mr. Cole, who has the support of the Dean in his self-imposed and valuable labour amongst the tombs.

Several small brass coins of Tetricus and Gallienus were found in the earth on the site of the New Mynstre, Winchester; and close to the base-line of the Cathedral north transept were uncovered a series of rude coffins, formed of blocks of chalk or stone, with the skeletons of the monks in them. Two interesting features were observed in one. The skull rested on a fragment of Roman tile, and one of the covering stones was the *abacus* of a Saxon pillar, one edge only worked with a rude ornament of beads and wavy lines.

The Dean of Winchester is having the ground to the north of the Cathedral carefully excavated in order to discover remains of the New Mynstre. It is a well-known fact that the New Minster and its offices stood to the north of the Old Minster or Cathedral, and ranged parallel thereto, and down to the reign of Henry I. remained, but then being decayed, and, moreover, injured by the noisome exhalations from the city and castle ditches, and also from its propinquity to the Cathedral, the celebration of the divine offices with the choirs and organs of the two churches clashing and hindering devotion, it was removed to Hyde meadow by the Chancellor, Bishop William Giffard, in 1110, and with the removal the remains of Alfred, his queen, his son, Edward the Elder, and several of the Saxon princes and princesses. These remains were sacrilegiously scattered in the last century, as Milner relates. The Dean has had a trench dug from the north transept of the Cathedral to discover the remains of the New Mynstre, and at a distance of about thirty feet the massive wall of the Abbey Church of St. Grimbald has been found and is now being uncovered; it is about three feet nine inches thick, of rubble, and faced roughly with stone, and is about three feet beneath the soil, and just as left when the superincumbent building materials were removed in the time of Henry I. to rebuild the Abbey in Hyde meadow. It is hoped that funds may permit the entire uncovering of the church, and the discovery of perhaps valuable antique objects; but enough has already been done to prove the old tradition that a narrow passage only existed between the

two churches, and hence the obstruction to divine service. The soil thrown out up to the present time has yielded fragments of Roman tiles and bricks, a piece or two of encaustic tile of Gothic design.

Monday the 25th inst. has been appointed for the reception of Works of Art intended for the Spring Exhibition of the 19th Century Art Society, at the Conduit Street Galleries.

Some digging operations at the Abbey (as the mansion of Mr. Liddell, in the High Street, Winchester, is called, because it occupies the site of one of the most famous of the royal Saxon foundations) have revealed, after an undisturbed state of many centuries, the remains of several of the ancient recluses of the Abbey. The skeletons were enclosed in rough cists formed from blocks of chalk, and amongst the bones in one were a pewter chalice and paten, indicating the priestly office of the occupier of the "last tenement." Founded for Benedictine nuns, with Alfred's aid by his Queen Alswitha, she rested and ended her widowhood within those walls. The Church or Nunna Minster, to distinguish it from the two other mighty fanes almost close by, had a very high tower. The foundress's grand-daughter, Edburga, was its abbess. Passing through many vicissitudes, it was rebuilt by Henry II., and remained a flourishing retreat for the highest ladies until Henry VIII., since which time it has fallen to decay, and now is indicated by the name and a few sculptured stones.

An urn of clay, lately found while a ditch was being dug on the east side of the Isle of Gothland, has been sent to the Stockholm Museum. It contains 2,696 unbroken and 191 broken silver coins, part with old German and part with Anglo-Saxon stamps. There are besides silver bracelets, some with figurings appended to them, and also some rods of the finest silver, such as in early times were cut and used instead of money. The total weight of the treasure is about nine pounds. The chief interest for antiquaries lies in the fact that old German and Anglo-Saxon coins have been found together.

One of the famous stones at Milton Ferry, known as Robin Hood and Little John, has recently had a large piece chipped off; and as it is improbable that the weather could have effected this, it must have been accomplished by some wanton despoiler.

Mr. J. W. Grover describes an interesting discovery which has just been made under the Church of St. Paul, in Clapham. This church stands by the side of the Wandsworth Road, the station of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway being close to it. It is an ugly brick modern building, dating from the year 1814 chiefly, some part having lately been added to form a new chancel. It occupies the site of the original Parish Church of Clapham (St. Mary's), which, by an Act of Parliament passed in 1774, was superseded in favour of the present Clapham Church of Holy Trinity, standing upon the common. Mr. Grover says: "St. Paul's arose in 1814, on the ruins of the old building, around which the gravestones and tombstones clustered. In preparing for a lecture on 'Old Clapham' I was induced to investigate the subject of the original church, and, from the description of some very interesting ancient monuments now non-

existent, came to the conclusion that there must be truth in a legend which said that they were buried in a vault beneath the present building. I communicated with the Burial Board here on the subject, and, thanks to the efforts of an active member of that worthy body, Mr. Aldridge, we have had a trial-hole sunk in the old churchyard, and have had not only the good fortune to come upon the entrance to the vault itself, but to discover its most interesting contents; indeed, the visit I paid with some difficulty down to it was more like going into an enchanted cave than a tomb. From the latter part of the nineteenth century, with its smoke, and steam, and telegraphs, I was suddenly transferred to the days when the Lord Protector Cromwell was living here in our Manor House and planting mulberry-trees behind it. Sir Richard Atkins, Lord of the Manor of Clapham, Sheriff of the county of Bucks in the days of the Commonwealth, stood at the entrance (in white marble), being clad in armour, with a flowing peruke. Behind him stood a lovely child, Rebecca, aged nine, his daughter, having a pretty frock, with lace collar and wristbands. In front, and facing them, sat the son Henry, aged twenty-four, in a Roman dress, but with a flowing peruke. Passing on we found two ladies in the vault beyond, Lady Rebecca, the mother, recumbent, having a long veil, fine bold features, and double chin, a handsome woman; beside her the eldest daughter Annabella, aged nineteen, who died in the first years of womanhood, in Paris, on the 1st of January, 1670. She is dressed in a gown with full sleeves and tight low bodice, hair short and curled, and she sits beside her mother, with a book in her left hand, her finger between the leaves.

An interesting discovery of prehistoric implements has been made by a number of workmen at Llanwit Major, South Wales. The men were engaged digging a foundation for a new building, when they found beneath an old wall three spear-heads, six celts, and several other interesting relics, together with some bones. A further search is being organized.

Some stir was made about a year ago by the reported discovery of the prints of human feet in a stone quarry on the coast of Lake Managua, in Nicaragua. They were supposed to throw back the age of man on the earth to a most remote antiquity. The zeal of an Austrian settler in Nicaragua has, the *Academy* says, provided the Natural History Museum in Vienna with twelve great stone layers marked with some of these supposed prehistoric footprints. The stone, in which they are impressed to the depth of from eight to ten centimetres, is a spongy volcanic "tuff," and the layers superimposed on them in the quarry were also of volcanic stone. The footprints are remarkably sharp and distinct; one seems that of a little child.

The custom of giving fruit-cake and cheese to the first person met on their way to the church by a christening-party is still kept up at Hexham. A few Sundays ago some Wesleyan Sunday-school scholars met a christening-party on Gilesgate Bank, and one of the women shouted to the foremost boy, "Here, hinny, is some cake and cheese for you." Some of the youngsters were much amused, and a division of the two slices of fruit-loaf and its complement of cheese

quickly took place. This is an old custom in the county of Durham, and is frequently observed.

An interesting discovery has been made at Lumley Mines, North Yorkshire. During the excavations an oak-tree in an almost perfect state was discovered, measuring 56 feet in length. The tree can be traced from its roots nearly to the top. Several similar specimens have also been seen in the mine, which has been visited by many geologists.

A society of native gentlemen has been started at Madras, under the title of the Madras Sanskrit and Vernacular Text Society, with the object of collecting, preserving, and publishing ancient and valuable Sanskrit and vernacular manuscripts. The first work to be undertaken by the society is the publication of important and hitherto unpublished Sanskrit manuscripts and historical records in the Madras Government Oriental Library and elsewhere.

The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings have addressed a memorial to the Governors of the Charterhouse praying their consideration for a site which has but one rival in London for historical importance, and for which there seems no need of extinction. The memorial points out that the buildings, as they now stand, retain all the details of a Carthusian monastery, and that, second only to its value as a monument of mediæval life, is the subsequent history of the buildings. Charterhouse is the only example remaining of those great religious establishments which have given their names to the streets and districts of London. Further, the Society pleads for the preservation of Sutton's Charity. They protest most earnestly against the handing over the site, or any part of it, to the speculative builder. They propose that the remaining estate should be transferred to some public body, such as the Corporation of the City of London or the Metropolitan Board of Works, to be used partly as a recreation-ground and partly as a museum or picture gallery.

A little time since, in clearing the foundations for some military works at Shershal, in Algeria, a fine marble statue of Jupiter, two metres high, in thorough preservation, was found. Shershal is believed to be the site of the Numidian Jol, the name of which the younger Juba changed to Cæsarea, in honour of Augustus. All the ground around the port has been a mine for archaeological inquirers.

Mr. E. A. Freeman and the Rev. William Hunt are to edit for Messrs. Longman a series of volumes on our "Historic Towns." For example, Exeter is the city which, as not becoming English till Christian times, has lived the most uninterrupted life, Roman, British, and English, while it has largely shared with York the character of an abiding local capital. Winchester is pre-eminently the city of both English and Norman Royalty; Carlisle the abiding bulwark against the Scot, as Shrewsbury is against the Briton; the Cinque Ports, as a kind of armed confederation, connect the commercial and the naval history of England. The more modern towns will also be dealt with. Among those which have outstripped their elders is Birmingham, which is wholly modern; Liverpool, which has a long municipal and Parlia-

mentary history; and Manchester, whose history goes back to the very earliest times. The idea of the series is mainly, however, to bring out the general historic position of each town; but the purely municipal and ecclesiastical history will not be neglected.

The Committee of Dumfries and Maxwelltown Industrial School have resolved to take down the north-west gable of the house in which Burns died, and to rebuild it. Instructions have been given strictly to preserve the old lines, and to use the present material as far as practicable. The wall had bulged to a dangerous extent.

The Commission appointed to prepare a History of the Jews of Germany has determined to publish, as preliminary to this work, complete chronological lists of all documents, chronicles, inscriptions, acts, and laws relating to the Jews of the Frankish and German Empires down to the accession of Rudolph of Hapsburg, in 1273.

Dr. Jessopp is preparing to edit, for the Camden Society, a series of Episcopal Visitations of Monasteries in the diocese of Norwich during the fifty years preceding the dissolution.

Mr. J. H. Hessels, of Cambridge, is editing for the Dutch Protestant Church in London its important and interesting collection of letters from the Continent in the sixteenth century. The book is printing at the Cambridge University Press. The names of Camden, the great antiquary, and many of the Elizabethan worthies occur in the correspondence, with details of interest about the men.

The discovery of the original confirmation charter of Lewes Priory, which was all that was wanted to prove the validity of Earl Warren's second charter, was destined (says the *Athenæum*) to be followed by a still greater. Sir G. Duckett has been instituting researches in the French National Archives, and has found that the relationship of Gundreda to the Conqueror is no longer a myth. All this will be made apparent in due course, but in the meanwhile it is well that the different Gundreda controversialists should know of it.



Correspondence.

CROWN LANDS.

[*Ante*, pp. 1—6.]

Mr. Hall's interesting introduction to the papers on the above subject reminds me of a point which I raised some time ago in the *Antiquary* (vi. 256), viz., when did the Folk-land become Crown-land? No actual date, of course, can be given, but an approximate one ought, surely, to be fixed. It was shown by me that Dr. Stubbs lays down in one place (i. 428) that the Crown's "rights over the Folk-land of the kingdom" seem "to have been merged in the Crown demesne . . . after the reign of Ethelred" (d. 1016); and in

another (i. 119) that "the Folk-land was virtually becoming King's land from the moment that the West Saxon monarch became the sole ruler of the English" (circ. 830).

Professor Freeman, on the contrary, holds that it was not till "after the Norman Conquest" (1066) that "these two kinds of possession got confounded," and that "the Folk-land was held to be the King's land, *Terra Regis*" (1st Ed. I., 94). I ventured to suggest that in this matter Professor Freeman's view was "coloured by political prepossession." It is certainly significant that we read in the *Financial Reform Almanack*: "With the advent of William the Norman . . . Folk-land became the King's land, and . . . was registered in the *Domesday Book* as *Terra Regis*."

Mr. Hall's view, which is expressed (pp. 1, 2) with a scholar's caution, affords, it will be seen, no sanction to that set forth by Mr. Freeman. He observes that "the change supposed [as by Dr. Stubbs] to have been in progress since the battle of Ellandune (827) is known to have been accomplished before the Conquest," and holds that "the Folk-lands, therefore, became Crown-lands somewhere about the end of the ninth century, it is believed."

It is to be hoped that in the course of these papers in the *Antiquary*, this point may be definitely settled.

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

"MAIDEN" PLACE-NAMES.

[*Ante*, vol. xii., pp. 68, 134, 182, 231, 278; vol. xiii., p. 39.]

Since my letter on the above subject (xii. 182), Mr. Roach Smith has been so good as to write to me on the question, and to inform me that the explanation of the name "Maiden" is to be found in *Baxter's Glossary*, and that it is equivalent to "old." I have not been able to identify this reference, but I have accidentally come across a prolonged discussion on the subject in *Notes and Queries* (5th S., xii. 128, 214, 498; 6th S., i. 14, 184; ii. 18, 68, 114, 195), which, however satisfactory it may have proved to the disputants, gives me the impression that, as I said in my former letter, the problem has yet to be solved. It seems, however, to be satisfactorily established that the name is usually, if not always, found in connection with Roman or British remains, the most usual combinations being Maiden (*vulgo* Maidens) Castle, Maiden Way, and Maiden Bower (*cf.* *ANTIQUARY*, viii. 127a).

I offer as my own contribution to the controversy the suggestion that "Maiden[s] Bower" is an interesting corruption, by *Volks-Etymologie*, of "Maiden Burh," a form which actually occurs.

Subsequent to the controversy in *Notes and Queries*, there appeared an elaborate paper on "Maiden's Bower, near Topcliffe," in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* (xxxiv. 241), in which the name is traced to "Merddin Bar," or "the high place of the evening star," an excellent illustration of the alarming results of being let loose among Celtic roots!

Curiously enough, Mr. Stahlschmidt's "midden" derivation was independently suggested, in another

instance, about the same time (*Essex Archaeological Trans.*, N.S., vol. iii., p. 3).

It is, however, quite possible that the "Maiden" of "Maiden Lane" may be distinct from the "Maiden" of the above discussion, and may indeed have some such origin as suggested at the outset by Mr. Wheatley.

The coincidence between the "Maiden Lane" in Barnstaple and that in London may be curious, but it is necessary to add (as Mr. Wheatley calls attention to "Lane") that in 1330-31 the "Maiden Lane" in Barnstaple was "*Regiam Stradam de Maydenestrete*" (*Historical MSS.*, 9th Report, App. i., 207b), though it is interesting to learn that the prefix is at least so old as this. I may add another early instance which is found at Melcombe Regis (Weymouth). In 1397, "the Bailiffs further present that in the lane called '*Maydestrete*' dung is placed to the nuisance of the community. This street is called '*Mayden Strete*' in other enrolments, and as '*Maiden Street*' it still exists" (*Ibid.* 5th Report, App. i. 576 b.).

Might it not be worth while to invite lists of these "Maiden" place-names as a basis for further inquiry?

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

LABOUR SONGS AND CRIES.

[*Ante*, vol. xii., pp. 149, 279.]

The announcement made by Mr. Gomme that he is preparing his collection of trade and labour songs for publication as soon as possible, cannot fail to give pleasure to every student of folk-lore. Many rustic songs, "in praise of the dairy or the plough" are preserved in Mr. Robert Bell's *Ancient Poems, Ballads, and Songs of the Peasantry*, and a few traditional specimens in the Rev. John Mitford's *Suffolk Garland*, amongst which is the *Herring Fishery Toast*, which might serve as a pendant to the Brighton fishermen's rhyme quoted by Mr. F. E. Sawyer in the *Folk-Lore Journal*:

"Here's to his Holiness
The Pope, with his triple crown;
And here's to nine dollars
For ev'ry caak in the town."

A few of these relics will probably be found in nearly every county, and it is very desirable to preserve them before oral tradition and song becomes entirely extinct. The Newcastle song-books contain some of the "Keel-row" ditties chanted by the northern sailors.

It may be doubted whether the song of "Watkin's Ale," cited by D'Israeli, is a trade or labour song. The ballad called *Mother Watkin's Ale*, of which a copy exists in the Huth (late Daniel) Collection, and which is reprinted in the late Mr. Lilly's *Broadside Blackletter Ballads*, is of an entirely different nature.

May I avail myself of this opportunity to state that for some time past I have been engaged in a somewhat similar pursuit to that of Mr. Gomme, viz., the

* This toast used to be drunk at Lowestoft, in the herring season, by those concerned in the trade. *His Holiness* is commemorated as the head of the Catholic Church, for its encouragement of the consumption of salted fish during the season of Lent. The *nine dollars* have a reference to the price at which, it was hoped, the herrings would sell per barrel, on their arrival in Italy.—*Suffolk Garland*, p. 403.

collection of old narrative poetry, or metrical folk-tales, with a view to possible publication, when my researches on their origin and affinities with the folk-literature of other countries are rather more advanced? I am very anxious to obtain a copy of an old tale of this kind, named the *Fish and the Ring*, which is mentioned by the late Mr. H. C. Coote in his interesting and learned paper on *Catskin*, in the third volume of the *Folk-Lore Record*. If any reader of the *Antiquary* could assist me in this matter, he would lay me under a heavy obligation.

W. F. PRIDEAUX.

4, Alipur Lane, Calcutta.

MUNICIPAL OFFICES: COLCHESTER.

[*Ante*, vols. xii., p. 240; xiii., p. 28.]

As I failed, by a misadventure, to receive proofs of my paper on the "Municipal Offices of Colchester," I should be glad to insert the following list of addenda and corrigenda:

VOL. XII.

P. 241, col. 2, line 13, for "named," read names.

P. 241, col. 2, line 37, for "then," read thus.

P. 241, col. 2, note 1. This note refers to "Electors," not to "Headmen."

P. 241, col. 2, note 2. After "Bailiffs," add "and of the Aldermen (while annually elected)."

P. 242, col. 1, line 10, for "it," read this office.

P. 242, col. 1. "ACCOUNTANT."—This officer proves to have been, as I thought, the (accounting) chamberlain himself.

P. 243, col. 1, line 3, for "statutes," read statute.

P. 243, col. 1, line 6, for "in, avowedly," read avowedly, in.

P. 243, col. 1, line 8, for "those," read these.

P. 243, col. 1, note 3, for "Bawtree Harvey," read Mr. Bawtree Harvey.

P. 243, col. 2. "ATTORNEYS."—It may be interesting to note that in the Corporation Records I have found an entry of a formal meeting of the governing body, 2nd Oct., 2 Edw. VI. (1548), to decide upon the case of Nicholas Moore, of Colchester, scrivener, "a common councillor and common attorney." He was charged with having stirred up litigation and been the cause of a great increase of lawsuits during his residence in the town, and (it having been stated that he had previously been expelled from other towns on the same ground), a resolution was passed that he should not only lose the freedom of the borough, with its privileges, but should also "avoyd and depart out and from the seid towne of Colchester, suburbes, libertyes and p'tynt therofi." This singular case should be compared with that of the first "attorney" who settled in the Isle of Wight, and was, "with a pound of candles hanging at his breech lighted, with bells about his legs, hunted oute of the island."—*Antiquary*, ix. 30.

VOL. XIII.

P. 29, col. 2, note 1. Add—A "coal meter" and "corn meters" are still among the municipal officers of Harwich. The "sworn Meeters" of Colchester, however, would seem to have been distinct from the Hythe "Measurers," and to represent the two men

from each ward who, according to the early rolls, were to be sworn to superintend the sealing of the borough weights and measures. Note that a Colchester bushel (*mensura de Colchester*) appears as early as 1222 (*Domesday of St. Paul's*, p. 33). Compare Mr. Ferguson's instructive paper on "The Carlisle Bushel" (*Archaeological Journal*, xlii. 303-311).

Pp. 29-30. *Dele* "They are . . . the office."

P. 30., col. 1., l. 24. "The Ale-taster." This officer is incidentally mentioned in the trade Ordinances of Edward IV.'s time.

Lastly, it should be borne in mind by students that the importance of Colchester, as a type, lies in the entire absence of any merchant-guild, its municipal organization being thus evolved with absolute freedom from that influence. This point, which is of the utmost importance, finds its exponent in the name of "Moot-hall" (not "Guild-hall") which clung throughout to its chamber.

J. H. ROUND.

MARAZION AND WEST CORNWALL.

[*Ante*, vol. xii., p. 275.]

Seeing in the *Antiquarian News* in the December number a notice of the election of the last mayor of this borough of 290 years' existence, I wish to state that I give a very much more ancient date to its existence as a place of note.

The list of Roman towns in Britain, known to antiquaries as the "Ravenna," begins with the name of "Giano" (Jiano), and this name I identify with this town of Marazion in a paper which will appear in the next volume of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, where I make an attempt (and I think not altogether unsuccessful) to give modern names to the great majority of the towns in the list up to "Utriconion;" and I apprehend it will be found that, although the list is perhaps not the most classic Latin, it is not exactly the "rude mass of barbarous names," nor "confused catalogue of hard names," nor the "barbarous style," nor "barbarous jumble" stamped upon it by Reynolds and Horsley; and that the geographer had *good* "foundation for the strange names he has collected," and that they are not "the inventions of his own fancy."—(Reynolds, 132).

The additional and varying names, which appear in the notice, of "Marghasiewe," "Marasionis," and "Marghasion," serve to confirm the impression derived from the ordinary names of "Marazion *alias* Market Jew," that these names are really derived from Market-jon with the usual abbreviations and corruptions.

The names following in the list, appearing to be names of towns in West Cornwall and Devon, also serve to support the affixing of the name of Giano to Marazion; viz., Eltabo (Helston), Elconio (Tregony), Nemetotacio (Tavistock), Tamaris (Tamerton), Durocoronavis (Dartmouth), Ardua (Liskeard), Duriarno (Totnes, ad Durium Amnem). Other names may be recognised by those in the locality; but so many places have been re-named after Saints, that probably many ancient names are lost.

H. F. NAPPER.

Loxwood, Sussex.

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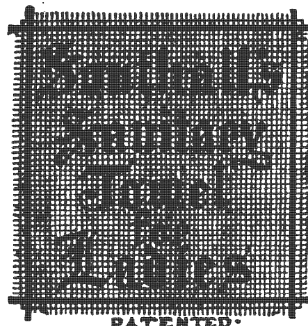
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2. The lands accruing to the Crown by escheat or forfeiture, or temporarily in the hands of the King as feudal lord.
3. The royal forests, parks, and chases.

The ancient demesnes of the Crown appear to have originally consisted of such lands and towns as were set apart from the rest of the kingdom for the maintenance of the King and of his household, the rents of which were at first paid mostly in kind, as in farm produce, cloth, silks and other necessities, this form of contribution being exchanged for a payment in money about the time of Henry I.

At the time of the Norman Conquest, as appears by the Domesday Survey, the royal demesnes were of very great extent and value, comprising not only the lands, etc., held in demesne or otherwise by Edward the Confessor, but also all those of his immediate relatives and adherents.

In that volume are enumerated, under the title of "Terra Regis," no less than 1,422 manors and lordships in various parts of the kingdom, amongst the former owners of which appear the names of Edward the Confessor and Editha his Queen, Harold, Earl Godwin, Goda the mother of Harold,

VOL. XIII.

Goda the sister of King Edward, Guert, Tosti, Stigand, Edric, Earl Edwin, Earl Morcar, and Algar Earl of Mercia.

Some of these lands had no doubt accrued to the King by escheat or forfeiture, either from Saxon nobles or from his own followers, at various times before the completion of the survey ; but being recorded therein as "Terra Regis," they became *ipso facto* demesne lands of the Crown, final appeal being always made to that record whenever in future times the question arose whether lands belonged to the ancient demesne or not.

In the *Exon Domesday*, which is supposed, so far as it extends, to contain an exact transcript of the original rolls or returns made by the Commissioners at the time of forming the survey, the lands which in the general survey appear under the head of "Terra Regis" are described as "Dominicatus Regis," and in one instance as "Dominicatus Regis *ad Regnum pertinens*," demesne lands of the King belonging to the kingdom, the lands under this heading having all belonged previously to King Edward in demesne. (*Exon Domesday*, p. 75.) A similar expression occurs in the *Exchequer Domesday*, in which a certain manor is stated to have belonged to the kingdom, but to have been given by King Edward to Ralph the Earl. "Tenebat rex Ædwardus, et hoc manerium fuit de regno, set Rex Ædwardus dedit Radulfo Comiti."—(*Domesday Book*, vol. ii., fol. 119 b.)

The passages above quoted seem to warrant the suggestion that the demesne lands were not regarded as the private property of the King, but as the property of the nation, the usufruct of which only was vested in his hands. A wide distinction appears, in fact, to have been always made between the demesne lands and those acquired by escheat or forfeiture, the latter being looked upon as the King's private property, which he might alienate at pleasure, while to dispose of the former was regarded as an act of grave injustice to the nation.

Many cities and towns were anciently vested in the Crown as part of its demesne. Amongst these may be instanced the City of Exeter, in which William the Conqueror held nearly 300 houses ; the towns of Barnstaple

H

and Lideford, both of which had formerly belonged to Edward the Confessor in demesne, with Sulfreton, Teintone, Alseminstre and several others in the county of Devon. In the reign of Henry I. the Crown was seized (amongst others) of the towns following: Carlisle, Exeter, Warengesford, Colchester, Northampton, Malmesbury, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Ipswich, Tamworth, and Wincelcombe, and the number appears to have been largely increased in the succeeding reigns. Most of these towns were committed to the hands of custodes or fermors, or to the hands of the citizens and burgesses themselves at certain fee-farm rents, to be by them rendered annually at the Exchequer, which rents are generically defined as the *Firma Burgi*.

In addition to the fixed rents of the demesne lands and manors, and to the fee-farm rents paid annually by the several cities and towns the lordship of which was vested in the Crown, all the demesne lands and boroughs, together with such other honours and lands as were in the King's hands by reason of escheat, forfeiture or otherwise, were subject to the payment of *Tallages*, which were assessed on them from time to time whenever the royal necessities required it, such assessments being made by the King's Justices Itinerant, or by others specially deputed for that purpose under the titles of *Tallagium Maneriorum Regis*, *Tallagium Maneriorum et Terrarum Regis quæ tunc erant in manu ejus*, *Tallagium Dominiorum* or *per dominia Regis*, and so forth. Under the terms *Maneria* or *Terræ quæ erant in manu Regis* were comprehended the King's escheats and wardships with all lands thereto belonging, which, so long as they remained in his hands, were regarded as held *tantum de dominico*, and tallaged accordingly. The tallages assessed upon the ancient demesnes appear, however, to have been much heavier than those in the counties at large, petitions being frequently presented by those who did not hold in ancient demesne to be tallaged with the community of their county instead of with such tenants.

When a demesne manor was demised or granted away by the King, or a town put to fee-farm, the right of tallage was generally reserved to himself and his heirs; and even

when the tallage was included in the grant, it could only be levied by the grantee at such times as the King tallaged his demesnes.

These tallages were assessed on the men of the demesne lands and towns sometimes *in communi*, or at a gross sum to be paid by the custos or farmer, or by the mayor and bailiffs of the town, which was afterwards apportioned amongst the citizens and burgesses according to the amount of their tenures, and sometimes *per capita*, or in the form of a poll tax.

The lands held in ancient demesne were not liable to the payment of scutage, which was reserved for the lands held by knight-service only; that is to say, for the King's defence, and not for provision. Before, however, any military expedition was begun, an auxilium or voluntary aid was demanded from the tenants in ancient demesne for the provision of the King's host, on refusing which they might be tallaged to a tenth of their goods, but never higher, which was generally done at the conclusion of the expedition. This contribution is sometimes called *escuage certain*, as distinguished by its fixed amount from the variable *escuage* levied on the knights' fees.

Under the general title of escheats, may be included, not only the escheats proper, or lands devolving to the Crown for want of an heir, or by forfeiture or feudal delinquencies, but also those lands which were temporarily in the hands of the King by reason of his feudal superiority or of the royal prerogative, as the possessions of wards and minors, and of abbeys and bishoprics during the vacancy of their respective sees, which, so long as they remained in his hands, were treated as part of the royal demesne, and the rents and profits thereof paid into the Exchequer. The lands which from time to time became vested in the Crown by escheat, forfeiture, or feudal delinquency were exceedingly numerous and important; indeed, if the royal powers of alienation had not in this respect been freely exercised, the King must, in the course of no very lengthy period, have become the absolute lord of the soil. In the reigns of Henry I. and Henry II., the Crown was in possession of several great honours or baronies, which are accounted for on the Great Rolls of the Exchequer as

Honor, Baronía, or Terra of such a one, sometimes with the addition of the words *quæ est in manu Regis*, but without expressing by what title they came into the hands of the Crown, such escheats increasing in number with each succeeding reign.

In the thirty-first year of Henry I., there were in the King's hands the baronies or lands of Berchelai, of Otuer Fitz-Count, of William Peverell of London, of Roger de Molbrai, of Eudo Dapifer, Simon Cheisneduit, and others. In 19 Henry II. the honours or baronies of Earl Conan, of the Earl of Boloigne, of William de Curci, of William Peverell of Nottingham, of the Earl of Leicester, of Earl Giffard, and of William Fitz Alan; and in the thirty-first year of the same reign the baronies or fees of Guthleu, of Striguil, of William de Vesci, of Ralf de Caugi, of Ralf son of Mein de Forest, of Albert Gresle, of Thomas de Muscamp, of William Painell, of the Earl of Leicester, the honour of the Constabulary, the lands of Robert Fitz-Bernard, and of Henry de Essex, the honours of Earl Eustace and of William Peverell, the lands of Earl Simon, of William de Lovetot, of the Earl of Gloucester, and of Herbert Fitz Herbert, and the honours of Earl Giffard, and of Arundel and Petworth.

Besides the greater fees, such as those above specified, sometimes the lands and fees of inferior persons, which were yet of considerable value, and also hereditary offices and serjeanties, with the lands pertaining thereto, became forfeited or devolved on the Crown, from the incomes of which, or from the fines paid by the owners to have them restored, the Crown derived a considerable profit. The greater escheats were usually let to farm, or committed to the custody of particular bailiffs, in the same manner as the royal demesnes, and the King had the reliefs, wardships, marriages, and other profits arising therefrom, and in fact the full dominion or property in them; insomuch that sometimes, after they had been long vested in the Crown, they were hardly to be distinguished from the King's ancient demesne.—(Madox, *Hist. of the Exch.*, vol. i.)

The forests of England appear to have been regarded from a very early period as

the peculiar property of the King, and subject to his uncontrolled jurisdiction, a prerogative which was always most jealously guarded by the Crown. Of their origin little is absolutely known, but they probably consisted of such portions of the national property as had remained unenclosed till the time of the Conquest. Being no objects of assessment, they are rarely noticed in the Domesday Survey, the names of four only, exclusive of the New Forest in Hampshire, being discoverable in that record—viz., Windsor Forest in Berkshire, the Forest of Gravelinges in Wiltshire, Winburne in Dorsetshire, and Whichwood in Oxfordshire.

The distinction between forests, parks, and chases may be explained as follows:

A forest was a portion of territory, consisting both of woodlands and pastures, which was not enclosed, but circumscribed by certain metes and bounds within which the right of hunting was reserved exclusively to the King. It was placed under a code of laws distinct from those which governed the rest of the kingdom, and had its own courts for the administration of such laws, and a set of officers specially appointed for the preservation of the vert and venison. The Forest Courts were three in number—the Court of Justice Seat, the Court of Swainmote, and the Court of Attachments. The first of these was presided over by the Justices in Eyre of the Forests, who were appointed early in the reign of Henry II. for the enforcement of the forest laws, and the holding of all pleas, etc., concerning the forest. These officers were two in number—one for the north and one for the south side of the Trent; and they went their circuit once in every three years, for the purpose of trying the offences presented at the two inferior courts, of which the Court of Swainmote was held three times a year, and the Court of Attachments, or Woodmote Court, every forty days. The principal officers of the forests were the *Verderers*, who acted as judges of the Swainmote Court, and directors of all the other officers in the forest; the *Regarders*, who made a regard or survey of the forest every third year, to inquire of all offences, assarts, or purprestures; the *Foresters*, whose duty it was to preserve the vert and venison,

and to attach offenders; the *Agistors*, who regulated the sums paid for the agistment or pasturage of cattle; and *Woodwards*, *Stewards*, and others.

A chase, on the other hand, although, like the forest, it was unenclosed, had no particular laws or courts as a forest had, offenders therein being punished according to the common law of England; nor had it the same officers as a forest, but only Keepers and Woodwards.

A park was of the same nature as a chase, with the exception that it was always enclosed within a wall or pale.

Finally, parks and chases might be held by any subject, whilst a forest, truly and strictly taken, could not be in the hands of any but the King, who alone had the power to create a Justice in Eyre of the Forests.

This power, however, might be, and occasionally was, delegated to a subject by a special commission from the King, as was done when the Forests of Pickering and Lancaster were granted to the Earl of Lancaster in the reign of Edward II., and the Forest of Dean to the Duke of Gloucester by Richard II.

The royal forests were sixty-nine in number, besides thirteen chases, and more than seven hundred parks. Amongst the chief of these may be mentioned, on the north side of Trent—the Forests of Galtres, High Peak, Inglewood, Knaresborough, and Sherwood; and on the south of Trent—the New Forest, Alice Holt, Woolmer Forest, and Bere Forest, in Hampshire; Windsor Forest and Cranbourne Chase, in Berkshire; the Forests of Waltham, Epping, or Hainault, in Essex; Macclesfield, in Cheshire; the Forests of Dean and Kinfare, in Gloucestershire; Whittlewood, Salcey, and Rockingham, in Northamptonshire; Whichwood and Shotover, in Oxfordshire; Ashdowne, in Sussex; and Saverneke, in Wiltshire.

In addition to the formation of the New Forest, which has added so much obloquy to the memory of the Conqueror, by whom the county of Hampshire was said to have been laid waste to a very great extent for that purpose, the bounds of the royal forests were largely increased during the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and King John, the two latter being the greatest offenders.

By the *Chartæ de Foresta* of the second and ninth years of Henry III., it was, however, enacted that the royal forests should be reduced to their ancient limits, and that those portions which were not the ancient demesne of the King should be disafforested. In order to carry out the provisions of these Acts, several perambulations of the forests were made during the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., which were subsequently confirmed by statute 1 Edw. III., c. i.

Although the royal forests, etc., were maintained expressly for the pleasure and amusement of the Sovereign, they yielded no inconsiderable revenue in the sums paid as fines and amercements for infractions of the forest laws, or as rents and fines for *Assartlands* and *Purprestures*—that is to say, for clearings and encroachments of various kinds.

The chief agents in the collection of the revenue arising from the Crown-lands were, in earlier times, the Sheriffs of the several counties, to whom the manors and lands within their respective bailiwicks were committed—sometimes in the capacity of *Custodes* or *Bailiffs* of the shire, in which case the issues of each manor, etc., were accounted for by them separately—but more generally as *Farmers*, the whole of the rents due to the King within any one county being *let to farm* to the Sheriff for a fixed sum called the "*Firma Comitatus*," or "*Corpus Comitatus*," the farm or body of the shire. From this sum deductions had from time to time to be made for the "*Terræ Datæ*" or lands granted away by the King, for the issues of which the Sheriff was of course no longer responsible.

The various items of the "*Terræ Datæ*" were at first repeated in the Sheriff's account from year to year, but by the Statute of the Exchequer called the Statute of Rutland in 2 Edward I., it was enacted that, in order to avoid this unnecessary repetition, and thus to lighten, to some extent, the arduous labours of the Clerks of the Pipe, the "*Corpus Comitatus*," together with the "*Terræ Datæ*" up to that period, should be entered in a separate roll, which was called the "*Rotulus de Corporibus Comitatum*," the Sheriffs' accounts thenceforward beginning with the words, "*Corpus hujus Comitatus annotatur*

in Rotulo," etc., and then proceeding to the "Remanens firmæ post terras datas."

The fee-farms of the cities and towns, and the revenues of the larger escheats, were seldom placed within the Sheriff's jurisdiction, but were accounted for separately by their respective custodians or farmers, at first on the Pipe Rolls or the Chancellors' Rolls, and subsequently, when from the ever-increasing business of the Exchequer these rolls increased in bulk to an unmanageable degree, on a series of rolls called Rolls of Foreign Accounts—that is to say, of such accounts as were foreign to the ordinary jurisdiction of the Sheriff, which rolls also included the accounts of Collectors of Customs and Tallages, of the Keepers of the Wardrobe, and of the royal Mints and Exchanges, etc., etc.

It appears to have been the practice both of the Sheriffs and of the Bailiffs, Reeves, Feodaries, and other "Ministers," who were accountants at the Exchequer for the revenues of the Crown, to bring with them to the yearly audit a *compotus*, or account of their receipts and expenses, and also a roll of the *particulars* of such accounts, the gross sums from which, and sometimes the accounts in full, were transcribed either on the Pipe Rolls or the Foreign Rolls—the rolls of accounts, and also of the particulars, being left by them in the Treasury of the Exchequer, where they formed a large and important class of documents, containing the minutest details of the management of the various manors, lands, and tenements in the hands of the Crown, corresponding to the well-known series of "Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts," which may be said to commence with the establishment of the Courts of the General Surveyors and of the Augmentations of the Revenues of the Crown in the reign of Henry VIII.

The greater escheats were, as has been already stated, generally accounted for at the Exchequer by the persons to whom they had been let to farm, or to whose custody they had been committed, such accounts being enrolled at first on the Pipe Rolls, and subsequently on the Rolls of Foreign Accounts. The smaller escheats were, however, at first answered for by the Sheriffs under the title "De Escaetis et Purpresturis."

Distinct officers were subsequently appointed for the management of the revenues arising from escheats and forfeitures, who were called "Custodes Escheatarum," and afterwards "Escheators." About the end of the reign of Henry III., the whole kingdom was divided into two Escheatrics—"Citra Trentam," and "Ultra Trentam," which arrangement continued, with a short interval, till 8 Edward III., when the district south of Trent was formed into seven Escheatrics, the district north of Trent (exclusive of Lancashire) forming an eighth. There are Rolls of Escheators' Accounts from Henry III. to James I., which, with the inquisitions by which they were generally accompanied, contain full particulars of the lands seized, including their extent and value, and the reasons why they were taken into the King's hands.

The revenue derived from the royal forests consisted of (1) rents and fines paid for such lands as were from time to time *assarted*—that is to say, cleared of all forest growth and reduced to cultivation, for which the royal license had generally to be obtained; (2) of fines for *purprestures*, or encroachments of various kinds; (3) of the fines and amercements imposed in the Forest Courts, and the sums paid for the agistment of cattle.

These are accounted for at first on the Pipe Rolls, and subsequently by the several Foresters or "Custodes Forestarum," whose accounts were frequently enrolled on the Rolls of Foreign Accounts. There is also a large series of original Forest Accounts, extending from Henry III. to James I., amongst the Miscellaneous Accounts of the Exchequer.

Subsequent to the establishment of the Courts of General Surveyors and of the Augmentations, the management of the royal forests was vested in the hands of special officers belonging to those courts.

By a statute of the thirty-second year of Henry VIII., in order that the King might be "better served" with the profits incident to the tenures *in capite* from which an important amount of the royal revenue was derived, and also probably in consequence of the frequent complaints made to the Exchequer of the injustice and partiality of the

Escheators, a "Court of Wards" was established for the especial management of such revenues, and in the following year the liveries of lands were vested in the same court, which was thereafter known as the "Court of Wards and Liveries." This court was virtually abolished by a vote of both Houses of Parliament in 1645, which resolved that the tenures to which wards, etc., were incident should be converted into free and common socage; its abolition being completed by the statute passed immediately after the Restoration, entitled "An Act taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and Tenures *in capite*, and by Knights' Service and Purveyance, and settling a Revenue upon his Majesty in lieu thereof," which, after reciting that the said court and tenures "have been more burthensome, grievous and prejudicial to the kingdom than beneficial to the King," abolished them, and substituted in their stead certain duties on beer, spirits, coffee, etc.

The practice of taking certain lands from the direct survey or control of the Exchequer appears to have been inaugurated during the reign of Henry VII., by whom, in order to ensure a more speedy payment of his revenues than could have been arrived at had the accounts been taken in the ordinary course of the Exchequer, special commissioners (consisting of Sir Reginald Bray, Sir Robert Southwell, and others) were appointed to take the said accounts by word of mouth, and to pay in the sums arising therefrom to the King in his Chamber, or to some other person for his use; bills or books of which payments, signed with the royal sign-manual, were kept by the Treasurer of the said Chamber.

These books were, however, no discharge to the accountants at the Exchequer; and Henry VIII., wishing to continue the same course by sufficient and lawful authority, by statute in the third year of his reign named Sir Robert Southwell and B. Westby (one of the Barons of the Exchequer), whom he had previously appointed by Letters Patent to survey and approve his lands and possessions, "General Surveyors and Approvers of the King's Lands," giving them power to call the accountants to account before them in the "Prince's Chamber" at Whitehall, a

course which could hitherto be legally pursued only in consequence of process issuing from the Exchequer.

Another statute in the following year continued this practice, and included a schedule of the lands and revenues placed under the survey of the said General Surveyors; and other Acts passed in the sixth, seventh, fourteenth and fifteenth, and twenty-seventh years of the same King confirmed and amplified the powers placed in their hands.

By statute 33 Henry VIII., c. 39, after reciting the above-mentioned Acts relating to the General Surveyors, it was enacted, that in order that the said officers might have no need of the authority of any other court or jurisdiction, a court should be erected to be called the "Court of the General Surveyors of the King's Lands," which should be a Court of Record, possessing a Privy Seal, and comprising the King's Surveyor, a Treasurer (who was always to be the Treasurer of the King's Chamber), the King's Attorney, a Master of the Woods, and such auditors and receivers as his Majesty should appoint. The lands, etc., placed under the survey and control of this court were those specified in the schedule to the Act of 14 and 15 Henry VIII., and consisted almost entirely of lands accruing to the Crown by attainder, escheat or forfeiture.

By a previous statute (27 Henry VIII., c. 27), a court had been established for the management of the vast revenues arising from the possessions of the dissolved monasteries, under the title of the "Court of the Augmentations of the Revenues of the Crown," under the survey of which were placed not only the revenues of the dissolved monasteries, but also all lands, etc., acquired or to be acquired by purchase or exchange. This court comprised a Chancellor, who was empowered to make gifts, grants, etc., under the seal of the Court, a Treasurer, Attorney, Solicitor, and particular Auditors and Receivers.

Both the above-mentioned courts were dissolved by Letters Patent of the thirty-eighth year of Henry VIII., and a new Court of the Augmentations erected with full jurisdiction over all the revenues heretofore in the survey of the said abolished courts

and over all honours, castles, seigniories, manors, lands, etc., within England, Wales, Calais, and the marches thereof which might thereafter come to the King by any Act of Parliament, or by any gift, grant, surrender, bargain and sale, or by forfeiture, attainder or escheat. A proviso, however, was inserted that such honours, etc., as were in the survey of the Court of Exchequer or of the Duchy of Lancaster should continue in the same. The following officers of the court were appointed by the said Letters Patent :

A Chancellor ; two General Surveyors ; a Treasurer ; two Masters of the Woods (one for the north, and one for the south side of Trent) ; two Surveyors of the Woods ; ten Auditors of the Revenues ; two Auditors of the Prests and Foreign Accounts ; eleven Receivers : particular Surveyors for each County ; an Attorney ; Solicitor ; Clerk ; and other officers.

This court was in turn abolished by authority of the statute 1 Mary, c. 10, and the business thereof annexed to the Exchequer, it being at the same time directed that the revenues of the manors, lands, etc., within the survey of the said court should, for the future, be collected by the Sheriffs of the several counties, or by such other persons as the Lord Treasurer should appoint. The ancient mode of collecting revenues through the Sheriff does not, however, appear to have been restored, the Land Revenue being collected, and the Ministers' Accounts continued, in the same form as before the dissolution of the Court of Augmentations.

Instead of being paid to a Treasurer, the revenue was, however, now paid into the receipt of the Exchequer ; the rents, with the exception of those charged on the Sheriff as part of the *Firma Comitatus*, for which he continued to be answerable, being accounted for before the Auditors of the Exchequer, the number of whom was by the said statute fixed at seven, and who were called Auditors of the Land Revenue, in distinction from the Auditors of Imprest, who subsequently merged in the office of the Commissioners for Auditing Public Accounts. The number of the Auditors of Land Revenue was in 1706 reduced to three, and they were finally abolished by statute 2 William IV., c. 1., their duties as Auditors being transferred to the Com-

missioners of Audit, and the duties performed by them in the registration and enrolment of leases, deeds, covenants and other documents relating to the land revenue being provided for by the erection of the "Office of Land Revenue Records and Enrolments."

Subsequent to the abolition of the Court of Augmentations, a Surveyor-General of the Crown Lands was appointed, in whom the whole superintendence and management thereof was vested. By him surveys were taken and particulars for leases of houses and lands made out, the necessary covenants and agreements being suggested by him ; and all memorials, reports, warrants, surveys and other documents relating to Crown leases, together with the leases themselves, were recorded in his office. There was also a Surveyor-General of the Woods and Forests, who generally acted in conjunction with the Surveyor-General of Crown Lands. Both these offices were abolished by statute 50 George III., c. 65, their functions being transferred to a Board of Commissioners, called the Commissioners of His Majesty's Woods, Forests and Land Revenue, which system continues in force at the present time.

The nature of the Crown-lands and the various processes by means of which the revenues arising therefrom were accounted for at the Exchequer having been briefly described, an endeavour will be made in a future paper to trace the principal changes which took place in the extent and administration of the land revenue of the Crown from the Norman Period to the reign of Queen Anne, when, by the Act known as the Civil List Act, passed in the first year of that sovereign's reign, the Crown was restrained from making further alienations of its landed property, and from making leases of houses for a longer period than fifty years, or of lands for more than thirty-one years, or three lives.



Notes on Common-Field Names.

IN the course of my work at the transcription of documents, contained principally in the chartularies of Guisborough Priory, Whitby Abbey, Rievaulx Abbey, and Furness Abbey,

numbering in all scarcely less than three thousand, I have had occasion to note a large number of local names, many of which may be intelligibly (though, perhaps, not quite correctly) described as common-field names. For, strictly speaking, what we speak of now as "fields" did not exist in the days when these names were imposed, and consequently the term "field-names," as we use it now, would be misleading if applied without any previous notice that its ordinary sense must be greatly qualified. And the qualification takes its rise in the following considerations: (1) One single enclosure—the "campus," "campus communis," "field" or "common field," or "acre-garth" of a north-country vill or township—not only might, but would, find room for or contain a number of these quasi "field-names;" (2) that some of these quasi field-names would depend on one consideration or set of considerations, and others again on other considerations totally divergent or different from the first set, even if not, in some cases, from each other. Thus, natural features of the field or its divisions, of the soil, of the culture, of particular ownership even, all would furnish forth varying considerations, and some of them a large and divergent series of the same. If it be borne in mind that the campus communis, "common-" or "open-field," might contain not only several scores, but in many cases even hundreds of acres, and that it admitted of easy delineation or description, as a whole, by means of its ascertained boundary depending on natural objects, such as rocks, trees, hills (natural or artificial), springs, streams, or artificial dikes, etc., each of which necessarily had its "local name" as well as "habitation;" and that within this boundary lay all the holdings, whether of possession or occupancy, of all the farming folk, from the largest holder down to the tenant of a single oxgang or less, it will be at once seen not only how absolutely indispensable some system for the exact delimitation of one division of tenancy or possession from another must have been, but how such a series of names, so derived as these quasi field-names were, might and did facilitate the process. Possibly, then, the term "common- or open-field names" might serve our purpose as sufficiently descriptive, if only it be borne in mind that the names involved are not—like

field-names proper—the names *of* fields, but names *in* fields—names of natural features or arbitrary objects, finding their sites within the general boundary of the common- or open-field at large.

Of "the large number of local names," specially referred to in the opening sentences of this paper, something over two hundred and twenty were met with in the Guisborough Chartulary (Cott. MSS., Julius D.), and noted by me as all having had their application in the district of Cleveland in which I have been living now for very nearly forty years, and in which also I have been specially interested in connection with my *Cleveland Glossary* and *History of Cleveland, Ancient and Modern*. The great bulk of these names found their "local habitation" in the two parishes or townships of Ormesby and Marton, ninety-five of them (allowing for duplicates) belonging to the former, and over sixty to the latter. Guisborough itself contributes over forty, Hutton Lowcross (a township of the said parish of Guisborough) over twenty, Pinchingthorp and Bernaldby (two other townships) nearly forty, and so forth. And here it may be noted that duplicates of several of these names are also met with in the Whitby Chartulary, in the notices of grants of land made to the Abbey which happened to be contemporaneous with lands granted (for the most part subsequently) to the nearer house, the Priory of Gysburne.

The preponderating majority of these open-field names divides itself broadly and at once into two main classes—namely (a), the class of those depending, as to one or more of their constituent parts, on some natural object or feature, or, if not (b), on some factitious or arbitrary object or feature; and secondly, the class of those which originated (and in most cases continued) in agricultural processes or necessities. Among the first section of the former I specify, *berg*, *brec*, *clif*, *dale*, *eng*, *grene*, *grif*, *heved*, *hil*, *holm*, *kelde*, *ker*, *mere* or *mar*, *mire*, *molde*, *pol*, *sandes*, *sic*, *stane*, *wath*, *with*. Among the second section, *brig*, *dic*, *gate*, *pit* or *pittes*, *slet* or *sleth*, *sted* or *stedes*, etc. In the second class the following terms are met with: *acre*, *bothem*, *butt* or *buttes*, *flat* or *flathes*, *garth*, *how* or *hoch*, *inlandes*, *land* or *landes*, *rode* or *rodes*, and two or three others of infrequent occurrence.

WANDALE.

But before proceeding to notice these classes, with the two sections of the one of them, a little in detail, it will be well to draw attention to one rather numerous group—viz., of names ending in *dale*, or *dales*; and to the fact that this group does not in the least belong, as at first sight it would appear to do, to the group, the termination of which stands fourth in the enumeration given above. In this latter group the suffix *dale* has simply a geographical sense, approximately that of a valley, not necessarily of very large dimensions. In the group specially referred to, the same termination, *dale* or *dales*, bears only a meaning connected with the culture of the land—a meaning cognate with that of the verb *to deal* (cards, for instance); and that may be taken as implying the sense of allotment, share, or appropriated division. The word I refer to appears under the slightly varying forms, *wandale* or *wandales*, *wandayles*, *wandele*, *vandela*, *wandayla*, etc. It is a name which in the list named above appears five times—viz., in Gysburne, Thocotes, Bernaldby, Pinchingthorpe, and Ormesby; which is met with in the Whitby, Rievaulx and Furness Chartularies; and besides is to be noted on the 6-inch Ordnance Map in at least one of every three parishes throughout Cleveland. In this parish (Danby) no less than seven contiguous enclosures, forming part of three different farms, are all distinguished by the possession of this name. Very many years before the appearance of Seebohm's *English Village Community*, I had attributed the frequent occurrence of this name to the universal prevalence, as attested in a variety of ways, of the common or open-field system of husbandry, which had been maintained in this district from the earliest period reached by such documents as I have referred to above, down to comparatively a somewhat recent period. The word does not occur in Halliwell's *Dictionary*; nor, so far as I am aware, in any Glossary earlier than my own supplementary additions (published in 1876 by the Dialect Society) to the *Cleveland Glossary*, published in 1868. As an instance of its usage, I gave in that place the following: William de Percy, son of Richard de Percy de Dunsley, about 1150, "gives all his land of Midthet from the balk that is

between the *vandales* ["vandelas"] of his demesne, and the *vandales* of his homagers," etc. And the article is then continued as follows: "Since this was written, I have found reason to conclude that a 'wandale' [*vandela*, *wandayla*, in Mid.-Lat.] was a single division, share, or 'deal' of the large open arable field of any given township. Such fields, at the present day, are only just extinct in North Yorkshire; and I remember walking over one near Staithes some twenty years ago, in which the low banks of division, or 'balks,' still stood boldly up. In a deed of grant and confirmation belonging to about the year 1285, and dealing with certain lands at Snainton, near Scarborough, I find one 'wandayle' [unum *wandaylam* retro Molen-dinum de Weldale], sundry 'sillions,' or 'selions,' of arable land, and two 'dailes' of meadow [*dailas prati*] described and transferred. The 'selion' I take to be the ridge lying between two furrows" (see names terminating in *rige* below), "a 'land' in our dialect; the *wandayle*, the portion of land between two 'balks,' and possibly comprising several selions; and the 'daile' of meadow the portion allotted to a villager on the common meadow of the vill. Cf. Fr. *sillon*, a furrow, with *selio*; and A.-S. *wang*, a field, *dal*, a part, with *wandale*. Ducange has the odd form, *wangnale*, a cultivated field." I thought, when I wrote as above some ten years ago, that the said *wangnale* was simply a misprint for *wangdale*, and my conviction has not lost strength as years and a wider acquaintance with the subject proceeded together. And now that such a flood of light has been thrown on the matter by Mr. Seebohm's valuable book, there can be little or no doubt that *wangnale* ought to have stood *wangdale*.

J. C. ATKINSON.

(To be continued.)



Notes on the Family of Frenche.

By A. D. WELD FRENCH.



IR BERNARD BURKE states "that the name of French was originally De Fraxinus, or De Freigne, and was established in England at the Conquest."

"Fraxinus" was applied to the ash-tree as

well as the spear, and the French word "Frene" or "Freigne" had the same significance.

This ash-tree occupied a high position in Greek as well as Northern mythology, and tradition hands down to the Norman that Adam was created out of this very wonderful tree. Besides these legendary associations, it was noted for its beauty: "it has been called the Venus of the Forest." "And Virgil makes the character of this tree particularly beautiful when he says:

" 'Fraxinus in silva pulcherrima.' "

In Normandy, it is supposed that surnames originated in the tenth century. They were conferred or adopted for various reasons—were selected from the names of locations, qualities of mind and body, occupations, incidents, peculiarities; from the animal, mineral, and vegetable worlds. Among the Normans, names associated with location, with warfare and the chase, were popular; and from one of these sources the name of De Fraxinus, De Freigne, or De Frene, was derived. There are but two interpretations of the meaning—viz., "Of the spear," which implied the ashen spear; and "Of the ash-tree." The latter indicates the name of a location or estate; while the former implies the occupation of war, as well as the warrior's amusement, the sports of the field.

The following list, compiled from public records, shows some changes of the name from the Norman-French until they become well anglicized:

Frane	Freynsce	Frensche
Frene	Freynsh	Frenshe
Frein	Freynssh	Frensch
Freyne	Freynsshe	Frense
Freyns	Frainche	Ffrench
Freignee	Freinche	French
Ffreygne		

In England, as late as 1332, appears the name of Fulconi de Fraxineto. In the year 1275, Gilbert le Freynsce and Simon le Frensch; a few years later, Simon le Frensh. In 1335 appears the name of Adam French of Berwick; and in Scotland, as late as the early part of the seventeenth century, the name is written, in documents, Frainche, Frensch, Frenshe, Frenche, and French.

Some traces of the name appear as follows:

Among the surnames of the chief noblemen and gentlemen who came into England with William the Conqueror, mentioned by Stow as well as Friar Brompton. A member of the French family, of Ireland, states, from his notes of the family, that "Sir Theophilus Ffrench (Freyn) accompanied William the Conqueror to England, and was present at the Battle of Hastings, deriving his pedigree from Sir Maximilian."

D'Alton continues: "The particular 'Freyn' or 'Freyne,' or with the ordinary prefix 'De la Freigne,' who, according to Brompton, 'attended the Conqueror,' is stated, in old pedigrees, to have descended from Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy, and their account is reiterated by modern genealogists.

"Those compilations of family pedigrees on which Hardiman relies as having been 'collected at intervals from some time previous to the year 1500, down to that of 1671, by the family of O'Luinin,' who are frequently styled throughout hereditary antiquaries of Ulster and of Ireland, and as being in his possession when he wrote, do distinctly, and with confirmatory authority of an English herald, deduce the descent of the individual under consideration from a Sir Maximilian de French, who was a son of Harloven, junior, son of Harloven, son of Rollo the Strong, alias Robert, first Duke of Normandy, as Sir Thomas Hawley, King of Arms in England, 28 Henry VIII., gives an account: 'Rollo was baptized in 912, by the Archbishop of Rouen, taking the name of Robert, from the Count of Paris, who answered for him at baptismal font.'"

Among "persons entered in *Domesday Book*," completed in 1086, "as holding lands in the time of King Edward the Confessor, and through later years anterior to the formation of the survey," will be found in several counties land owned by Frane—to wit, in Lincoln, Nottingham, Sussex, Worcester, and York.

The statement from "the O'Luinin collection cited by Hardiman" seems more full than that of Burke. The former states "that Sir Herbert or Humphrey de Frayne married Arabella, daughter and heiress of Charles Harley, Knight, of Ormuch in Wales, and by her had issue, five sons and two daughters,

viz., Christopher, Walter, Patrick, Nicholas, John, Mary, and Julia French; that from Christopher and Walter are descended the family of Ffrench in England, and from Patrick and Nicholas those of Ireland. John, the fifth son of Sir Humphrey, is stated to have settled in Scotland, where he married Jane, a daughter of the Hon. James Lindsey, third brother of Thomas, Earl of Crawford, from whom are descended the family of Frenches in Scotland."

Information as regards the early history of the family is far from satisfactory, from the lack of records in America; but it is very probable much valuable information can be obtained about this and other families from the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh, as well as other depositories. However, sufficient is known to indicate that individuals of this family went early to Scotland.

Adam French appears in connection with Scotland in 1335, and he, without doubt, is an ancestor of the French families of Thornydyke and Frenchland.

D'Alton "rather concludes, from the inferences of history and record, that the first who bore the name in Ireland was neither a Herbert nor a Humphrey, but a certain Fulco de Freyne, who is admittedly of the line" (this implies, as I understand, of the Herefordshire line), "and is the first who appears noticed in the Patent Rolls, in 1286, and then not in connection with Wexford, but—what will be found much to confirm this opinion—as Seneschal of Kilkenny."

Fulco de Freyne was Seneschal in the County of Kilkenny (under Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, who married the daughter of King Edward the First). "In 1302, not less than three Royal Letters of Credence were directed to him, as one of the Fideles of Ireland, concerning the state of Scotland and the services required for the war there." His son Fulco, "and an Oliver de la Freyne, were in 1335 summoned, as magnates of Ireland, to attend the King's wars in Scotland, and were present at the Battle of Halldown."

From 1086 down, including the reign of King John, in many places is found the name of Fraxino, Freyne, Frein, and Frene; thence, toward the early part of the fourteenth century, it is to be found recorded in Derby, Salop,

Suffolk, Bedford, Oxford, Essex, Wilts, etc.—more numerous, of these counties, in Salop, Suffolk, and Oxford; of these, Oxford had the greater number. Other counties are also mentioned later on. D'Alton says:

"This cousin of the Conqueror, as he may be considered" (referring to Alfrin, a contemporary in Normandy with the Conqueror, a descendant from Sir Maximilian, and from whom descended the De Freyne, as I am led to believe, though Lodge states "derived the name," probably in the way of taking it from an inherited estate), "does not, however, seem to have renounced his country without leaving behind him some who have perpetuated there also the name and honours of the house, a few of whom may be here alluded to. 'Pierre du Fresnay, ecuyer,' was a celebrated hero of France in the fourteenth century. Claud du Fresnes is mentioned by Anselm with distinction. Lainé, in his 'Archives Généalogiques de France,' notices 'Seigneurs des Fresnes' as long settled in Artois, and afterwards amongst the nobility of Champagne and Picardy; while Caurcelles, in his genealogical work, records, as existing in later years, the following ennobled individuals of the surnames, 'De la Fresnaye,' Marquis de St. Aignan; du Fresne, Baron de Villiers; Fraine, Comte de la Villegentier, Baron, Pair de France,' etc. Nor has the name in that country been less promising in the walks of literature. In the sixteenth century, Jean Vaquelin de la Fresnay was an eminent satiric poet; in the seventeenth century, Charles du Cange du Fresne was a laborious writer and profound scholar; Charles Rivière du Fresney was the author of many dramatic works at the close of the same century, and the enumeration might be considerably increased if requisite.

"In the establishment of Norman power in England, De la Freigne acquired a grant of land in Herefordshire" (as it does not appear in the *Domesday Book*, it must have been after the year 1086), "where he established himself, and his line was continued for centuries. Accordingly, in the important survey taken, in the reign of Henry III., of the Knights' Fees in certain counties in England and their tenure, commonly styled the 'Testa de Nevil,' the heirs of Thos. De Freigne were found seized, in 1277, of half

a fee in 'Parva Covarne.' In that county, at the same period, Hugh de Freigne was seized of Sutton and Masham, half a fee in the same county, and, yet more, of half a fee in Moccas, also in that county, as recorded in the same survey. In further corroboration of their tenure here being, as alleged, of ancient grant, Walter de Freigne was certified, in 1166, as holding three Knights' Fees 'of his Barony in the county of Herefordshire,' while Alured de Freigne, a younger member of the house, was on the same occasion recorded as holding the third part of a Knight's Fee.

"The above Hugh of Moccas was evidently the descendant of Walter of 1166; and in 1177, after doing suit before the Earl Marshal at Worcester, his military service of forty days was by the King transferred to be performed in West Wales, under his Majesty's brother, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster; and in 1291 the same individual had a charter for free warren in his lands at Moccas and Sutton, in two years after which he had a royal license to castellate his manor-house at Moccas. The armorials assigned to him, in the Roll of Knights serving King Edward I. in his wars, are described as 'de argent et de azure les bendes endentes.' In 1302, Gerard de Freigne was sent Ambassador to the court of Holland and Zealand. Another Sir Walter, probably a son of Sir Hugh, served in these wars with him; and having married Alice, the heiress of Alexandre le Secular, about the year 1291, acquired with her the manor of Marden, also in Herefordshire. In 1305, he was returned as Knight of the Shire for Hereford, at the Parliament of Carlisle, and immediately after obtained a royal order for his expenses in attending same. He was also returned Knight of the Shire to the Parliament of Northampton, in the year 1307; to that of London in 1311; to that of Westminster in 1313; and to the Great Council, convened by general proclamation to be present at the latter place, in 1324: while a William le Freigne, who was knighted in 1306, was returned Representative for Herefordshire in 1309. In 1316, the Lordship of Moccas was vested in John, the son of Henry de Freigne, who in 1329 obtained the Royal License for holding a fair and market there."

The memoir has thus long attached itself to Herefordshire, in belief that the line thus far illustrated may be considered common to all the numerous branches that subsequently diverted from it, as well in England as in Ireland "and Scotland," and that it was about this period that the migration took place which founded in "Ireland" a sect of the highest influence and respectability, which has given a tribe to Galway, Parliamentary representatives to every county in which they have settled, and has been in two instances ennobled in the Peerage.

A few events, however, of more than family interest, connecting subsequently with the house of Moccas, may not be irrelevant, occurring, as they chiefly do, while the connection between the Irish settler and his English ancestry was morally and politically maintained. In 1337 (10 Edward III.) took place the celebrated tournament of Dunstable, where, on the roll of the knights who tilted there, appears the name of "Monsieur Hugh de Freigne." There is reason to believe he was a near relative of John of 1316 and 1329. In 1334, he had been appointed Seneschal of Cardigan for the term of his life; and was, in the year 1336, summoned to Parliament by express writ, as one of the Barons of the Realm. He it was who married Alice, daughter and heiress of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, then a widow; and in her right he claimed and assumed the title of Earl of Lincoln. He at the same time obtained livery of the Castle of Buelt, in Wales, which had been granted to her former husband, Eubulo le Strange, a younger son of John, Baron Strange, of Knockyn. It having been, however, represented to King Edward that this Hugh had obtained his said lady by her abduction from the Castle of Bolingbroke (probably owing to some court jealousy, with possibly a desire on the part of the King to increase his possessions), the royal indignation directed a seizure of all their lands, goods, and chattels, and a further order for their personal arrest; immediately after which, and most probably affected by his sovereign's displeasure, Hugh died, leaving no issue by her. In 1348, John Freyne, the son and heir of "John Freigne," became seized of Moccas, Marden, etc., as on his father's recent decease. At the last period, a Robert

French was seized of other lands in Herefordshire, on whose decease, in 1370, the custody of his estate was committed in wardship, "durante minoritate heredis."

This record is one of the many that, even at this early date, evince the transition from Freyne to French. In 1376, Richard de Freigne was Lord of Sutton and Moccas, after which the records of their inheritance there cease; the Lordship of that fine residence having passed by a female to the Vaughans of Bridwardine, and from thence similarly to the Cornwalls, in whose right it is held by Sir Velters Cornwall, Baronet. It stands in a delightful situation on the southern bank of the Wye, within ten miles of Hereford. Other individuals of the name of Freyne (or French) are traceable by territorial and historic notices—in Norfolk, from 1209; in Kent, from 1270; in Yorkshire, from 1276; in Sussex, from 1278; in Buckingham, from 1279; in Northamptonshire, from 1313; in Shropshire, from 1323; in Essex (where they gave name to the "Manor of Franches"), from 1351; in Somersetshire, from 1360; in Dorsetshire, from 1399; in Berkshire, from 1422; in Worcestershire, from 1446; in Bedfordshire, from 1461; and in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, Surrey, and Somersetshire, from the time of Queen Elizabeth, as also in Scotland to the present time. There are also memorials extant of "Frenches" at sundry periods in London, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge, Exeter, and in Calais, to which this allusion is made only as an indication of the great and influential extent to which the name has branched.

On the arms of the seventeen families of French mentioned by Burke are quite a variety of armorial bearings, the dolphin and fleur-de-lis being most conspicuous, and the changes from these are doubtless somewhat owing to alliances with other families. Of the seventeen arms, eight have dolphins on escutcheons or as crests; three have fleurs-de-lis as crests or as part of the crest; one has a fleur-de-lis as crest, as well as on the escutcheon; while, on the latter, two have a lion rampant, two have a wolf, and two have boars' heads.



The Antiquity of Surnames.

By A. FOLKARD.

PART II.



HAVING ascertained the comparatively common use of the surname in Anglo-Saxon times, we will now contrast this with the entries in *Domesday Book*. It may almost be said that the instances of dual names occurring in that wonderful compilation may be counted on the fingers. What can have given rise to this? Simply, as the writer has elsewhere advanced, that the object of the returns was served without fuller identification than the association of a single name with the land, and space and labour were economized. Hence, it may well be conjectured, arose the custom which has given rise to so many surnames common in our own day derived from land or residence. The tyranny of the Norman conquerors ground out the individuality of their wretched Saxon serfs. To them belonged no more the right even to the surname of the Norman, and when, after a century or more of oppression both races fused into parity under the common appellation of Englishmen, fresh surnames had to be taken, and in very many, indeed in most instances, these were derived from the sources named, land, residence, or occupation. The few double names appearing in the *Domesday* register are chiefly those of the Norman lords who were paramount in every county of England; such as were Robert Malet and a few others of the same rank and station. But it must by no means be concluded that, because single names are as a rule given in *Domesday* and other documents of that date, proof is thereby afforded that such were not patronymics. Thus "Fulcard," holding land according to that register in Cornwall, freed a slave at Bodmin and signed himself "Ralph Folcard."

Before pursuing further the inquiry into the subject of this article as regards the British Isles, it may be as well to deal with a statement advanced by Cole in his MSS., that, owing to the want of distinctive surnames, our forefathers, after the Conquest, were forced to distinguish persons by the prefix of Fitz or Fils. There are many instances to

prove this statement a fallacy. The prefix appears to have been either fanciful, or for a record of particular descent in some cases. *Domesday* entries for Essex refer to lands held by Robertus Wimarc and Robertus fil Wimarc indiscriminately; and the same man is named in one of Edward the Confessor's charters to Westminster Abbey as Roberd Wymarche, nearly thirty years before the date of *Domesday*. He had a son named Swein, and in one place in the great roll he is further referred to as Robertus pater Swein, thus sinking the surname; as also elsewhere as R. fil Wimarc and Rob. f. Wimarc. Walter Giffard, of *Domesday*, is also referred to in the same book as Galterius only, the surname being again omitted. This occasional interposition of Fitz or Fils was a fashion even as late as 1156, when we find William Folcard drawing on a warrant from the King's Exchequer forty marks of silver to pay for war horses, while he is returned as owing that sum to the Treasury in the name of Will. fil. Folcred. These instances are sufficient to dispose of Cole's assertion named above, that the employment of the prefix Fitz arose from the absence of surnames.

Of evidences of the use of the double name in Scotland and Ireland the writer's note-book is almost bare. Instances are not rare of their occurrence, but this subject having been only collateral to the object pursued by him during his investigations, record of such met with was not preserved, and his notes furnish but few cases. Among the Pictish kings we have Angus MacFergus, in 730, and Constantine MacFergus in 789. Fergus Forcraith and Conall Gabhra, respectively of Scotch and Irish Families, were killed at a battle between the Osraighe and Lagenians in Ireland in 699—the two last names are taken from the *Chronicum Scotorum*, p. 115. We have therefore instances of the antiquity of the surname in both Scotland and Ireland, which further research would multiply to a very great extent.

Before carrying the subject further afield into those trans-oceanic lands from which the mixed races of our own islands have sprung, it may be useful here to deal with a question before alluded to *en passant*, viz., carelessness, forgetfulness, utter ignorance, or even local custom, operating to produce omission of

surnames such as has been stated to be constantly met with in the old records. Lower, in a communication to *Notes and Queries*, remarked that family names have scarcely become hereditary in some parts of England even in the nineteenth century. Many proofs may be cited of the truth of this statement, as also that the lapse has been of continuous occurrence from early times. In Godwin's *Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, we read with respect to Simon Sudbury, *alias* Tibold, who was Archbishop of Canterbury in 1381: "This Simon was the sonne of a gentleman named Nigellus Tibold, so that his true name was Simon Tibold. But he was born at Sudbury, a town of Suffolk, in the parish of St. George, and of that towne took his name according to the manner of many clergymen in those days." The public muniments of Norwich further afford us many instances of the same character. The quotation of a few only will suffice:

- 1230. William, son of Silvestre, alias William Silvestre, son of Silvestre Pudding, of Holmstrete.
 - 1232. John of Worthstede, Tanner, son of Simon le Spencer.
 - 1239. Simon Peltipar, son of Ralph le Furmay.
 - 1242. William Pryse, son of Clement Magne, of Norwich.
 - 1273. Robert Leck, son of Adam de Tifteshall.
- The same documents also afford evidence of the wife using a surname differing from the husband's, as—
- 1255. Robert of Wurthestede, and Basilia le Ro, his wife.
 - 1307. John Mengy, of Besthorp, and Martha de Felningham, his wife.
 - 1316. Agnes Richemann, relict of Richard Holveston, defunct.
 - 1316. Thomas Toyth and Juliana le Ropere, his wife.
 - 1318. Robert de Poswyk, Taverner, and Alicia Godesman, his wife.

In these rolls are also to be found many cases of wives carrying the names both of their first and second husbands, while in a document of Charles I.'s reign we meet with the name of one Agnes Wilson, alias Randalson, widow of John, son of Randal Wilson. This last instance is evidence of a practice

which still exists in the hill-country of Lancashire bordering on Yorkshire, where people are seldom known by a family name. The individual is distinguished by the addition of the father's or mother's Christian name, and sometimes by the further addition of those of forefathers for a generation or two, as in the designation of Welshmen in the past. A writer in *Notes and Queries* gives a singular instance of this custom. But comparatively lately he sought the heir-at-law to property in a town on the Borders. He was referred to a man called "Bob o' Jenny's;" he being the son of a second marriage, the mother's name was used to distinguish him rather than his father's. The inquiry being further pursued, it was found that the first wife had been "a sister of ould Tommy, at top of th' huttock;" her daughter had married "John o' Bobby," and "John o' Bobby's lad" was the man wanted. When found, it was only discovered with great difficulty (through his kindred) that he bore the family name of Shepherd. Nicknames, also, such as are evidently the origin of many present surnames, have even in recent times superseded the old family name. In 1841 a man named Duke was on the list of voters for Penryn, Cornwall. His real name was Rapson, but that name being common in the neighbourhood, people called him Duke to distinguish him, as he kept the Duke of York's Arms, and this has become now the permanent recognised family name. Other correspondents of *Notes and Queries* afford further illustrations of a similar nature, while one quotes in instance of the paternal, maternal, and grand-paternal names being employed in lieu of surnames, such singularities known to him as "Matty Johan Ned," and "Dick o' Dick o' Dickey's."

We even find educated men of the present day adopting methods of identification tending still further to confound surnames. Mr. Mortimer Collins wrote in 1875: "In this village (Knowl Hill, Berks) there is a woman who has twice married—first to a man named Fisher, next to a man named Young. Her popular name is always Kitty Fisher; but in an order for some charitable purpose which the parson gave her some time ago I observed that he called her Mrs. Fisher-Young. . . . How she will finally appear in the register, I cannot guess." In Sir Henry Maine's

Village Communities, it is stated that "There are several English parishes in which certain pieces of land in the common field have from time immemorial been known by the name of a particular trade; and there is often a popular belief that nobody not following the trade can legally be the owner of the lot associated with it. And it is possible that we have here a key to the plentifulness and persistence of certain names of trades as surnames among us."

With such evidence available of the laxity as to the use of surnames extending over nearly seven centuries down to the present time, it need not be surprising if, in the Anglo-Saxon period discussed, the non-employment of the family name was common. Its absence, in fact, is no disproof of the evidence afforded by cases of its employment that such family names existed. There is high legal warranty to show that their use was enforced by no statute in English law, for Lord Chief Justice Coke, in his well-known work *Coke upon Littleton*, says: "And this doth agree with our antient books, where it is holden that a man may have divers names at divers times, but not divers Christian names."

Having thus passed in review the believed use of surnames or family names in the earlier times of our own history, inquiry may now be transferred to the Continent, whence came the races which in combination with the aboriginal islanders produced the progenitors of the English people, and by whom were introduced so many of the customs and names by which they are characterized at the present time. Before doing so it may be as well just to glance at the customs of an even remoter antiquity than has been dealt with as yet. Among the Israelites, James Finlayson tells us in his *Surnames and Sirenames* these were introduced at a very early period, and the same authority states the Chinese to have borne and still to bear a family name always used as a prefix. Evidences are not wanting of the use of the double name and of the transmission of a family name among the Greeks. We read in the *Iliad* that a "priest of Chrysa's shores," named Chryses, had a daughter named Chrysis, the captured concubine of Agamemnon Atrides. The Romans, it is well known—owing doubtless

to those necessities of high civilization previously remarked upon—were liberal in their adoption of distinguishing appellatives. Nearly all had two, and many even three names, the third being the cognomen of the tribe, the second applicable to the family, and the first being the equivalent to our own Christian name. Wherever the Romans went they left behind them traces of their influence in social custom as well as of their advanced civilization, and among these, it may be undoubted, was their use of the surname. A native Briton at Durham called himself Publius Nicomedes. It may be relied upon that a custom so conducive to social management did not entirely die out after the departure of the conquerors, and indeed Finlayson cites many instances of ancient hereditary patronymics among the Jutes and Angles, which we may presume to date after the period of the Roman invasion.

When turning to the Continent in pursuance of our subject, attention specially becomes directed to the first home of that Saxon race which spread over our own island at so early a period, and in dealing with this division of his theme the writer would ask to be excused if the examples he cites are those of his own patronymic. As has before been stated, the notes made by him had chiefly reference to his natural interest in tracing this through remote ages, and the examples to be given must therefore be limited to such cases of the use of it as a surname as he found during his researches.

It is astonishing to find how little the fact of the early employment of a family cognomen in the Low Countries has been recognised. We even find the Earl of Albemarle, in his *Fifty Years of my Life*, asserting that "Surnames were unknown in the Low Countries before the middle of the twelfth century." What will be after adduced will satisfactorily show how erroneous such a statement was—a statement which has doubtless found ready acceptance with many, as had before been the case with respect to the practice of the Anglo-Saxons. In the year 845 (in Pertz's magnificent *Monumenta Germania*, vol. i., p. 364), Hlotharius Folcrad is named as having been Duke of Arles; and earlier, in 784, we find Duke Folchaid referred to in the *Acta Sanctorum*, while yet

earlier mention is made of another progenitor, Duke Fulcoald (the spelling of the three names being found to be of joint signification with Folchard), the last of whom founded the monastery of Cessières, in the diocese of Laon, in 664 (Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. lxxxvii., p. 1271). In this instance we find a family name associated with a title extending over nearly two early centuries. Further confirmation of the use of the same family name is to be found in the Chronicles of Corbigense (*Acta Sanctorum*, vol. ix., p. 375), wherein three further generations of Folchard (of the same "noble" family) carry the descent from 870 to 960. It may fairly be assumed from these facts that from 664 to 960 the patronymic was in use by the same family, and although during the three centuries covered but a single use of a Christian name prefixed to it is found, there can be little reason to suppose that it was really an isolated employment of it. In 992 Folcward (also Folquard, Folcquard, and Folqvard) was consecrated Bishop in Sclavonia (Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. cxlvi., p. 533), and on doing so followed a custom common among clerics even to this day, and dropping the surname employed only the Christian name of Reginbert (and Reginward). We find the celebrated Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, born in 1033, adopting a similar course, for he wrote to Fulcard (and Folcerald), Abbot of Marchiennes, Flanders, as "his relation" and "his most dear uncle." In his case, doubtless, the patronymic Fulcard had also been dropped on his attaining to episcopal rank. One further instance will suffice to disprove the Earl of Albemarle's view of the non-antiquity of surnames in the Low Countries. In St. Marthe's *Gallia Christiana* (vol. i., p. 171), there is given a charter of the Abbey of Beaulieu, dated about 1031. It commences: "I, in the name of God, Druda, who am surnamed Folcrada" ("quæ cognomina Folcrada").

Leaving the Low Countries and turning to France, the pedigree of the Marquises de St. Germain-Beaupré, which appears in the *Histoire Généalogique de la Maison Royale de France*, may be referred to as affording similar evidence of the early dates at which a family used a patronymic or cognomen in conjunction with a Christian name. This

family is therein stated to derive from Gilbert Fulcoad, Count de Rovergne, living in 790. His son Fulcoad was Count of Thoulouse in 820. Then succeeded Raymond and Fredelon Fulcoad, 845 and 875. Then Foucault (the French spelling of the name) in 900, Raymond Foucault from 930 to 1000, and so on. Deeds are quoted, which are said still to exist, from which this pedigree was compiled, and these afford us the evidence needed of the early use of a family name in France. Into that which the history of other countries might afford, the writer's researches have not carried him, but it would possibly be a field which might well repay the expenditure of time and labour upon it; for the perusal of many works which do not themselves bear on the question of the early use of surnames, but wherein false conclusions—often of an important character—are drawn upon the assumption that names occurring can have nothing to do with "family" history, proves how desirable it is that no possible source of evidence which may dispute the dogmatic line drawn by some authorities should be left unsearched, or the results of such search remain unrecorded. The subject is indeed one of very great, practically unlimited, scope for inquiry, and the writer has but just touched the boundaries of it. Still, perhaps enough has been done to show some grounds for the view expressed, and although, as was premised, it is impossible to dogmatize on such a subject, it is evident that the limitation assigned to the antiquity of surnames may well be doubted.



Quaint Conceits in Pottery.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F.S.A., ETC.

III.—SOME MOUNTED KNIGHTS, AND OTHER FIGURE-VESSELS.

DRINKING, or liquor-holding vessels, in the form of Mounted Knights (to which passing allusion was made in my last paper), or partaking more or less of the human figure in form, or character of decoration, are occasionally met with in one locality or other, and may be classed among the more interesting of

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amples of mediæval ceramic art. Indeed, the old potters seem—so curious are some of these figures—to have revelled in their production, and to have given them a distinctive character that adds materially to their historical and antiquarian interest. One of the best known examples is the famous vessel, here



FIG. I.

engraved (Fig. 1), which was found at Lewes in 1846. It is formed of the ordinary coarse brown clay, and in part covered with a green glaze. Its length is ten and a half inches, and its full height, when perfect, would be thirteen or fourteen inches. The workmanship and modelling is very rude; but there are certain details of costume, such as the long-pointed toes, and the pryk spurs, from which its probable date is assigned to the time of Henry II. There can be no doubt this remarkable example was intended to hold liquor; and the handle, which passes from the back of the shoulders of the knight, in curved form, to the crupper of the horse, was evidently intended as a convenient arrangement for holding while pouring out the contents, probably at the mouth of the quadruped. At the back of the handle, at its lower end, above the horse's tail, a circular aperture afforded the means of filling the vessel with liquor. The bridle appears to have been laid on in slip, and a number of small incised lines indicate the mane, and ornament other parts of the body. In the engraving, which is made from a drawing by Fairholt, the vessel, which in reality is in some parts mutilated, has been restored.

I

It was dug up in the course of making the Keymer branch of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway, and its discovery was communicated to the *Archæological Institute*

it is manifestly impossible to form an opinion.

Another portion of a knight on horseback, but this time a mere fragment, was, I have



FIG. 2.

Journal by Mr. Figg, of Lewes. "The sides of the horse," it is therein stated, "are coarsely punctured, apparently representing the housings, or *bardes*, but possibly denoting merely

ascertained, some time back found in Lincolnshire in the course of some sewerage operations; and others have from time to time been brought to light in other localities—but

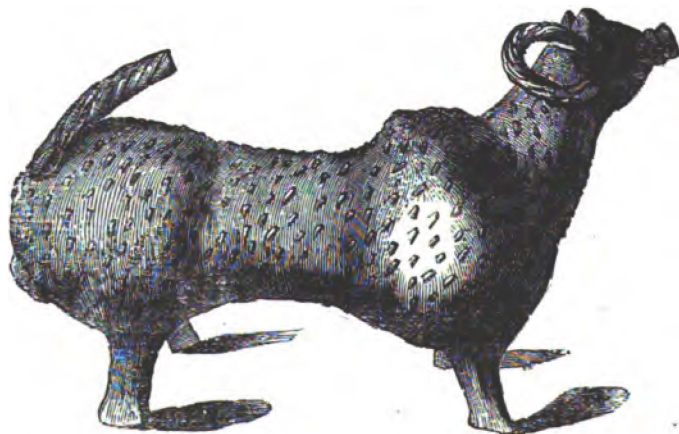


FIG. 3.

the dappled colour of the charger. The arcons of the saddle are represented as of unusual and exaggerated height." It was probably of local manufacture, though of that

none, so far as I am aware, are even as perfect as the Lewes one.

Another curious example, preserved in the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury, is especially

worthy of note, and is here engraved (Fig. 2). It was found some years back at Mere, in Wiltshire, and is believed, from its general appearance and the character of the armour, etc., to date back to the latter half of the twelfth century. It is only a fragment; the legs and tail of the horse, and the handle and other portions, being lost. The figure is clearly a rude attempt at an equestrian knight in full armour, with shield, etc., and it has been pointed out that in costume and accoutrements the figure corresponds almost precisely with that of the effigy of King Richard I. upon his great seal. The impressed circles may, most probably, be intended to represent chain-mail. There has been, as will be seen, a handle from the back of the body of the knight down to the rump of the horse, and the filling of the vessel has evidently been at the head of the knight. The body of the horse, which is accoutred, is covered with small punctures, and further ornamented by waved lines scratched into the clay while soft.

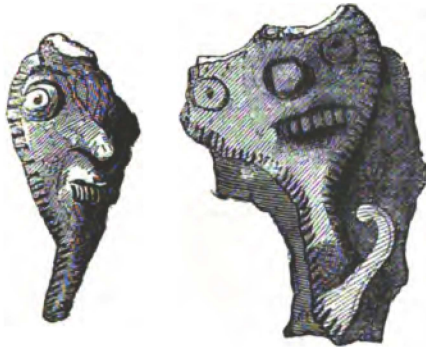


FIG. 4.

A vessel of somewhat analogous kind, but not this time representing a human figure, is preserved in the Scarborough Museum, and is here engraved (Fig. 3). It is in form of a quadruped, with a twisted horn rising from its nondescript head, and has a rough surface, intended, I presume, to represent hair somewhat of the character of the bear-formed vessels I have already described. The remains of a twisted handle rise from the rump, and this handle has doubtless, when perfect, been attached at the other end to the shoulder. The vessel is coated with green glaze. That it was made at Scarborough,

where it was found and is happily now preserved, there is scarcely room for doubt; for the remains of a mediæval pot-work, a potter's kiln, were discovered on the north cliff, and along with the kiln this relic and some curiously grotesque human heads were found. The heads thus discovered, along with the vessel in form of a "cow with a crumpled horn," are here



FIG. 5.

engraved (Figs. 4, 5, 6), and will serve to show, will the next group, the "quaint conceits" as that actuated the old potters in their fanciful manipulation of the plastic material upon which they worked, and present evidence of the state of art among the producers of articles for household use or for ornament. This latter group exhibits three examples—



FIG. 6.

the front and back of the large one, and the fronts only of the other two—dug up on the site of the old pot-works at Tickenhall, along with other equally interesting relics. They are in the possession of Sir John Crewe, Bart. (on whose estate they were found), and are here carefully engraved from drawings made by myself from the originals. They are formed of buff clay, "touched" with a

darker slip. The head-dress and ruff of the larger one indicate a date of about the reign of Mary or Elizabeth; and the others exhibit the plaited cap of about the same period. They are engraved of their full size.

In my next I hope to say a few words about Bellarmine, and vessels of an analogous character.



Notes on our Popular Antiquities.

BY W. CAREW HAZLITT.

SOME SUPERSTITIONS.

FMAGES, etc.—In the Churchwardens' Accounts of Minchin-hampton,* under 1575, there is an entry of an allowance of 6s. 8d. to John Mayowe and John Lyth for "pullynge downe, dystroyenge, and throwyng out of the churche sundrye superstycious thinges tendinge to the maynetenance of idolatrye."

Wells and Fountains.—The Holy Well mentioned by me (*Popular Antiquities*, iii. 2) was subsequently better known as Sadler's Well. In a tract of 1684 it is thus described: "The New Well at Islington is a certain Spring in the middle of a Garden, belonging to the Musick House, built by Mr. Sadler, on the North side of the Great Cistern that receives the New River Water near Islington, the Water whereof was before the Reformation, very much famed for several extraordinary cures performed thereby, and was therefore accounted sacred, and called *Holy-Well*. The Priests belonging to the Priory of Clerkenwell using to attend there, made the People believe that the Virtues of the Waters proceeded from the efficacy of their Prayers. But upon the Reformation the Well was stopt up. . . ." The narrative, which is curious enough, goes on to tell us how an acquaintance of Sadler discovered the well again, the properties of the water, which was somewhat like Tonbridge, and how it was to be used.

There are some very curious verses on Waking the Well in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, 1841, in which the maiden laments that she ever performed that act of worship, and forswears

it for the rest of her life, as the priest took advantage of her, and ruined her. The first is :

I have forsworne hit while I life to wake the well.
The last tyme I the wel woke,
Sir John caght me with a croke;
He made me to swere be bel and boke
I should not tell.

The editor observes: "There is perhaps no fact of popular superstition so curious as the worship of wells, of which many traces remain even to the present day. The fairs or wakes in our country villages often originated from the custom of *waking the well*."

Among some Middle English Glosses in the same volume occurs "*obsonium*, wake-mete," apparently the entertainment usually provided at a wake.

St. Govor's Well, in Kensington Gardens, London, is still visited by persons who have faith in the virtues of the water. It is, I believe, an Artesian spring. The name of this saint, who does not belong to the English series, and is consequently unnoticed by Butler, has been corrupted into Go'or, whence *Kensington Gore*, in the immediate vicinity, seems to have been derived.

In *Current Notes*, April, 1853, it is mentioned, on the authority of Aubrey, that near Bisley Church, in Surrey, there is a well dedicated to St. John the Baptist, which is cold in summer, and warm in winter.

It has been conjectured that the ancient usage of *Waking the Well* led by insensible degrees to the institution of the FAIR, because the assemblages of persons for this purpose created trading centres, and under the sanction of religion a new phase of commercial life arose and flourished. I will leave this hypothesis for the present unexamined.

Commander Cameron, in his well-known *Narrative of a Journey across Africa*, mentions several instances of the idolatrous veneration of the natives for springs, which they imagine to be the abiding-places of spirits, and into which they cast a bead or so for the purpose of propitiation.

OMENS.

The Hand.—It is probable that if an exhaustive research into the subject were undertaken, the folk-lore of the hand would occupy a considerable space, and develop many

* *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv., p. 430.

curious particulars. The practice of holding up the right hand as a mark of submission or assent is extremely ancient and very widely spread. A small silver coin of Udalric, Duke of Bohemia (1012-37), bears on one side an open hand, which might have stood as a symbol of the Deity, or as a signification of allegiance to his suzerain; and the same type occurs in a penny of Ethelred II. of England, who began to reign in 979. In the old story of *Adam Bel*, printed before 1536, and reproducing far earlier notions, we find the hand introduced where the outlaws come into the presence of the king:

And whan they came before our kyng,
As it was the lawe of the lande,
They kneled down without lettyng,
And eche held vp his hande.

Cetewayo held up his hand to our Queen; but he stood erect. The subject, as I have said, is sufficient for a monograph; but it may be suggested that the custom of elevating the right hand—the hand which usually held the weapon—may have been designed at the outset as a guarantee of good faith and an assurance of security.

In some Popish countries, and in our Canadian possessions, which include the old colony of New France, the usage of holding up the right hand in making oath is supplemented by the obligation of doing so before a crucifix, which is suspended in the court for that purpose.

In alliance with this portion of our subject is the ancient employment of the thumb in contracts between man and man, of which I supplied an illustration from *Orpheus Caledonius*, 1733,* and Scott's *Rob Roy*. It may be permissible to draw attention to the apparent existence of a similar custom observed among the Romans, whose very word *polliceor* seems to be derived from *Pollex* in its substantive meaning.

It is still usual in parts of the country to tap the back of the hand or the forearm thrice to avert a bad omen (*absit omen!*) when a person has been speaking of his or her good health or good fortune. This I saw done at Bowdon, near Manchester, in 1870, by a lady of intelligence and education.

Hand and Nail Omens.—The Cagots, a persecuted race in the Pyrenees, have been

said to possess the power of making an apple decay by holding it within the hand, their hands being remarkable for moist heat. Hence I heard a lady from Penrith say gravely that her mother was thought to have Cagot blood in her, because her hand was unusually hot and moist.

The celebrated Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, according to her *Day Book*, 1676, cited by Southey, was accustomed to pare the nails of her hands and feet, and burn them in the fire afterwards. She notes on one occasion doing so about six in the morning in bed, and casting the parings into the fire when she rose. A person called George Goodgeon used to come to Brougham Castle to cut her ladyship's hair.

The Nose.—The bleeding of the nose was formerly treated as a bad portent. In the *History of Thomas of Reading*, by T. Deloney, printed before 1600, when the hero of the romance is on his way to the Crane Inn at Colebrook, where the host used to murder his guests by means of a false floor in the bedroom over the kitchen, and a boiling caldron below, we are told that "his nose burst out suddenly a-bleeding," as he drew near to the town. The author has collected together nearly all the harbingers of evil known in his day in the narrative of circumstances which preceded the murder.

In the *Adventures of Master F. I.*, which may perhaps be a piece of his own personal history, Gascoigne describes a charm to check bleeding at the nose: "Hee (Ferdinando) layde his hande on hir temples, and priuily rounding hir in hir eare, desired hir to commaunde a Hazell sticke and a knyfe: the whiche beyng brought, hee deliuered vnto hir, saying on this wise: Mistresse, I will speake certaine woordes in secrete to my selfe, and doe require no more, but when you heare me saie openly this worde *Amen*, that you with this knyfe will make a nicke vppon this Hazell sticke: and when you haue made fue nicks, commaunde mee also to cease." It is added that this remedy was found effectual. In verses prefixed by A. W. to Gascoigne's *Posies*, 1575, it is said by the writer that the flower *pimpernel* (of which there is more than one variety) was considered of utility and virtue in this respect.

* *Pop. Antiq. of Great Britain*, 1870, ii. 258.

* Works by Hazlitt, i. 422-3.

The Moon.—The notion that the moon is made of green cheese is noticed in the very early play of *Jack Juggler*.

At Melbourne, in Australia, if not elsewhere, it is a belief that fish caught in the full of the moon, and afterwards left exposed to its rays, becomes poisonous. But perhaps this phenomenon is really referable to climate and atmosphere.

In a copy of the second edition of Holinshed, 1586, a contemporary owner, Thomas Hayward, has noted on a flyleaf: "At night y^e moone being at y^e full and about som 3 ours high did ascend up right into y^e heavens wth a very swift course till y^t came to y^e hight of 6 hours high, & there stode. The first behoulder heereof was Mr. Robert Tailor of Hull Alderman, who seeing the same in his garden, and fearing to be deceaved went and tooke y^e moone by y^e topp of an house, by w^{ch} he more perfectly perceived the swiftnes thereof. . . . Y^e new yers day I came to Hull in y^e morning, and he tould me of y^t."

Some early (eleventh century) sun and moon and weather portents are given in *Reliquie Antiquae*, 1841, p. 15.

Lucky and Unlucky Days.—In some verses in a manuscript at Cambridge* it is said that if the anniversary of Christ's birth falls on a Sunday, there will be a good winter, but heavy winds; the summer dry and fair, with plenty of bees, but scarcity of other victual. There will be peace in the land, but

who so stelyth oght schalbe takyn sone,
And what chyld on that day boorn be, of gret
worschip schall he be.†

Kitchen Fires.—In Yorkshire there is, or was lately, a house where Dr. Charles Richardson's niece visited, and where they would think it a bad omen if the kitchen fire went out; and I understood from this lady that it had been kept up incessantly where she lived for some years.

The Cuckoo.—In the introduction to a reprint of the *Gothamite Tales*, 1630, inserted in *Old English Jest Works*, 1864, the present writer drew attention to the familiar myth of the Wise Men of Gotham hedging in the cuckoo; and on the title of the old edition is a woodcut representing this profitable occupation. The notion seems to be current in

* See my *Popular Poetry*, 1866, ii. 2. † *Ibid.*

our literature and folk-lore from a very remote date; and I am not at present in a position to say whether the emblem of the Belgian lion-rampant enclosed in a hedge, and grasping in one claw a staff surmounted by the Stadtholder's bonnet, which occurs on some of the copper money of the Netherlands in the early part of the seventeenth century, is connected with the same tradition. The type of *Le lion à la haie* occurs on a piece of Jacqueline of Bavaria, Countess of Hainault, from 1427 to 1433.

The Wolf.—Turner, in the *Huntyng of the Romyshe Vuolfe* (circa 1554), sign. E 5, says: "The propertie of a wolfe is, that if a man se the wolfe after the wolfe se the man, that then a man shall not be dumme. But if the wolfe se the man, before the man se the wolfe, then is the man by the syght of the wolfe made dum, or at the least so deafe, that he can scarcely speake." Randolph refers to the idea in the *Muses' Looking-Glass*, written before 1635. The present writer contributed a singular story of an adventure with a wolf in Ireland to the columns of *Notes and Queries*; it was an extract from the *Philosopher's Banquet*, 1614, and exhibited the instinct of the animal in a remarkable manner.

Seeing a Magpie.—This bad omen is thought to be averted by spitting three times. In 1865, a gentleman on horseback saw a magpie, and took no notice. Presently after he was thrown. He said he would never forget again to spit at a magpie.

Sailors.—In early times, seamen used to imagine that they could discover the figures of Castor and Pollux among the sails or shrouds, and these either accompanied or portended a storm. In the same way the Portuguese mariners entertained a superstition that an *ignis fatuus*, supposed to be generated by the violent motion of the wind, represented the body of some saint, and prefigured bad weather. This was called *Querpos Santos*, or a *corposant*. Fryer, in his *Travels*, quoted by Southey, observes: "I think I am not too positive in stating them to be a meteor-like substance, exhaled in the day, and at night (for except then they shew not themselves) kindled by the violent motion of the air, fixing themselves to those parts of the ship that are most attractive; for I can witness they

usually spent themselves at the spindles of the top-mast-heads, or about the iron loops of the yard-arms, and if any went towards them they shifted always to some part of the like nature."

Weather Omens.—It used to be thought that the cutting of the fern was accompanied by rain; and there is a story somewhere of the country people, in the time of Charles I., being served with a warning not to touch their bracken, because his Majesty intended a journey, and desired dry weather.

A very curious and valuable assemblage of notices in reference to the rainbow, and its supposed influence and character in various countries, may be found in *Melusine* for April, 1884.



Precious Stones :

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

PART II.

THE diamond is of such pre-eminent importance that it seems unjust to deal with it among the other precious stones, and therefore a separate chapter will be devoted to it. Next in rank to the diamond comes the ruby, the most valuable of all stones when free from flaw, of large size, and of a colour which should exactly resemble that of pigeon's blood. A fine stone of four carats weight is worth from £400 to £450; but above this weight rubies are very rare, and would command fancy prices. Tavernier has given a drawing of one belonging to the Shah of Persia, which weighed 175 carats; and the Kings of Burmah were said to possess one of the size of a pigeon's egg. The largest ever seen in Europe is that one which Gustavus III. of Sweden presented to the Czarina upon his visit to Russia in 1777. It is of a fine colour, and equal in size to a small hen's egg. The finest rubies are found in the sands of rivers in Ceylon, in Siam and Burmah, and in several parts of Europe. One of the titles of the King of Burmah was Lord of the

Rubies, and he was said to retain for his own use the rarest and finest specimens found in his dominions. The mines of Burmah were rigorously guarded, and no European was allowed to approach them. The ruby, as well as the sapphire, is formed of pure crystallized alumina or corundum; and the two stones are so far identical in composition, that the red sapphire is a ruby, and the blue ruby a sapphire. Thus a long crystal has been found, which was red ruby at one end, blue sapphire at the other, and colourless beryl between. The ruby is supposed to be tinted by the peroxide of iron, and the sapphire by the protoxide.

The ruby has been most successfully imitated in paste, and garnets backed by a ruby foil are often met with. Crimson spinel is called spinel ruby, and rose-red or pink spinel, balas ruby. This last name is said to be derived from Balastan, the ancient name of Beloochistan. Although many may be deceived by the spinel, the ruby may be readily distinguished by its superior hardness, its specific gravity, and its crystallization, which is hexagonal, the spinel being octahedral. Historical stones often turn out when examined to be unworthy of their fame; thus the famous ruby, said to have been given to Edward the Black Prince by Don Pedro of Castile after the Battle of Najara, A.D. 1307, worn in his helmet by Henry V. at Agincourt, and now placed in the Imperial State Crown of England, is a spinel. The monster ruby of Charles the Bold, set in the middle of a golden rose for a pendant, which was captured by the Bernese after his rout at Granson, was found to be false by Jacob Fugger after he had purchased it.

The ruby was supposed to be an amulet against poison, plague, sadness, evil thoughts, and wicked spirits; and, most wonderful of all, it warned its wearer of evil by becoming black or obscure. Brahman traditions describe the abode of the gods as lighted by enormous rubies and emeralds.

The magical properties of the sapphire are rated as high as those of the ruby. It was sacred to Apollo, and was worn by the inquirer of the oracle at his shrine. During the Middle Ages it continued in high estimation, because it was supposed to prevent evil

and impure thoughts, and it was worn by priests on account of its power to preserve the chastity of the wearer. St. Jerome affirmed that it procures favour with princes, pacifies enemies, and obtains freedom from captivity; but one of the most remarkable properties ascribed to it was the power to kill any venomous reptile that was put into the same glass with it.

The "heaven-hued" sapphire is found in all tints and shades of blue. Stones of a deep indigo colour are male, and those of a light blue female. Sometimes the latter are termed also water sapphires. These stones, which mostly come from Ceylon and Pegu, are sometimes found of a very large size. In the Mineralogical Department of the British Museum there is a statuette of Buddha, about an inch high, carved out of an entire and perfect sapphire. The largest stone known, which weighs $132\frac{1}{8}$ carats, is named the "Wooden Spoon Seller," from the occupation of the man who found it in Bengal. It is also called the "Ruspoli," from the name of a former owner. It was bought by Perret, a French jeweller, for 170,000 francs (£6,800), and is now in the *Musée de Minéralogie*, Paris. The sapphire has frequently formed the medium for engraving; thus a superb stone, engraved with the heads of Henri IV. and Marie de Médicis face to face, by Coldoré, and dated 1605, is recorded as in a private collection in Paris. An engraved sapphire ring bearing the royal arms of England, which once belonged to Mary Queen of Scots, was sold at the sale of the Duke of Brunswick's Collection. Mr. Emanuel tells, in his *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, the story of a noble lady who possessed one of the finest known sapphires, but sold it during her lifetime, and replaced it by a skilful imitation, which deceived the jeweller who valued it for probate duty. It was estimated as worth £10,000, and the legatee paid legacy duty on it before he found out the deception. The white sapphire, when cut and polished, has been passed as a diamond.

Although the ruby and the sapphire are the most distinguished representatives of the corundum series, there are many other stones which possess considerable beauty, such as the Oriental topaz, the Oriental amethyst,

the Oriental emerald, the Oriental aquamarine, the star sapphire, sometimes called asteria; the star ruby, the girasol sapphire, and the opalescent sapphire.

Garnets are formed of silicates of alumina, magnesia, lime, and iron, and come from Ceylon, Pegu, Brazil, and Bohemia. They are of little value, but are effective in jewelry on account of their brilliant colour. When cut *en cabachon*—that is oblong, and raised like the section of a plum—the garnet is called a carbuncle. The pendent carbuncle to the necklace of Mary Queen of Scots, which she wore at her marriage with Darnley, was valued at the enormous sum of 500 crowns. The purple or red-wine-tinted garnets are named "almandine."

The emerald is a silicate of alumina and glucina, and M. Lewy has proved by careful chemical analysis that the exquisite green, which mineralogists had always supposed to be due to a little chromium, is produced by an organic substance, which he considers to be a carbide of hydrogen similar to the chlorophyll of plants. When first withdrawn from the mine, the emerald is so soft as to crumble by friction; but it hardens on exposure to the air. It is so rarely perfect that "an emerald without a flaw" has passed into a proverb, and fine specimens are worth from £20 to £40 the carat. In the Middle Ages the value of the emerald was singularly high, and Cellini puts it at 400 gold scudi the carat, or four times the amount at which he values the diamond. The ancients dedicated this stone to Mercury, and supposed it to be good for the eyes. The lapidaries who cut the stone were thought to possess in consequence a good eyesight. Nero is reported to have observed the feats of the gladiators through an eyeglass of emerald, and the gem was in consequence sometimes called *Neronianus*, a name continued as late as the close of the fourth century.

Indian emeralds are usually of a pale green and full of flaws, and the finest stones are found at Muzo in New Granada, near Santa Fé de Bogota, in a calcareous rock. The Spaniards obtained large hoards of emeralds after the conquest of Peru, for the priests of the goddess (called by the Spaniards *Esmeralda*), who was supposed to reside in an enormous emerald of the shape and size of

an ostrich egg, let it be understood by her worshippers that she esteemed no offering so much as one of her own daughters. One of the largest emeralds known is that belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, which measures 2 inches in height and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across, and weighs 8 oz. 18 dwt.; but it is surpassed by a stone in the possession of the Maharajah Duleep Singh, which is 3 inches long, 2 wide, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick.

Glass often simulates the appearance of an emerald, and we are told that the Cingalese anxiously collect the thick bottoms of our wine-bottles, which they cut into apparently fine emeralds, and dispose of at high prices. The so-called Brighton emeralds have a like origin. The broken bottles thrown into the sea purposely by the lapidaries of the place, are by the attrition of the shingle speedily converted into the form of natural pebbles.

The Turquoise or Turkish stone, of a beautiful sky-blue colour, is a phosphate of alumina tinted with phosphate of copper. The mines of Ansar, near Nishapur in Khorassan, produce the best stones, but some come from Arabia Petræa. The Shah of Persia is supposed to possess all the finest gems, as he allows only those of an inferior quality to leave the country. Mr. Eastwick had mentioned one in the Persian treasury which measures 3 or 4 inches in length, and is without a flaw. In consequence of the acquisitiveness of the Shah, large turquoises of good quality and fine colour are very rare, and realize high prices. Few of the precious stones can compare with the turquoise in respect to its marvellous virtues. It was believed to strengthen the sight and spirits of the wearer, to take away all enmity, and reconcile man and wife, and to move when any peril was about to fall upon the wearer. Dr. Donne alludes to this quality:

A compassionate turquoise that doth tell
By looking pale the wearer is not well.

As already stated, it protected its wearers from injury from falls, so that however serious the danger the stone only broke, and the wearer escaped unhurt. Anselmus de Boot, or Boethius, in his work on *Precious Stones* (1609), gives a circumstantial account of his own escapes from falls due to his wearing a turquoise ring.

It has been supposed by some that the turquoise is composed of fossil-bone coloured by copper; but this is a misapprehension, for the bone turquoise, or *turquoise de la nouvelle roche* (odontolite), is a totally different production found in Languedoc. It is a bone or ivory coloured by oxide of copper, and is sometimes called turquoise-Bricard, from the name of the original mine from which it was obtained.

Although the opal is a highly admired stone, as it cannot fail to be on account of its singular beauty, a certain amount of dreaded superstition is attached to it in popular estimation. Strange to say, the absurd notion of the opal being an unlucky stone cannot be traced farther back than the publication of Scott's *Anne of Geierstein*, in the action of which novel the hydrophane (a dull variety of opal, which when immersed in water acquired all the opalescent tints of the precious opal) worn by the Baroness Hermione of Arnheim bears an important part. The opal was, on the contrary, highly prized by the ancients on account of its virtues. Nonius went into exile rather than surrender his fine stone, valued at £20,000, to Mark Antony. Marbodius affirms that the opal confers the gift of invisibility upon the wearer, so that the thief protected by its virtue of dazzling all beholders could carry off his plunder in open day. It was also supposed to confer upon the wearer all the qualities granted by nature to itself. The opal is a hydrate of silica, consisting of from 90 to 95 of silica, and 5 to 10 of water. It is found in Hungary, Mexico, and Honduras, and in small rounded pieces of sand in Ceylon. The beautiful iridescent colours are not due to any colouring matter, but are produced by the polarizing and refractory effect of the laminæ of the stone upon the light. When held up to the light, the stone appears of a pale red and yellow tint with a milky transparency. The Empress Josephine's opal called the "Burning of Troy," from the innumerable red flames blazing on its surface, was considered to be the finest stone of modern times, but its present owner is not known. The largest opal, which is the size of a man's fist, and weighs 17 oz., is preserved in the Imperial Cabinet of Vienna.

The amethyst, which is quartz or rock

crystal coloured by a minute portion of iron and manganese, varies in shade from delicate pink to deep purple. This stone was highly esteemed by the ancients as an amulet against intoxication, on account of the supposed etymology of the word ἀμύθυστος; and it was thought that wine drunk out of an amethyst cup would not intoxicate. If the sun or moon was engraven upon a stone, it became a charm against witchcraft. In 1652 an amethyst was worth as much as a diamond of equal weight, and even in the last century it was still held in some estimation. Since, however, large quantities have been sent from Brazil this stone has become almost valueless.

In addition to the gems which have been already described, we must take some note of the various substances that have been used at different times for personal ornaments. Of what are called fine stones jasper holds a high place, not only on account of its beauty, but also from the virtues with which it was once supposed to be endowed. Galen vouched for its admirable qualities from his own experience, and Cardan affirmed that he had cured many madmen "who, when they laid aside the use of these stones, became as mad as ever they were at first." Jaspers are remarkable for the wide range of their colour, which admits all tints except those of blue and violet; the majority assume some shade of green, but they appear often as milk-white, jet-black, deep red, grey, and yellow.

Lapis lazuli, which takes its name from the Arabic word for blue, *azul*, is a silicate of alumina, soda, and lime with sulphur. It occurs abundantly in Egyptian jewelry, and was known to the ancients under the name of *sapphirus*.

Chalcedony is a colourless mixture of silica in the two states of quartz and opal. When tinted with small quantities of iron and other substances, it forms the endless variety of sards, agates, carnelians, onyxes, etc. Carnelian (from *carneus*) is the red variety of chalcedony, and sard is the Oriental variety of carnelian. Agates are mixtures in alternating layers of different varieties of chalcedony. Lapidaries have given distinctive names to the numerous varieties, such as moss agate, eye agate, ribbon agate, fortifica-

tion agate, zoned or banded agate, variegated agate, brecciated agate, and mocha stone.

Pliny is full of the virtues of agates, which were effectual antidotes against the bites of venomous scorpions and spiders:

"Further, it is holden that, only to behold and look upon an agate is very comfortable for the eyes. If they be held in the mouth, they quench and allay thirst. In Persia they are persuaded that the perfume of agates turns away tempests, and all other extraordinary impressions of the air; as also stayeth the violent rage of rivers; but to know which be proper for this purpose, they use to cast them into a cauldron of seething water; for if they cool the same, it is an argument that they be the right sort. Agates of one colour make wrestlers invincible: a proof hereof they make, by sweating them in a pot-full of oil with divers painter's colours; for, within two hours after it has simmered and boiled therein, it will bring them all to one entire colour of vermilion."

Can we wonder, with such virtues, that agate rings were at one time almost universally worn. The process described by Pliny is still adopted when the colours of an agate are indistinct. The stone is steeped first in oil or honey and afterwards boiled in sulphuric acid, which turns the carbon of the oil or honey absorbed to a light or dark brown or black according to the quantity that has penetrated the porous parts of the stone.

There has been some confusion among certain writers concerning the onyx and the sardonyx; and as this is a matter of considerable importance, it will perhaps be well to quote a very clear note on the subject by the late Dr. Billing from his *Science of Gems*, etc. (1875), p. 66:

"The dealers and others make an interminable confusion of nomenclature with respect to onyx and sardonyx, but the solution is very simple: it has been erroneously asserted that onyx means a stone of two strata, sardonyx of three or more. . . . The terms have not the slightest reference to the number of strata. Onyx means merely the superposition of at least one stratum over another; one being white, and the other pale, translucent, or red or black or brown, or any other colour; but if that other colour be sard, it

constitutes a *sard-onyx* (sardonyx : *candor* in *sarda*, Pliny, lib. xxxvii.), and there may be three or more layers of either onyx or sardonyx. Thus the question may be asked, What kind of onyx is that? It may be either a common onyx—that is, with a black or grey or other dingy-coloured ground—or a carnelian onyx, a bloodstone onyx, a chalcidony onyx, a jasper onyx, or a *sard-onyx*; but the sardonyx being the most valuable and esteemed, there is always a tendency to strain a point to give the stone that name. Again, confusion worse confounded, and to which even the Italians have given way, is that of naming a sard a sardonyx, as they constantly assert that an intaglio or a pure sard without a particle of white in it is sardonyx to glorify the stone. And another source of *équivoque* is, that the French word for sard is *sardoine*, which sounds like sardonyx. The lapidaries are now going back to the antique nomenclature, as they call the carnelian onyxes sardonyxes.”

The Murrhine Vases are certainly not personal ornaments; but the controversy has so long raged as to the stone from which they were made, that it is scarcely possible in a chapter on precious stones to pass them by without some slight allusion. These vases were brought to Rome for the first time by Pompey from his Parthian expedition, and were thought of sufficient importance to be made a special presentation to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. They have been supposed by some to be made of variegated agate or chalcidony, and others have hazarded many conjectures; but a writer in *Fraser's Magazine*,* following Corsi, suggested that they were of fluor-spar, and corroborates his view by stating that some magnificent specimens of fluor-spar have within a few years been disinterred in and about the neighbourhood of old Rome. Dr. Billing accepts this suggestion, and writes: “It is the only stone which answers to all the descriptions and allusions made by classic writers, more especially that of their colour varying from purple to white and then shading off to red, and the rainbow (*cælesit arcu*) form of the stripes and variety of colours, which purple and red shades—especially the purple—never exist in agates; moreover, the peculiar fact that

they were, according to the oft-quoted passage,

Murrheaque in Parthis pocula cocta focus,
improved by being heated in the fire, according to our present knowledge, stamps the character as fluor-spar, which (unlike agate) undergoes this change by fire.”*

Many more of these interesting objects might be mentioned here, but they are so numerous that if continued our notes might degenerate into a mere list. We will therefore in conclusion only say a few words on coral, amber, and jet, all of which have been largely used for personal ornaments.

Coral is a production secreted by marine asteroids, polypi or zoophytes, and is composed of carbonate of lime, a little magnesia, and a very small percentage of oxide of iron. Besides the red, pink, green, brown, and yellow coral there are also black and white varieties; but these are rare. The cause of the growth of coral has always been a subject of interest to naturalists; and now that through the researches of Darwin and others we are acquainted with the facts of the growth of the coral reefs, the whole subject is even more a matter for wonder than ever. We cannot, therefore, be surprised at the curious superstitions that connected themselves with this substance. In the curious poem on Gems by the Pseudo-Orpheus much space is allotted to coral:

The coral too, in Perseus' story named,
Against the scorpion is of might proclaimed,
This also a sure remedy shall bring
For murderous asp, and blunt his fateful sting.
Above all gems in potency 'tis raised
By bright-haired Phœbus and its value praised;
For on its birth it shows a wondrous change;
True is the story, though thou'lt deem it strange:
At first a plant, it springs not from the ground,
The nurse of plants, but in the deep profound
Like a green shrub it lifts its flowery head
Mid weeds and mosses of old ocean's bed;
But when old age its withering stem invades,
Nipped by the brine, its verdant foliage fades,
It floats amid the wrack of sea-things tossed,
Till roaring waves expel it on the coast;
Then in the moment that it breathes the air,
They say who've seen it, that it hardens there,
Or as by frost congealed and solid grown
The plant is stiffened into perfect stone:
And in a moment in the finder's hands,
Erst a soft branch, a flinty coral stands.†

* *Science of Gems*, etc., 1875, p. 28.

† C. W. King, *Natural History of Precious Stones and Gems*, 1865, p. 389.

* Vol. liv. (1856), p. 421.

Coral is still largely used for personal ornaments at Naples and Genoa, in the belief that it is a charm against the evil eye. The coral given to babies to help them in teething is probably a survival of this superstition, and the idea of rubbing the teeth is an after-thought.

Jet is a variety of lignite or fossil-wood imperfectly mineralized, and is of such a full velvety-black colour that the word jet is used to describe the blackest dye. Pliny writes, "Gagates is a stone so called from Gages, the name of a town and river in Lycia;" and he then goes on to describe the qualities of jet. Its virtues were many, for its fumes drove away reptiles, and mixed with wine it was good for the toothache, and with bees-wax a sovereign ointment for tumours. Employed in the mode of divination called Axinomantia, it would not consume if the desire of the consulting party was destined to be accomplished. Another curious property claimed for its fumes was that they would at once discover any subject to epilepsy by at once inducing a fit. The electrical qualities of jet obtained it the name of black amber, and there does appear to be some connection between the two, for jet often occurs in the same beds of lignite as the real amber. Jet appears to have been used for ornaments by the Britons, and round discs cut out from rings used for bracelets and anklets have been found in large heaps in Dorsetshire. This refuse of the turners long puzzled antiquaries, who agreed to call it "Kimmeridge coal money," and to regard it as a primitive currency.*

Amber is a fossilized gum or resin found in irregular masses of all shades of yellow, from the palest primrose to the deepest orange. It is rare for a piece of amber to weigh 1 lb., but there is in the Natural History Museum at Berlin one that weighs about 14 lb. It has been reported lately that a large piece of amber, weighing 8 lb., was picked up opposite Stralsund by some fishermen of the Isle of Zuigst, which measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in circumference. According to Goepfert, amber is the mineralized resin of extinct coniferæ, one of which he has named *Pinites succinifer* or amber-bearing pine-tree. Mr.

* C. W. King, *Natural History of Precious Stones*, 1865, p. 190.

King says that amber claims the highest antiquity in the list of precious stones used for personal ornaments, for it was the only one known to the early Greeks. The bright yellow colour, which was supposed to be of so fiery a quality as to ignite even if brought near a flame, attracted the special attention of the ancients. In the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel we read: "And I saw as the colour of amber, as the appearance of fire round about within it." Amber was worn as an amulet by children; it was a specific against insanity, and generally was supposed a great help to the physician. Worn round the neck it cured the ague; ground up with honey and rose oil it was a specific for deafness, and with Attic honey for dimness of sight. The allusions to the colour of amber have been numerous, from the hue of Poppæa's hair to the tint of Bass's pale ale. Amber was highly popular as an ornament in England during the last century, particularly that which entombed some foreign body, as Pope writes:

Pretty! in amber to observe the forms
Of hairs, or straws or dirt, or grubs or worms;
The things we know are neither rich nor rare,
But wonder how the devil they got there.



Celebrated Birthplaces.

ROBERT SOUTHEY AT BRISTOL.



THOSE interested in the state of England during the last century may read in the pages of Leslie's *Life of Reynolds* how the foremost man of the Opposition, Edmund Burke, the member for Bristol, and the Prime Minister, Lord North, were both robbed by highwaymen in the autumn of 1774; and Walpole, writing to the Countess of Ossory, relates how Lady Hertford "was attacked last Wednesday on Hounslow Heath at three in the afternoon." And yet the *dilettante* owner of the fantastic little Gothic castle in "Twitnumshire" assures Sir Horace Mann that "we have no news, public or private;" he does, however, think it worth while to mention to his crony, the Envoy at Florence, that "there is an ostrich egg laid in America where the Bostonians have canted 300 chests of tea into the ocean, for they will not drink tea with our Parliament."

We know that the merchants of Bristol did not think thus lightly of proceedings which were to result in the loss of our American colonies and to affect so gravely the trading interests of the busy port on the banks of the Avon, whose wealth and commerce were so closely connected with the "Plantations."

In this year 1774, when Miss Hannah

was living in Bristol a linendraper named Southey. He came of a respectable yeoman family which had been settled at Wellington in Somersetshire, and his grandfather had joined the standard of Monmouth and narrowly escaped a trial before Jeffreys. This worthy man being born in quieter times, was sent as apprentice to a grocer in London; and



BIRTHPLACE OF ROBERT SOUTHEY AT BRISTOL.

More came up from the boarding school at Bristol, kept by her sisters and herself, to stay with David Garrick (who just then had the gout, by the way), and to take tea with Mrs. Montague, to see the great Dr. Johnson, and in short to make her first acquaintance with London Society; when Gainsborough left the neighbouring city of Bath to establish himself at Schomberg House (now the War Office) in Pall Mall; and when poor Goldsmith passed away from this work-a-day world he had found so full of trouble—there

it is said that after he had been there some years, a country lad passed the door with a hare in his hand, and the sight awakening associations akin to those of Wordsworth's "Susan," the young man resolved not to fix his lot so far from the paternal fields.

Be this as it may, we know that he became a draper in Bristol, surmounted his shop with the sign of the hare, had it painted upon the window on each side the door, and engraved on his bills.

Whatever may have been the merits of

Southey's father, there is not much to be told about him. We learn he read nothing but the *Bristol Journal*, and a small glass cupboard in the back parlour held the wine-glasses and all the library; certainly he did not thrive as a tradesman, and became ultimately a bankrupt. More is to be gleaned about the mother, of whom the poet speaks in terms of the greatest admiration and affection; she also was bred amongst the yeomanry. Her maiden name was Hill, and she claimed to have some connection with the family of John Locke (himself a Somersetshire man). Her people had lived for many generations near Clifton, on a small possession which there is good reason to suppose is described in *The Doctor*, in that pleasing picture of an old English abode which "you entered between 2 yew trees clipt to the fashion of two pawns. There were hollyhocks and sunflowers displaying themselves above the wall; roses and sweet-peas under the windows, and the everlasting-pea climbing the porch. The rest of the garden lay behind the house, partly on the slope of the hill; and in a sheltered spot under the crag, open to the south, were six beehives, which made the family perfectly independent of West India produce . . . Tea was in those days as little known as potatoes," and so on. And then follows a still more delightful "interior," to read which is like looking into the peaceful home of the Vicar of Wakefield and Mrs. Primrose.

But we must return to a noisy commercial street in Bristol, where in an old-fashioned gabled house, known, as we have seen, by sign of the Hare, and in later days by that of the Golden Key, Robert Southey was born on the 12th of August, 1774, three years after the Wizard of the North. He was the second of a family of seven or eight children, two only of whom beside himself seem to have grown up, one to become an officer in the army, the other a physician in London. Amongst the voluminous writings of the Laureate is his own life and correspondence, wherein the man, "the Pantisocrat, the enthusiast, the self-opiniated" High Tory, is depicted. In these volumes, as some one has said, he sits before a glass and paints himself. Besides this picture by his own hand, there are so many contemporary portraits of Southey that it is quite superfluous to attempt to add anything to them.

His failings have often been held up before the public gaze; his virtues (and they were many and great, far eclipsing his shortcomings) were equally well known. Every step in his career is shown, from the days when he was caned at Mill Hill, at a day-school kept by a Mr. Foote, a dissenting minister—a circumstance which may have had something to do with his hatred of dissent—on through the time when with his school-fellows he washed in the little stream which ran through the grounds of the dilapidated old mansion at Corston which is described in the *Retrospect*, and was innocent of any other cleansing; and then going to another extreme, was sent to his aunt Tyler's, where we may be sure he was well combed and brushed, for this good lady, who resided at Bath, had two ruling passions, one for cleanliness, and the other for orders for the theatre. Touching the former peculiarity, Southey tells us that "Dust, visible or invisible, was the plague of her life. I have seen her order the tea-kettle to be emptied and refilled because some one had passed across the hearth. She had a cup buried for six weeks to purify it from the lips of one whom she accounted unclean; all who were not her favourites were included in that class. I never saw her more annoyed than on one occasion when a man who called upon business seated himself in her own chair: how the cushion was ever again to be rendered fit for her use she knew not."

The details of his expulsion from Westminster School for writing *The Flagellant*; his entry at Baliol in 1793, being then a republican of the reddest dye; his meeting with Coleridge when visiting Burnett, an acquaintance which was to give rise to the Utopian dream of "Asphetism or Pantisocracy."

How far from these visions were the ultimate views of the High Tory whom Macaulay assailed, and who was destined to become a leading contributor to the *Quarterly*, and Poet Laureate, is part of the history of English literature, and must not be further dwelt upon. Nor shall the story now be retold of the long, laborious, honourable life of this typical "man of letters," the literary man by profession. The friend of Scott, of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Landor, needs no further tribute from any lover of books.

After two-and-forty years of marriage

Southey lost his wife, than whom, to quote his own words, "a more affectionate and devoted wife no man was ever blessed with." Her last days were overshadowed by the terrible cloud of the loss of reason, and the gloom of this dread malady soon after fell upon him. We cannot close this slight sketch without the tribute of a passing sigh at the melancholy end of the venerable writer, "shaken at the root," "losing his way in well-known places," mechanically moving about his books and murmuring as he put them by,

Memory, memory, where art thou gone?

In March, 1843, the conflict was over, and with his wife, Edith, and four of his children, he lies buried in the lonely graveyard of Crosthwaite Church, where Skiddaw looks down on Derwentwater. Thirty years before it came to be his last resting-place he had described the spot "as open to the breath of heaven as if it were a Druids' place of meeting."

"Bristol, more truly Brightston," says Fuller, "is *bright* in the situation thereof, conspicuous on the rising of a hill; bright in the buildings fair and firm; bright in the streets, so cleanly kept as if scoured, where no carts but sledges are used; but chiefly *bright* for the inhabitants thereof, having bred so many eminent persons."

Formerly Bristol was rich in mediæval domestic architecture, but few examples now survive. Wine Street or Winch Street once, no doubt, was full of them, now it is almost completely modernized. The birthplace of Southey, however, we are assured, has undergone but little change, and our illustration gives a fair idea of its present appearance.

The spire seen close by is that of Christ Church, formerly known as Holy Trinity, and the seat of a guild of very remote antiquity known as the "Callendaries," a body of clerks and laymen pledged to convert Turks, Jews, and infidels, as well as to guard the archives of the city and other literary treasures, etc., a foundation which may be compared with that of the Rolls in Chancery Lane.

Bristol folk are not unmindful of the fame of their gifted townsman, and in the choir of the Cathedral is a very fine bust of Southey by Bailly, himself a Bristol man.

J. J. FOSTER.

Beatrice Cenci.

BY RICHARD DAVEY.

PART II.



FROM the account given in the first paper of Signor Francesco Cenci, it is to be concluded that such a father was not likely to have exemplary children. Of course his sons and daughters must have seen many of the iniquities he practised, have witnessed his brutal treatment of his servants, and have overheard the family and attendants talking about his innumerable trials, fines, and imprisonments. Still it does not seem that he neglected his children, and we shall see in the sequel that he was extremely strict with regard to the conduct of his wife and daughters.

Giacomo Cenci was the eldest son, and as long as his mother lived he shared her influence over his father. But after her death he offended Francesco by clandestinely marrying a woman of inferior rank. It seems that his father allowed him 30 crowns a month, and that he spent about 60. He was often in debt, for we find his father suing him for the following amounts, which he owed in March, 1587: "80 crowns to two men of Asserizo; 15 crowns entrusted to him to pay for his sister's schooling for one month, which he never paid; 22 crowns, which he owed a priest of Aquila; 34 crowns owing to a person whom decency forbids us to mention; 11 crowns to the shoemaker; 100 crowns, which he obtained for some tapestries stolen from his father's wardrobe and pawned." All these debts he takes upon himself to pay off within the year. But when his father was in prison in 1594, and he assumed the temporary administration of the family affairs, he contrived to spend about three times as much as he ought to have done, and to have landed himself in the hands of no less than thirty Jewish money-lenders, and had to write to the Pope to assist him out of his difficulties. Meantime his father turned against him, and even went so far as to accuse him of threatening to murder him—a threat afterwards carried into effect, as all the world knows. A "druda" of Cenci *père*, a certain Secondina, accused him openly of having tried to poison her master.

There was, as usual with this amiable family, a trial in consequence of this accusation; but it ended in smoke, and Giacomo was liberated without ever having a fine to pay. Still, the mere fact that such a charge was brought against him by his father, is proof of what kind of young man he was; and, moreover, he afterwards confessed that he forged a note for 13,000 crowns, in his father's name, and got the money, which he used for his own purposes.

Christofero Cenci, the second son, was no better than the eldest. He also was "tried" several times for beating his servants. He was murdered in 1598, under peculiar and rather romantic circumstances. Of this crime we have the following account, given by a certain Ottavio Pelli, of Mantua, his servant. I must not neglect to mention that Christofero's mistress was a handsome woman of the people, a Trasteverina, who was married to a fisherman. She had, however, another lover, named Paolo Bruno Corso, and this fellow murdered Christofero. But Ottavio Pelli shall himself narrate the event.

"I am the servant of Christofero Cenci—I have been with him a year; but during the late war against Ferrara I left his service, and only returned this past holy week. I was arrested last night in the house of the head of the Police of Rome (*bargello*), when I went with Signor Santa Croce (uncle to Christofero), to fetch assistance, and to recognise the body of the Signor Christofero, my master, who had been killed in the Pescheria. About *Ave Maria* time a certain Flaminia came to my master and asked him to follow her home. He said he would do so, and then called me. My master took up a sword and dagger, and bid me come along, saying: 'Flaminia has brought me news of great good sport.' When we got down by the Trasteveri, he wanted to go on to the Isle of St. Bartholomew, and told me to stop when I was in a narrow lane, whilst he went to see his lady love, who is very fair (*bella molto*). I sat down where I was, and fell asleep on the steps of a church. By-and-by I woke up with a terrible start, for there was an awful noise in the street. I saw people coming along with swords drawn; one of them had a long, long beard. I ran as fast as I could towards the Pescheria, and there saw my master on

the ground, who was wounded and moaning piteously. I said to him: 'Sir, it is I;' and I helped him to rise, and sat him down on a stone by the roadside. I then ran home, and told Signor Bernardo Cenci what had happened, and he called up his brother Giacomo. We got a chair between us, and with it went where the Signor Christofero had been left. Near by him we found Signor Xpfaro his friend, also wounded. Signor Giacomo advised us not to remove his brother from where he was, but to call the *sbirri* (police). This was done, and we had my master taken to Monte Giordano, and there he died."

The author of the crime was Paolo Bruno Corsi, and his motive jealousy.

A letter, still extant, and dated 16th July, 1599, addressed by Virginia Bruni, the assassin's mother, to Pope Clement VIII., proves that Bruni was not executed for the murder of the Signor Christofero, but simply banished. In this document the Signora Bruni begs the Pope to permit her son to return to Rome. Giacomo Cenci and his brother Bernardo also seconded her in obtaining her son's pardon, and from this fact it is presumable that he probably did not intend to kill Christofero, but wounded him fatally but accidentally in the heat of a quarrel. The above facts, I think, clearly demonstrate that Christofero Cenci was not murdered by his father, as Shelley would have us imagine that he was.

Of all the children of Francesco Cenci, however, Rocco was the most detestable, turbulent, and in every way iniquitous. His life, after he was eighteen, was a series of lawsuits, arrestations and troubles, brought on himself by his persistent ill-conduct. As a sample of his practical jokes, the following will suffice. On 22nd July, 1592, he was arrested and brought before the Judge for disturbing the peace of Bastiano de San Severino, who made this statement anent the matter.

"Sir Judge, you must know that between three and four o'clock in the morning, whilst I and my family were in bed, and only my daughter Terenzia was up and in her shift, sitting in a chair because it was very warm, we were alarmed by hearing an awful noise in the street. This was made by Signor Rocco and his servant Negroponti, who, with drawn

swords, and in their shirts, were dancing in front of my house like mad people."

On August 2nd, 1592, this amiable young man was tried for throwing stones at, and otherwise maltreating, some poor fishermen. One of these inoffensive men was dangerously wounded in the head. Rocco in defence said he simply did this for a joke. The judge, however, did not see the matter in this flippant light, and the Signor Rocco was banished for three years to Padua, and had 25,000 crowns to pay by way of a fine. He was not long absent ere we find him addressing letters to the Governor of Rome, begging to be allowed to return. He remained, however, where he was until his sentence was completed. When, however, he did come home, he had not been in his father's house many weeks before he was accused of stealing "four pieces of silk stuff, a priest's dress, four or five waistcoats, four cushions, a silver chafing-dish, eleven pocket-handkerchiefs, and some hangings." It appears from the evidence, still extant, that he was helped in this enterprise by his cousin Monsignore Querra. Be this as it may, the trial which ensued brings the famous Beatrice for the first time on the scene. In the evidence we find these statements.

ANTONINA CENCI, sworn: "I am the eldest daughter of Signore Francesco Cenci, and sister to Rocco. All I know about this matter is that my brother Rocco slept at home, and that in the morning my sister Beatrice found he had taken from the great wardrobe various articles." (The list has already been given.)

BEATRICE CENCI, sworn: "I am the youngest daughter of Signore Francesco Cenci. I know that Signore Rocco, my brother, has taken from the wardrobe certain articles, and that he and Monsignore Querra have between them made away with these valuables. I have heard said about the house that a hat belonging to Monsignore Querra was found in my brother's room."

Monsignore Mario Querra was afterwards examined before the Cardinal Montalto. He denied having anything to do with the matter, and proved an *alibi* by swearing that he spent the evening with Giacomo Cenci. He with great semblance of truth contradicted Beatrice's assertion about his having left his

hat behind him by saying: "It does not seem very likely that I should go home to the other end of the city at that hour of the morning without my hat." This trial ended satisfactorily for Rocco, through lack of evidence.

On March 11th, 1595, Rocco was found dead in the street. The medical certificate shows "that the body was that of a healthy, beardless youth (*giovane imberbe*) of twenty. The wound penetrated to the brain through the right eye."

The motive of his murder was almost identical with that of his brother Christoforo, only we have Monsignore Querra mixed up in the matter, and in disguise.

From contemporary evidence it appears that Rocco had for bosom friend a certain Signore Amilcare Pitigliano, and that in the company of Querra, disguised for the purpose, the three led a fast life about Rome. There was, however, at last a love affair, of a rather more serious kind than usual, and Rocco got jealous of Amilcare. They quarrelled, fought, and Rocco was killed, just as his brother Christoforo had been a short time previous. Amilcare escaped, and joining the army of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, perished gallantly at the Battle of Scio. Rocco, young as he was, left an illegitimate daughter, who is mentioned in his brother Bernardo's will.

The other two brothers Cenci, were Bernardo, who figures conspicuously in the tragic event which has rendered his sister's name so celebrated; and Paul, who was deformed, and died at the age of fifteen, during the great trial of his stepmother, brother, and sister, for the murder of his father.

According to the legend we have hitherto been led to believe that Rocco and Christoforo were assassinated by their father's orders. As there is no reason whatever to doubt the authenticity of the documents, from whence the foregoing facts have been extracted, it is obvious that this accusation is false. Moreover, the "legend"—as I call the hitherto published accounts of this tragic drama, founded upon the popular versions of the affair—the legend declares that "When the bodies of his sons were brought to the family chapel for burial, the Signor Francesco refused to pay the funeral expenses. The Santa Croce family did so, and then Francesco, in joy at having lost his children, re-

stored the chapel, because it rose over the bodies of his detested offspring." All this is mere nonsense, Cenci restored, according to the archives of the Church of San Tomaso-a-Cenci, the sacred edifice in 1576; and Christoforo was murdered in 1598, and Rocco in 1595. "There is nothing like documentary evidence," says Miss Genevieve Ward in her fine information of *Stephanie de Morihvart*; "those who run may read," and so may those who like to go to Rome and examine the mass of papers contained in the *Atti Nottarilli*, or notaries' registers of that eternal city, and see for themselves that all I have written is perfectly true. There are the shorthand notes, and the full accounts of the various trials, the receipts for expenses, and the wills of all the people concerned in this only too notorious history.

I have at last reached that stage in my narrative where I can introduce my heroine and her stepmother. We have seen what the male Cencis were worth; now let us turn to the women. First of all, the Signora Lucrezia. She was the widow of a man named Velli, and by him the mother of three daughters. Her marriage with Cenci took place in the Church of Santo Maria di Trastevere, on the night of November 27th, 1595. She seems to have been middle-aged, handsome, but very stout. Her character was mild and weak. She was her stepdaughter's victim in the murder of her detestable husband, and, from her own evidence, appears to have hesitated a great deal before giving her consent to the committal of that awful crime.

The oft-repeated story that Cenci's eldest daughter, Antonina (the legend calls her Margherita), addressed memorials to the Pope against her father, in which she accused him of abominable intentions, is entirely fictitious. She was married when very young to Signor Lutio Savelli, and her father gave her 20,000 crowns dower. There are some very curious records extant of her bridal expenses. In the account book of Maria, the Major-domo of Francesco Cenci, we find the following entries: "Expenses for the going and coming of the Signora Antonina Cenci to and from Rignano, during the days of her marriage, for a carriage and horses, 20 crowns. November 4th, 1594: To the Signora Antonina, paid 40 pence for two dolls to give the little girl of her future

husband, Signor Lutio (he was a widower); 30 pence to the head-dresser for arranging the Signora Antonina's hair; 40 pence for flowers to put in her hair." The bridegroom's sister, Sofonisba Savelli Strozzi, writes affectionately of her sister-in-law as a "pretty girl, of pleasing manners. She is tall, rather stout, and handsome, with a very white skin." Antonina died in childbirth in 1598, a year before the murder of her father. Her brother tried to recover her dower, and even wrote to Clement VIII. about it.

BEATRICE CENCI was born February 12th, 1577. Her birth is thus entered in the parish register of San Lorenzo, in Damaso: "Feb. 12, 1577, Beatrice, daughter of Signor Francesco Cenci, and of Ersilia Santa Croce, his wife." Thus it is easy enough to prove that Shelley's sixteen-year-old heroine was over twenty-one when she perished on the scaffold in 1598. All we know of her early life is that she was educated in the Convent of Montecitorio, and that she figured in her brother Rocco's trial for theft, wherein she gave evidence against Monsignore Querra—the man who the novelist asserts, was her lover. He was nothing of the sort, and there is proof that she did not like him, for she added to her already quoted testimony: "I say and I think Monsignore Querra stole the articles missing from the wardrobe, and I believe he instigated my brother Rocco to commit this crime." Surely if he was her lover, she would not thus have spoken of him. I shall not here enter into details concerning her personal appearance, for I shall have a good deal to say about it when we come to discuss the authenticity of the popular and often-copied portrait.

Mario Querra—the "young and beautiful lover" of the legends—was the son of Beatrice's grandaunt, her grandmother Beatrice Aribis's sister Lucrezia. He was in 1599 forty years of age, corpulent, red-haired, and plain. When arrested for his share in Francesco Cenci's murder, he was thus described in the Police Register: "Mario Querra, a man of middle size, red-haired, about forty or over." It appears that he was in orders, and a Monsignore in the employ of the Cardinal Montalto. Of him and his deeds and misdeeds, more anon.

(To be continued.)

cp. p. 71.

Unpublished Letters from Dr.
Wallis to Mr. J. Ellis.

COMMUNICATED BY GEORGE CLINCH.

HEN Dr. Wallis, the celebrated mathematician and decipherer, was offered the deanery of Hereford, he declined the honour on account of his advanced age; but he asked preferment for his son-in-law, Mr. Blencowe, who in 1675 had married his eldest daughter. Dr. Wallis's request was not unheeded, and Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Blencowe by rapid strides was promoted to be a Baron of the Exchequer, and a Justice of the King's Bench. Dr. Wallis died in 1703, and was succeeded as decipherer to the Government by his grandson Mr. William Blencowe, third son of Sir John Blencowe. Both letters given below were addressed, as will be seen, to John Ellis,* Esq., Under-Secretary of State. They are now preserved among the Ellis Papers† in the British Museum.

"Oxford, Apr. 30, 1700.

"SIR,

"I humbly thank you for yours of Apr. 27, which I received yesterday. (I should have had it, the night before, if our Post-master here, had been as carefull as he ought; & I might have answered it a day sooner.) The contents of my letter to Hannover (therein mentioned) was an Answer to one from Mr. Leibnitz; wherein he had signified, That a generous Prince (meaning, I presume, the Elector of Hannover,) was willing to send hither some youngman, whom I might instruct in the Art of Deciphering (that it might not dy with me,) desiring me to signify, on what terms I would undertake it. To which my Answer was; First, that, to make this generally known abroad, might as well be a publicks Prejudice, as a convenience; for it would prejudice the way of secret correspondence, which, in affairs of State, is oft necessary: Secondly, that our

* An account of Mr. Ellis may be found in the introduction to the letters of Dean Prideaux, printed by the Camden Society in 1875, pp. vi-viii.

† *Additional Manuscripts* 28,927, fols. 115, 151.

own Prince having thought fit to make use of me herein, (and might think fit to have this skill continued at home,) I did not think it proper to do ought of this nature, without his privacy and permission. This I thought not amiss to represent. What I am to say further, I am willing to be directed.

"I am, S^r,

"Your very humble servant,

John Wallis.

Addressed,

"For Mr. John Ellis, at the

"Secretaries Office in

"White-hall."

"Oxford, Sept. 26, 1702.

"SIR,

"I have received yours of Sept. 18, with the Cipher inclosed. Myself and Mr. Blencowe have bestowed true pains upon it ever since; but with no great success. It is an hard Cipher, and not much of it. You would do us a great kindness if you could send us some more of the same Cipher; that we might have a sufficient quantity in proportion to the difficulty. For, as it is, (except some few numbers,) most of the rest come scarce oftener than Once or Twice; and very many not at all. In so much that, if sometimes we chance to make a true conjecture, there is not enough to justify it, so as to confide in it. However, we shall yet employ more pains upon it, but cannot promise you any great success, unless we had more of it. I am,

"S^r,

"Your very humble servant,

John Wallis.

Addressed,

"For John Ellis, Esqr. at the

"Secretaries Office in

"White-hall."



Reviews.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles.
 Edited by J. A. H. Murray, LL.D. Part II.,
Ant-Batten. (Clarendon Press, Oxford.)

SINCE the appearance of the first Part of this noble work, the great approbation which greeted it has aided the desire of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press and others concerned to lessen the difficulties in the way of its preparation, and so to shorten the interval between the publication of Parts. Dr. Murray has been transplanted to Oxford, his staff has been much enlarged, and other arrangements made for his assistance or relief: so that the publishers hope that every six months may see the issue of a Part. It is computed that at this rate the work may be finished in eleven years. Within the bounds of possibility this is a consummation to be wished; only those who know the enormous labour involved, ever recurrent and irregular, and the strenuous care over all conscientiously exercised by the editor, will be inclined to hope that the counsels of "most haste, worst speed" may not prevail.

The second Part fully justifies the promise of the first. The concluding portion of *A* embraced several important articles, such as those on the prefixes *Ante-*, *Anti-*, and *Arch-*, with their compounds (which occupy a total of sixty-nine columns, of which forty-two are devoted to *Anti-*); while four of our smaller words—*as*, *at*, *ask*, *art*—have presented the tough "problem of working out the multitudinous ramifications of meaning in such words, and of determining their mutual relationships." The remarkable article on *as* is an example of a thoroughness of treatment never experienced by that little word before. Beginning with a lucid exposition of the early forms, early use, and the changes in both, the historic usages, obsolete and modern, are considered under the three main analytical heads: in *A* main, and *B* subordinate sentences, *C* in phrases; several subdivisions follow sometimes even to the third degree, to such an astonishing variety of service has the word been pressed, amounting to forty-one uses, besides subordinate shades of some of these. Here indeed is true grammar exemplified. *Ask* possesses a most interesting history in twenty-five senses. Peculiar difficulties presented themselves with regard to many of the words in *Ba*, some of which are, says Dr. Murray, "etymologically the most obscure in the language." Great research has been expended over them, and the exact state of present knowledge in each case is stated; "but of most of these, the actual origin is probably lost for ever; and we must remain content with a knowledge of their history within the language itself." The certainty of these facts is, again, one which would probably be anticipated by the anthropological student, who finds such losses frequently confronting him. *Bar*, *basin*, and *basket* are thus of unknown ultimate origin; *bat*, *band*, and *bail*, are examples in which several words of differing origin have merged in one, though possessing, as might be expected, a multitude of

meanings. The articles on these, also that on *bade*, among many others, are full of suggestive information and historical surprises.

To the antiquary and the "Querist," in every subject, the Dictionary is simply invaluable, a mine of "notes," each one of which, if not sufficient in itself, or even if its correctness be doubted (for nothing is infallible, in spite of utmost precaution), may serve as a firm starting-point for further research. For it must be remembered, not only the dates, but full references accompany every extract. It is difficult to make choice among such riches; but articles like *apothecary*, *apple*, *aspic*, *assail*, *balk*, *balance*, *baron*, evidence the stores of curious and concise information gathered together in these pages; quite irrespective of the aspects of the words themselves. There are many special points of language-interest brought out in this Part II., but it is the side of the work of value to antiquaries and historians to which we wish to draw particular attention.

The total number of words explained in this Part is 9,155, to 7,043 of which a separate article each is devoted. The letter *A* in all contains 15,123 words, of which 12,183 are main words, about 28½ per cent. of these being obsolete, and but 4½ per cent. foreign or imperfectly naturalized. With these results obtained, it is now estimated that the whole Dictionary will have to take account of upwards of 240,000 words—truly a vast arsenal.

We must not forget to speak of the useful "Concise Key" of the chief abbreviations, and to the pronunciation made use of in the work, which has been printed on a slip of stiff paper, loose, and enclosed in this Part; a practical aid to memory almost essential where so many signs are necessarily employed.

The Wanderings of Plants and Animals from their First Home. By VICTOR HEHN. Edited by J. S. Stallybrass. (London: Sonnenschein and Co., 1885.) 8vo., pp. xiii-523.

To the student of early man the question of the geography of plants and animals has long been of very great interest, and many of us know well the articles by Mr. I. Crawford on "The Migration of Cultivated Plants in reference to Ethnology," which appeared some time ago in the publication of the Ethnological Society of London. But to have Dr. Hehn's work, well translated, well indexed, well printed and tastefully got up, is a boon that will not be long before it is recognised, as it so well deserves to be. Dr. Hehn holds that Europe owes much more to Asia than many are inclined to admit; and his researches in this respect are particularly interesting and valuable, bearing, as they do, upon the question of the home of Aryan civilization, which is now being claimed for Europe. Dr. Hehn is inclined to place the status of the Aryan, when he entered Europe, at a lower stage of civilization than the builders of the lake-dwellings in Switzerland, and to think that these lake-dwellers were themselves Aryans who had preceded the main stock. All these questions rise out of a scientific study of the botany and zoology of Europe, which proclaims that the flora of Southern Europe has been revolutionized under the hand of man. The author traces out how the reverence for certain plants

was due not so much to mere superstition, but to a higher sense of their value to man, and therefore of their symbolization of a higher type of life.

With such subjects before the reader no one can lay down this book without being thoroughly fascinated, presenting, as it does, such an external aspect of man's history in Europe. Dr. Hehn is essentially historical in his methods, and he turns back to that wonderful Semitic race in Palestine to account for much of the progress which Aryan Europe was able to make. It would be impossible in the limited space at our command to give an adequate idea of the extent and importance of the subjects dealt with in this work, but it does not want argument to prove that the domestication of plants and animals that are now so familiar to us has a history which must deal with some of the most cherished ideas of early man, which must unravel some of the unsettled problems of early history, which must in many ways appeal to almost every class of student, and certainly to every lover of plant and animal life. Man is so apt to think of his own doings that he readily forgets how much he has been helped by nature, and his adaptation of the creatures of nature; how much the horse, dog, ass, goat, and latterly the cat, have helped him on his way to civilization; how much he owes to the cultivation of the fig, olive, and other plants.

Legend, myth, philology, history, poetry, archæology, and science are called into action in tracing out the many sections of Dr. Hehn's book, and we lay it down with a regret that does not often come to the reviewer of antiquarian works. It is replete with learning and research, and is in every way worthy of the subject.

Newton: his Friend: and his Niece. By the late AUGUSTUS DE MORGAN. Edited by his wife, and by his pupil, ARTHUR COWPER RANYARD. (London: Elliot Stock, 1885.) 8vo.

The literary world is greatly indebted to Mrs. De Morgan and Mr. Ranyard for producing this interesting volume. Professor De Morgan was so delightful a writer that we should be glad to have every word he wrote in type; for instance, there are a large number of MS. notes in his books now at the University of London, which might be made to form a valuable volume of marginalia. The present work is enlarged from an article written in 1858 for the *Companion to the Almanac*, but not published. The friend is, as will at once be seen, Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax, and the niece Catherine Barton, afterwards Mrs. Conduitt.

Voltaire wrote in 1765, "I thought in my youth that Newton made his fortune by merit. No such thing. Isaac Newton had a very charming niece, Madame Conduitt, who made a conquest of the Minister Halifax. Fluxions and gravitation would have been of no use without a pretty niece." Mrs. Manley in her *Memoirs* represented Catherine Barton as the mistress of Halifax, and Halifax is then made to say that he had got her parent (relation) a good post for connivance. "These two bits of scandal, coupled with Halifax's will—in which the bequest to the lady is made as a token of the sincere love, affec-

tion, and esteem I have long had for her person, and as a small recompense for the pleasure and happiness I have had in her conversation—give a bad impression. These words were so strange that, although the imputation can scarcely be said to have affected Newton's good name, his biographers thought it best to ignore the matter altogether." De Morgan, with more faith, tried to get to the bottom of it. There can be little doubt that Catherine Barton lived with Lord Halifax, and among the mass of the world was reputed his mistress. She was, however, always well thought of by respectable friends, and De Morgan supposed that there must have been a private marriage. He gives his reasons for supposing that Halifax would object to his marriage being known in the gay world. The theory became a certainty to the author's mind, when in 1856 Mr. Libri showed him an autograph letter, dated May 23, 1715, from Sir Isaac Newton to his relation Sir John Newton, in which occurs this passage: "The concern I am in for the loss of my Lord Halifax, and the circumstances in which I stand related to his family, will not suffer me to go abroad till his funeral is over." Certainly one cannot well imagine a man like Newton writing thus, if his niece were Halifax's mistress. De Morgan's case therefore is a very good one, but we are not prepared to say it is quite conclusive.

In writing out his main proposition, De Morgan gives a large amount of interesting detail on various matters, such as Swift's friendship for Mrs. Conduitt, the marriage laws, etc. One point brought out is well worthy of attention. The author writes, "To us it has always been a matter of regret that Newton accepted office under the Crown. Sir D. Brewster thinks otherwise If after having piloted the country safely through the very difficult, and as some thought impossible operation on the coinage, he had returned to the University with a handsome pension, and his mind free to make up again to the 'litigious lady,' he would, to use his own words, have taken another pull at the moon Had Newton remained at his post coining nothing but ideas, then mathematical science might have gained a century of advance." We have arrived at the same conclusion from different considerations. If we compare the portraits of Newton, when he was composing the *Principia*, with those taken after he became Master of the Mint, we shall see a wondrous difference. In the first there is all the fire of genius, but in the latter we see little but the stately official.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Vol. III., Part I. (London: Longmans, 1885.) 8vo., pp. 203.

This part contains a learned and elaborate article by that veteran worker, Dr. Hyde Clarke, "On the Legend of Atlantis in reference to Protohistoric Communication with America," and we need scarcely say that Dr. Clarke has much to say that is valuable and interesting. Mr. Flood investigates with considerable skill the story of Prince Henry of Monmouth and Chief Justice Gascoign. Miss Frere contributes a biographical sketch of Sir Bartle Frere—a specimen of work which we are heartily glad to see that the Historical Society is promoting.

The Art of the Old English Potter. By L. M. SOLON. Second edition. (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1885.) 8vo., pp. xxiv-269.

We owe it to the enterprise and taste of a foreigner that this book has been so opportunely written, and now for the second time published. It is in every way a most interesting and valuable account, by a genuine lover of the art itself, of what English potters have done in the past, and hence, we would add, are capable of again doing. Just at this time, we believe, English pottery competes favourably with Continental;



SALT-GLAZE WITH ELSERS ORNAMENTS.

and, indeed, there seems no reason why this should not be so to a greater extent as time progresses.

From the earliest days the British potter has been working. The early British urn, found in barrows and tumuli, is not devoid of much rude grace and skilful workmanship, and the making of a coarse sort of ware, such as this, has never been discontinued in England. Mr. Solon thinks that "one day it may be made evident that one or more of the little pot-works, standing at present in some out-of-the-way



RALPH SHAW WARE.

spot, has never seen the fires of its kilns extinguished since it was occupied by a Roman potter." This may perhaps be so, but times have intervened which have seen the art at a very low ebb. The great question to determine is, at what periods did the use of earthen vessels become more general among all classes? The evidence of one great national era, the Norman, seems to suggest that pottery was much too fragile for the rough days of Norman rule. Most frequently cups were made of horn, glass, metal, ashwood; jugs of brass, pewter, or leather; and trenchers of wood.

But the influences of the monasteries, here as elsewhere, tended in the direction of peace and its accompanying developments. Jugs are preserved at Scarborough and Salisbury and at Lewes, made in the shape of mounted knights wearing the costume of the twelfth century (see *ante*, p. 105). And when we come to the Tudor and Elizabethan times, there is evidence enough that pottery was in use, though there is nothing to show whether it was sufficiently general to be the



NOTTINGHAM STONE WARE.

product of a home manufacture. Mr. Solon leads us through the evidence of these early periods until he stands upon certain ground, the beginning of the seventeenth century, when England seems to have awakened to a feeling of her inferiority, the potter everywhere being busy in trying all sorts of improvements. From this period onwards Mr. Solon proceeds to give a detail of the various kinds of ware made famous by different manufacturers, and the names of John Dwight, Francis Place, Thomas Astbury, Ralph



EARLY TICKENHALL WARE.

Shaw, John Mitchell, the two Wedgwoods, Thomas Wieldon, and others, come prominently forward, linked to the great centres of English pottery manufacture—Fulham, Nottingham, Staffordshire, Lambeth, Chelsea, and other places. Through the writings of Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt readers of the *Antiquary* know how extensive is the interest attached to English pottery, and they will do well if they study Mr. Solon's fascinating book, which has the merit of telling us all about not only the results, but the methods of manu-

facture—not only the places, but the men associated with the art of English pottery.

The Genealogist: a Quarterly Magazine of Genealogical, Antiquarian, Topographical, and Heraldic Research. New Series. Edited by WALFORD D. SELBY. Vol. II. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1885.) 8vo.

The second volume of the new series of this important journal is full of interest for antiquaries, and the subjects treated of are very varied. Besides extracts from registers and many purely genealogical articles, there are others of a wider historical interest. Miss Constance E. B. Rye gives a list of Queen Elizabeth's godchildren, and Mr. Vincent a trustworthy account of the first Bishop of Bath and Wells. Mr. Rendle's account of Edward Alleyn is a capital statement in a convenient form of the information respecting the famous actor and founder of Dulwich College. The article is illustrated by a copy of Norden's plan of the Bankside from his large map of London, and by a reproduction of the water-colour portrait of Alleyn in the possession of Dr. Carver, late head-master of the school. A "Diary of Travel in 1647-8," continued from the first volume, is interesting; and special mention may also be made of the genealogical papers on the "Family of Borlase," by Mr. W. C. Borlase, M.P. Dr. Marshall, the original editor of the *Genealogist*, takes an interest in the new series, and supplies several valuable articles. The new "Peerage," edited by G. E. C., extends from *Antrim* to *Bandon*. The editor refers to this important work in the preface as the back-bone of his magazine, and hopes that its merits will atone for the shortcomings of the other portions of the volume. We do not see that Mr. Selby has any cause to excuse the magazine itself, which is thoroughly well conducted; but certainly this instalment of an historical peerage greatly adds to its permanent value.

An Old Scots Brigade, being the History of Mackay's Regiment, now Incorporated with the Royal Scots. By JOHN MACKAY. (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1885.) Small 8vo.

Sir Donald Mackay, the first Lord Reay, raised his regiment of soldiers in 1626 for foreign service. He fought for the King of Denmark; subsequently the regiment entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus. When the Thirty Years' War came to an end, Lord Reay, who had sent 10,000 men to "the German wars," had to bear the loss of his outlay, and to meet his debts had to sell his property. It will be seen from this that the book before us is something more than an account of a particular regiment. It is an interesting record of incidents in one of the most stirring periods of European history. The book is dedicated to the present Lord Reay, and contains in the appendix, besides a list of the officers of the regiment, some extracts from papers belonging to Lord Reay. One of them is the warrant given by Gustavus Adolphus, and dated 17th June, 1629,

authorizing Lord Reay "to raise and equip a regiment of foreign soldiers."

The Chartulary of the Monastery of Lyminge, founded A.D. 633 by St. Ethelburga the Queen, incorporated with the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, by St. Dunstan, A.D. 965. Translated and illustrated, with the identification of the lands conveyed. By ROBERT C. JENKINS. (Folkestone: R. Goulden.) 8vo., pp. 50.

We have transcribed the title of this little book in full, because it fully describes its contents. Mr. Jenkins has presented us with a valuable and interesting specimen of local antiquarian work—work which is now recognised to be of the greatest worth to historical and archaeological studies; and we have only one word of complaint to make, namely, that the sketch of the Domesday Manor might have been somewhat more instructive, judging by the conscientious labour bestowed upon the identification of the lands.

The Bradford Antiquary. Part IV. January, 1886. (Bradford: H. Gaskarth.) 8vo., pp. 173-236.

This is a specially interesting part. It contains papers of unusual value, such as those by Mr. Rayner on "Pudsey in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries;" by Mr. Lister on "Ancient Charters;" Mr. Empsall, "Early Registers of Bradford Parish Church." The survey of the Manor of Idle, A.D. 1584, is accompanied by a map; and this article is particularly interesting now that manor-rolls are becoming subjects of interest to the antiquary as they pass out of the sphere of the lawyer. There is also a map accompanying a conveyance of land in Bradford, 1782; and for such papers as these two last especially, the Bradford Historical Society deserve the thanks of all investigators into the early history of English institutions. Local societies would do well to imitate the example set them in this instance, and we sincerely hope that further instalments will be forthcoming.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Society of Antiquaries.—Jan. 14.—Mr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. W. H. St. John Hope read a paper "On the Medieval Silver-Mounted Drinking Vessels called Mazers," which was illustrated by almost every known example, thirty-four in number.

Jan. 28.—Mr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum exhibited the diamond signet of Queen Henrietta Maria, and read some remarks additional to his former paper on the subject.—Dr. Duka described and exhibited a heavy ivory anklet from Africa and a singular carved cup, of date 1594, of rhinoceros horn.—The Rev. C. H. E. White communicated an account of a curious reliquary of very late Italian work.—The Rev. H. J. Cheales ex-

hibited and described a number of Roman and other remains found during the formation of the railway at Willoughby, Lincolnshire.

Philological.—Jan. 22.—Rev. Prof. Skeat, President, in the chair.—Dr. J. A. H. Murray made his yearly report on the progress of the Society's Dictionary.

British Archaeological Association.—Jan. 20th.—Mr. G. R. Wright in the chair.—A remarkable twelfth-century bronze figure of the Saviour crucified, evidently taken from the binding of a MS. or book, the eyes enamelled, and the head having a mural crown, was exhibited by Mr. C. Brent; two small portraits painted on copper, one dated 1583, by Mr. Rayson; and a series of drawings of Moulton Church, Northants, by Mr. E. Law, showing the recently discovered window, apparently of Saxon date, over the arcade of the north aisle, which is of early thirteenth-century work, the window having existed previously in an older wall. Foundations have been met with of a still earlier church, which had a nave fourteen feet wide and a chancel. The first paper was by Mr. S. Cuming, "On the Old Traders' Signs in Westminster Hall." We hear of the Angel, the Ball, Black Bear, the Gilt or Golden Cup, Goat, Judge's Head, Spread Eagle, White Hart, and some others. The second paper was "On the History of the Church of Barnack," communicated in notes by the late Rev. Mr. Haig to Canon Argles.

Numismatic.—Jan. 21st.—Mr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. H. Montagu exhibited a copy in pewter of the five-pound piece of Victoria; Mr. Cochran Patrick an impression of an unpublished variety of a farthing of Alexander III. of Scotland, having on the reverse a star in one division instead of the four mullets; Mr. Durlacher an angel of Charles I. having on the obverse a double mint mark of a castle and a negro's head, and on the reverse a castle only; and Mr. J. G. Hall a "quattri scudi d'oro" of Pope Urban VIII., and a medal in gold of Innocent X.—Mr. Evans read the first portion of a paper "On the Coinages of Henry VIII. (after 1542) and Edward VI. issued at the London and Southwark Mints." Having first adverted to the importance of the palæographic evidence afforded by the inscriptions on the coinages of these two kings, and having explained the object and nature of mint marks, he proceeded to discuss the various issues since 1542, making many modifications in the classifications adopted by Hawkins and Kenyon, and attributing to Edward VI. several issues which hitherto had been assigned to his father. In the course of his arguments Mr. Evans showed that dies bearing the effigy and name of Henry VIII. were still in use in the third year of Edward VI.

Historical.—Jan. 21st.—Mr. C. A. Fyfe, V.P., in the chair.—Mr. Hyde Clarke read a paper "On the Picts and pre-Celtic Britain," based on the testimony of Bede as to female succession among the Pictish kings, and the observations of Dr. Skene, Prof. Rhys, Mr. Grant Allen, etc. With these latter the author concurred that the Picts were not Celts or Aryans, but Turcomans, and he treated them as Iberian and belonging to the nations who occupied Britain before the Celts.

Geological.—Jan. 27.—Prof. T. G. Bonney, President, in the chair.—The following communications

were read:—"On the Fossil Mammalia of Maragha, in North-Western Persia," by Mr. R. Lydekker,— "On the Pliocene of Maragha, Persia, and its Resemblance to that of Pikermi, in Greece; on Fossil Elephant Remains of Caucasia and Persia; and on the Results of a Monograph of the Fossil Elephants of Germany and Italy," by Dr. H. Pohlig, communicated by Dr. G. J. Hinde,—and "On the Thames Valley Surface Deposits of the Ealing District and their associated Palæolithic Floors," by Mr. J. A. Brown, communicated by Mr. A. Ramsay.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—Jan. 27th.—The annual meeting.—The Rev. Dr. Bruce reported the discovery of a Roman altar in the station of Magna. He also mentioned that the drainers at Magna had turned up the larger part of a male statue. The sculptors seem to have left it in a crude and unfinished state. The lower part of it has been broken off. It has been brought to the Chesters. The Rev. G. Rome Hall read a paper on "Recent Explorations in Ancient British Barrows, containing Cup-marked Stones, near Birtley, North Tynedale." The parish of Birtley, in Northumberland, is remarkable for the number of still existing remains of prehistoric times that can be readily traced on the summit of its pastoral hills, and along the slopes of its upland valleys. Notwithstanding former careful examination of the district, new and hitherto unobserved relics of these far-gone ages and of early inhabitants of Britain come to light. The first barrow now to be noticed is about half a mile to the south-west from Dan's Cairn, on the farm of Low Shield Green, and about a quarter of a mile from the well-known farmhouse of that name, and the cottage of Pitland Hills on the road to Birtley village. All the four burial-mounds are situate on the estate of the noble Patron of this society, the Duke of Northumberland, under whose auspices and by whose liberality the explorations in the Gunner Peak Camp, near Barrasford, and in the cairns near Birtley, have been carried on. In November, 1884, two days were occupied in examining the Lowshield Green cairn or barrow. The site is remarkably fine, nearly on the brow of the great line of freestone crags that make a bold and rugged front to the north from the Mill Knock camp and quarry on the west to near the Tone Hall on the east. It is a typical site, such as the primeval chief desired for his last resting-place, that his great burial-cairn might be seen of men from afar. The adjoining high walls of the enclosed fields have been formed out of the great cairn as out of a quarry ready to hand. Thus its present surface, covered with heather and coarse bent grass, is only about 2½ feet above the ground. In form, it is, as usual, nearly circular, being 20 yards in diameter from east to west, and 18 yards from north to south. In the trench, 3 feet wide, opened from the south northwards for 27 feet, were several very large flagstones set up on edge. The first trench came very near the edge of the barrow, as it were, grazing the western side of a massive slab of freestone 2 feet 1 inch in length, by 1 foot 11 inches, narrowing to 1 foot 7 inches in breadth; it was 5½ inches thick, and lay north-east by south-west. Beneath it, after careful removal, was found a large cinerary urn of very rude material and character; this urn is 9½ inches high and 10 inches in diameter at the top, and 6½ inches at

the bottom. The pottery is very thick and coarse, and the scoring is of the simplest character in the upper part made by a notched stick. The urn is now in the possession of the Bishop of Newcastle. Close to the east of the urn deposit was a large upright monolith of irregular pyramidal form, firmly set with its solid base in the ground, 4 feet 4 inches high, 1 foot 6 inches broad at the widest part, and 10 to 12 inches in thickness. The top of this monolith seemed to have been broken off in comparatively recent times. A second urn was found lying on its side with the bottom towards the mouth of the other, and in close proximity. It may be a proof of the comparative poverty of the British chief and his tribe, that nothing was discovered here except his urn of cremation and that of his wife, if we may suppose the latter from their close relationship in death; and a single specimen of worked flint to denote human handiwork. At a distance of about two miles and a half, however, to the north-east, just across Agricola's camp at Four Laws, and the adjoining Watling Street, a similar cairn produced a necklace of gold beads, strung upon a bronze wire. Mr. Hall next described the result of an examination of a group of mounds at Pitland Hills, about half a mile distant to the south-west from the cairn just described. Barrow No. 1 is now 46 feet in diameter from east to west, and 35 feet from north to south. A cinerary urn was discovered, but it was crushed into a hundred fragments, and the remains of the bones of a young child deposited in it were partly scattered beneath the stones. On carefully raising and removing the freestone slab found at the juncture of two trenches, nothing appeared at first but a bed of clay level with the surface. When about three inches of clay had been taken out at the top, there was discovered another urn of the food-vessel type in fair condition, with herring-bone ornament on the inside of the rim, and punctured dots and lineal scorings all over the external surface. Working out the clay north of this urn for a few inches, the skull of the ancient British chief, and after awhile the whole of the skeleton, appeared, excepting the smaller bones of the hands and feet. He had been laid on his right side, the head to the west, and in the most usual position, supposed to be that of sleep, with the knees doubled up, nearly touching the chin. The left hand had been clasped under the thigh, and the right arm crossed the chest. Under the right cheek, supporting the head, was a rude pebble hammer, bearing marks of long use. The whole skeleton was in a most friable condition, and it was impossible to get even the skull out whole. There was no perfectly formed cist, but a hollow had been made in the natural limestone rock, with a shelf left at the western end as a pillow for the head. At 11 feet distant from the south side of cist No. 1 there was a very rudely made and smaller cist. A stone with two cup-markings in the upper face, one of which was smoothened within the hollow by use for some unknown purpose—the first instance of the kind that Mr. Greenwell knows of, or that Mr. Hall had met with—projected almost over the cist on the south-east corner. As in so many instances, the body inhumed had entirely disappeared, being probably that of a child, from the small size of the grave. After describing other discoveries at barrow No. 1, Mr. Hall proceeded to describe barrows No. 2

and 3, and concluded by speaking of the age of the barrows.

Birmingham and Midland Institute.—**The Archaeological Section.**—Jan. 27th.—The annual meeting. Dr. Langford, President, in the chair.—The committee had had some correspondence with Mr. Lawson Tait on the subject of a proposal which had been made by him in reference to the publication of the *Book of St. Chad*, but they were not at present able to report anything definite in the matter. During the year the committee had obtained photographs of several old buildings which were about to be demolished, and they had authorised the hon. secretary to continue to have photographs taken of such places and buildings as, in his opinion, deserved to be recorded.—Dr. C. Perks, of Burton-on-Trent, afterwards read a paper on "Some Romano-British Sources of Lead." He said that though probably lust for conquest was the primary reason for Caesar's invasion of Britain, the known or suspected metallic wealth of the island had most likely something to do with it; and at any rate when the Romans did occupy the country they speedily began to excavate and make use of the metals which they found, for numerous pigs of lead bearing marks of undoubted Roman origin had been found in various parts of the country. The characteristics of several of these pigs of lead were described by Dr. Perks, who said the inscriptions on some of them clearly fixed the date and locality of the smelting.

Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society.—Jan. 26.—The annual meeting. The Rev. J. E. Stocks in the chair.—The Committee resolved that a drawing of the leaden plaque exhibited by the Archdeacon, together with his account of same, and the Rev. J. S. Watson's paper entitled "On a Book of the Fifteenth Century, a Specimen of Early Printing, with some Remarks on the Type then used," be published in the next volume of the *Society's Transactions*.—Mr. Freer exhibited a small piece of the Roman pavement found in Sarah Street, and a plan of all the pavement found.—Mr. S. Knight exhibited an old Indian scale and weight.—Mr. Freer exhibited, for R. F. Martin, Esq., a grant of land at Anstey, from the Duchy of Lancaster. The great landowner of Anstey, at the time of the *Domesday Book* was "Hugo de Grenewaiswell," and the value of the place was then forty shillings. The villages and the lands adjoining anciently belonged to the Earls of Leicester, and Robert Fitz-Parnell, Earl of Leicester, gave twenty-four virgates of land in Anstey to the Leicester Abbey—which corporation were very large landowners in the neighbourhood. Their property in Anstey was held by them till the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539, when the Duchy of Lancaster resumed possession of the land. The land remained in the Crown until the year 1605, when it was traced to some freeholders of Anstey by the accompanying indentures. On July 1, 1609, the Crown parted with its property in Anstey to different yeomen of the village, and thus severed all connection with the Abbey and its lands. It is remarkable, however, that an old oak tree in the middle of one of the fields is still called the "Abbot's Oak," and it is possible that this tree may have been standing when the field was Abbey land.—The annual report stated that the following papers have been read during the past year: "Dean

Swift's Mother," by the Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher; "A Biographical Notice of the late Thos. North, Esq., F.S.A.," also by Mr. Fletcher; "Danish Place-Names in Leicestershire," by Thomas Carter, LL.B.; and "On a Book of the Fifteenth Century, a Specimen of Early Printing, with some Remarks on the Type then used," by the Rev. J. S. Watson.—Among the interesting objects exhibited at the bi-monthly meetings may be mentioned a silver tankard, seventeenth century, given to Admiral Cramp by Peter the Great; a collection of Saxon beads, found at Saddington; a leaden plaque of the sixteenth century, a fuller account of which will be found in the *Transactions*; two ivory plaques of the seventeenth century; and several valuable coins and medals.—The Committee deeply regret the demolition of Westcotes which has recently taken place, in spite of their efforts to induce the owner to preserve it.—A large piece of Roman pavement was discovered near the river in Blackfriars Street, not far from, and possibly a portion of, the Roman villa, part of which is in existence in sites in Jewrywall Street.

Yorkshire Philosophical Society.—Feb. 2.—The annual meeting. Rev. Canon Raine in the chair.—The additions made to the department of geology during the past year have been numerous and important. A remarkably large skull of the cave bear (*Ursus spelæus*), with jaw and complete adult dentition, has been presented by the Honorary Curator (Mr. William Reed, F.G.S.), who has also enriched the collection with a very fine series of bones and teeth of rhinoceros, hippopotamus, elephant, and bison, etc., from the Lower Gravel of Barrington, a set of Gault fossils, and a series of Lower Tertiary mollusca. The Honorary Curator of Antiquities (Canon Raine) has added to the department several pieces of red-deer antler of extraordinary size. The additions to the Antiquarian and Prehistoric Departments have been numerous and interesting. The acquisitions from York itself are more numerous than usual. The Society are indebted to Mr. T. W. Robinson, of Hardwick Hall, Durham, for some valuable specimens of early pottery, consisting of two large cinerary urns discovered upon Egton Moor, together with vessels from the Swiss lake-dwellings, Denmark and America; a considerable number of implements in flint from America accompanying the urns; also to a kind benefactor, who would have his name concealed, for a fine series of vessels, in brown and cream-coloured ware, from Peru and Mexico. The gift comprises as many as fifty vessels. From the Egyptian Exploration Society, through Mr. R. S. Poole, of the British Museum, have been received a large number of miscellaneous objects disinterred during the recent excavations in Egypt, especially at San.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

A Visit to the Old Seraglio at Constantinople (Continued from p. 81).—Continuing this interesting account, a splendid series of large crystal, jade, and onyx vases, bottles, bowls, etc., mostly of Persian and Indian work, inlaid with gold and set with innumer-

able rubies, sapphires, emeralds, etc., must not be forgotten; some of these pieces, especially the crystals, are of great size and very unusual shapes, and many of them are doubtless of considerable antiquity. Among these are two large octagonal crystal ewers of well-known Gothic type. One retains its beautiful and most quaint, ancient, silver-gilt handle, cover, and projecting spout, the latter in the shape of a grotesque dragon's neck and head. The other and larger piece, upwards of 9 inches high, has lost its original mounts; not improbably these pieces and certain ancient manuscripts in the library are all that remain of the spoils of Matthias Corvinus, or the Palaeologi. A curious series of Oriental porcelain bowls and cups, inlaid in the same style as the crystals with gold filaments and cabochon jewels, ought not to be forgotten; of these there are some forty or fifty specimens. In the section of Oriental porcelain there is a notable series of ancient blue and white Oriental vases, bottles, and other shaped pieces, some with very remarkable silver-gilt mountings, doubtless old sixteenth and seventeenth century Turkish additions. It is curious, however, that these blue and white pieces, and a few very massive specimens of Celadon green china, evidently of great antiquity, are the only examples of Chinese porcelain which the collection contains. The principal attraction of the second apartment is a collection of the costumes or State robes of all the Sultans of Turkey from Mahomed II. (1453) down to Sultan Mahmoud, who died in 1839. The robes are set upon lay figures, without faces or heads, the huge turbans being simply placed on the shoulders in the well-known Turkish gravestone style. All the turbans are enriched with splendid jewelled plume ornaments or aigrettes, and each figure has a magnificent dagger inserted in the waistband. Every one of these splendid weapons is a masterpiece of art, and in these there is evidently considerable difference in age and origin. Some of them seem to be of Persian and Indian work. One splendid example has a hilt of chiselled steel, in perforated work, enriched with gold inlay worthy of Cellini himself. The hilt of another is entirely formed by a huge single emerald. Other such hilts and scabbards are studded over with exquisite enamelled work, cabochon rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and table diamonds. In one of the aigrettes was specially noticed, in the rosette at the base of the plume, three magnificent stones, two emeralds, and a balas or spinel ruby, each of which cannot be less than 1½ inches across. Perhaps, after all, the most noteworthy thing about these costumes is the splendid assortment of fine ancient textile materials which they exhibit. All the caftans or outer robes are of magnificent figured brocades, the pattern of each a masterpiece of Oriental design, wrought out in fine silk, gold, and silver, of texture rich and thick enough to almost stand on end by itself. The under-garments again are nearly all of figured silks of the most exquisite and varied patterns. In the third chamber, amid a vast accumulation of rare and costly things—arms, crystals, china, and miscellaneous objects of Oriental origin—are undoubtedly scores of specimens, which would furnish glowing and attractive descriptions for a catalogue. Among the older parts of the Seraglio buildings are two detached octagonal kiosks of sixteenth-century work, entirely

lined with finely-painted old Persian tiles, the wood-work in beautiful mosaics or *intarsiatura* of coloured wood, tortoiseshell, and mother-of-pearl. In an ancient audience-hall is another great canopied divan throne of gilt and perforated and enamelled metal work; and a very curious chimney-piece, with a high, hanging, funnel-shaped hood, also of the same material and style, chiselled with floriated scroll-work in admirable taste, may be mentioned in passing. These are both works of the early years of the sixteenth century, and are certainly among the oldest and most interesting specimens of Turkish design now extant in Constantinople. Another of these kiosks, an octagonal, dome-shaped building, of no great size, contains the Sultan's ancient library. The books, some two or three thousand in number, are all in manuscript. It is said that some forty or fifty from the library of Matthias Corvinus are still among them. The dumb-looking tomes are all enveloped in outer leather cases, and they are arranged in vertical piles one upon another, not in horizontal rows.

Prices of Book-binding in 1646.—(*Continued from ante*, pp. 35, 83.)—The final instalment of this interesting subject is here given.

Books in 4 English.

Riders Dictionary . . .	} Rolles . . .	I 4
Piscator in N. Test. or the like . . .		
West's Presidents . . .	} Rolles . . .	I 2
Thomas Dict. . . .		
Diodates Notes or the like-Goodwins W: Caryl's Workes or the like . . .	} Rolles . . .	I 2
Weymes Workes 4 vol . . .		
Wills and Test., Critica Sacra or the like . . .	} Rolles . . .	I 0
All small 4 pot paper, Rolles . . .		

Books in octavo English.

Souls Conflict. Records Arethmat: or the like . . .	} Rolles . . .	0 7

Books in 12 English.

Scudders daily Walke . . .	} Rolles . . .	0 5
Mirour of Martyrs . . .		
Practice of Piety or the like . . .		

Sheeps Leather.

All small follio pot paper . . .	} . . .	0 0 10
All thinne crown in quarto at . . .		
All thick pot paper in quarto at . . .	} . . .	0 0 6
All thinne pot paper in quarto at . . .		
Hunt's arethmaticke 8 . . .	} . . .	0 0 4
Record's arethmaticke 8 . . .		
Smetius 8 . . .		
Large Testaments 8 and the like . . .	} . . .	0 0 3
All thinne crown, one with another Testaments in 8 and 12 . . .		
Virgill 8 . . .	} . . .	0 0 3
Quarter poem 8 and the like . . .		
All other bookes 8 and 12 guttard . . .	} . . .	0 0 3
All sorts of smale bookes at . . .		
Gramers, Psalters and the like . . .	} . . .	0 0 2

Psalter Testament psalmes in 8 . . .	} . . .	0 0 7
Testament Psalmes 8 . . .		
Testament Psalmes 12 . . .	} . . .	0 0 5
All sortes of thinne bookes . . .		
Sheeps leather fillets as, Grammers, Psalters, smale 12, 24 and 32 . . .	} . . .	0 0 4
Primers gilt the grosse . . .		
Primers plaine the grosse . . .	} . . .	I 0 0

Before the Use of Pocket-Handkerchiefs.—It is curious to note from the *Boke of Curtasye*, temp. fourteenth century, that a custom very generally prevalent among our working classes was once a gentle custom, as appears from the following verses :

"Yf thy nose thou clense, as may befall,
Loke thy honde thou clense wythalle."

A Glimpse into the Study of Hobbs, 1663.—

The following account is worth quoting in these columns, as probably new to many of our readers: "As I went over into England to visit my friends and the learned men in that nation, and to be further instructed in matters of literature and the sciences, as well as to see the country and inform myself as to other things that should occur to me, the first thing I did as soon as I came to London was to seek out Mr. Hobbs and Mr. Montconis, the better to satisfy my curiosity. I found the first of them much the same way as I had seen him fourteen years before, and even in the same posture in his chamber, as he was wont to be every afternoon, wherein he betook himself to his studies after he had been walking about all the morning. This he did for his health, of which he ought to have the greatest regard, he being at this time seventy-eight years of age. Besides which he plays so long at tennis once a week till he is quite tired. I found very little alteration in his face, and none at all in the vigour of his mind, strength of memory, and cheerfulness of spirit, all which he perfectly retained."—*Sorbière's Journey to England*, 1663, p. 27.



Obituary.

HENRY BRADSHAW, M.A., F.S.A.

The sudden death, from heart disease, on Wednesday, 10th February, of Henry Bradshaw, Senior Fellow of King's College and University Librarian, deprives the world of a foremost antiquary, and the University of one of its brightest ornaments.

Mr. Bradshaw was born on February 2, 1831, and we might therefore have reasonably expected him to have many years of life yet left, but since last summer he had been far from well, and he seems lately to have felt that he had not long to live.

He was interested in all forms of antiquarian research, but it was as a bibliographer that he more especially shone. He was at the time of his death not only the chief of European bibliographers, but with regard to his especial methods of investigation,

we seek in vain for his equal in past times. These methods were minute, but the results he obtained from them were large. We often look with marvel at the lifelong labours of the great of bygone days, and are apt to think of such steady devotion to one object as a thing of the past; but in Mr. Bradshaw this old-world spirit was revived. He took careful note of every point of interest in any old MS. or early printed book that came before him, in the steady belief that it would form the half of a solution for the future when the other half would turn up, it might be ten years after. He was always on the look-out for these missing links; but he could wait. His was a thoroughly catholic spirit, which took a lively interest in the work of a wide variety of natures, and with his kindly spirit he worked for others more than for himself. We must always regret that his vast knowledge is lost to us, and also regret that he has left so little; but this last regret is not so just as the former, for what he has left is perfect, and the reason why he has not left more is that he could not endure to print anything that was not perfect. He felt bound to wait for the link that was still missing; but more than this, he has influenced others so largely that he was the inciting cause of an immensity of good work done by others.

Mr. Bradshaw took his B.A. degree in 1854, and with the exception of a short interval, when he was in Ireland, he devoted himself from that time forth to the study of bibliography at Cambridge. In 1867 he became the University Librarian, and in 1868 he printed a statement of the results of his work on Chaucer, entitled *The Skeleton of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales: an attempt to distinguish the several Fragments of the Work as left by the Author*. These investigations were as brilliant as they were sound, and they placed their author at once as the first of Chaucerian scholars, a position he has since held without dispute. He was also the great authority on old Service Books and Celtic manuscripts. His knowledge of books in other libraries, both in England and abroad, was amazing, and enabled him to tell the curators of these libraries facts about the books under their charge. A book once seen was known again by him years after, and he could point out its exact position on the shelves. He commenced to print in 1868 a series of notes of particular bibliographical discoveries, which he entitled *Memoranda*. He also contributed largely to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Publications. He was singularly unambitious, and he preferred the quiet life of the student to the applause of men, which he shrank from; but when he presided over the meeting of the Library Association at Cambridge he exhibited powers in the management of men of a remarkable character; in fact, he proved himself a model president. Much more might be said of his writings if we had space, but his friends—and they are all who came in contact with him—overpowered by their loss, feel that these exhibitions of his great powers are not chief in their thoughts. It was the loving and catholic character of the man which drew them so closely to him. The large numbers who filled the beautiful chapel of King's College on Monday, February 16, to see his remains deposited in the vaults below, knew and testified by their presence that the world was the poorer in that the spirit of a great and good man had gone from its midst.

Antiquarian News.

The Jervaulx Abbey estate is to be sold during the coming season. Jervaulx is situated midway between Middleham and Masham. The ruins of the priory, dismantled at the Dissolution of Monasteries, are of considerable extent, and present some unique architectural features. A portion of the building is intact, and latterly the utmost care has been taken to prevent further destruction of the remains.

Four other properties are also to be sold. They are known as the Wath, the East Tanfield, the Tanfield Lodge, and the Whorlton Castle and Swainby estates. Wath takes its name from a ford, at each end of the village, which the inhabitants were obliged to wade through. Here is an almshouse, founded by Dr. Peter Samwaise in 1698; also a free school for the children of the village. The Tanfield Lodge and East Tanfield estates are mainly agricultural. The village is about three miles to the west of Masham, on the north bank of the Yore. The castle gate is all that remains of the stronghold, and in its interesting old church are the Marmion and Gray monuments. One of these monuments is a recumbent figure, in perfect preservation, of John, Lord Marmion. A chantry in this church was founded by his wife, in the year 1343, to pray for the souls of herself and husband, their progenitors, and successors. By Tanfield Lodge is the celebrated Hackfall Ravine and Magdalen Woods. From the lofty site of an artificial ruin, called Mowbray Castle, a fine prospect is presented of meadows, groves, farms, and villages, rising above which are spires and towers, the whole backed by the Hambleton Hills, and the landmark of Rosebery Topping at a distance of forty-five miles. In the Whorlton and Swainby estate are the ruins of Whorlton Castle. The structure is supposed to have been erected in the reign of Richard II. Little else is left but the lofty gateway, on which are the arms of D'Arcy, Meynell, and Grey, who were successively lords of the fortress.

The late King Ferdinand of Portugal made it the business of his life to collect from every country in Europe books, pamphlets, and prints of all sorts and descriptions which had been forbidden by the Government or the police, and he has left a prodigious and perfectly marvellous collection of the forbidden literature of Europe during the last thirty years.

A very interesting discovery has been made in the crypt of Winchester Cathedral, in which excavations are being carried on by the direction of Dr. Kitchen, the dean, to restore the crypt to its ancient proportions by removing modern accumulations of earth. In a mass of masonry just under the ground arch of the fifteenth century Lady Chapel, a leaden coffin, enclosing a wooden one, was found, and in the latter was the skeleton of Bishop Peter Courtenay, this fact being established by the coat of arms—three torteaux—at the foot of the cross cast on the coffin lid. This bishop, in the troubles of Richard III.'s reign, was a Lancastrian, and an exile with his brother in the cause of Henry Tudor, and after the battle of Bosworth they returned, after which the bishop was translated from

Oxford to Winchester. He died in 1492. He gave the great bell "Peter" to Exeter Cathedral (since recast), and he is an ancestor of the present Earl of Devon. The restoration of the great Norman crypt of the cathedral is exciting great interest among antiquaries.

The *Athenæum* reports that Mr. John Clayton has recently purchased property at Carveran, including the Roman station of Magna per Lineam Valli, and he is at present draining it. During these operations a small inscribed altar and the greater part of a rude statue have been found. Professor Hübner reads the inscription on the altar: DEO ALITI GAVRO VOTV[M] [SOLVIT]. "To the winged god Gaurō dedicates this altar in discharge of a vow."

Some important excavations have been proceeding on the Akropolis during the past week. The King chanced to be present when some female statues, belonging to the sixth and seventh centuries B.C., were unearthed. The work of excavation continues, and it is expected that other artistic treasures will be discovered.

A short time since, Mr. Alderman John Symons, of Hull, was passing Mr. Riley's steam sawmill, situated in Waverley Street, when Mr. Wilson called attention to a massive steel axe-head in his possession. He said it had been knocking about the mill many years, and had been utilised as a combination of hammer and axe. When first found, it was much larger than in its present state. It now weighs five and a half pounds. The foreman of the mill said it was turned up when excavating for the making of a sawpit some 10 feet below the surface. On closely examining the relic, on the edge of the axe appeared a monogram—"C. R."—and a cross. In the centre of the blade was a coat-of-arms and a letter "C," the remainder being difficult to decipher. It was submitted for inspection to some experts, veteran soldiers who are recruiting in Hull, and who one and all declare that it is an ancient battle-axe. Near the site where this interesting relic was found, cannon-balls of various size have been discovered. One was found in making the deep drain in Neptune Street, 16 feet below the surface, and another in a garden on the Hesse Road. They may now be seen in the Literary and Philosophical Society's Museum, and, strange to relate, those are the only remains ever found in connection with that fearful struggle between two contending armies, in front of the walls of Hull, in the year 1644. On looking at a plan of Hull, dated 1818, it will be seen that Waverley Street was not in existence. There are no buildings, in fact, in any part of South Myton. Waverley Street was then called Pinfold Lane, on account of the "Pinfold," situated at the corner of Great Thornton Street and Waverley Street. Great Thornton Street was called, in 1640, "Hanging Lane," and subsequently "Gallows Lane," on account of the gibbet being placed to the south-east of the present Hesse Road.

At his forges in Archer Street, Rupert Street, Mr. Newman recently gave a very interesting lecture on the subject of wrought iron, illustrated by specimens of old and modern work. With the aid of his intelligent and skilful staff of smiths, Mr. Newman was not only able to give a description, but also practical examples of the method of forging ornamental scrolls,

leaves, and other items of art work in wrought iron. Among the most recent productions of Mr. Newman are a number of very spirited grotesque and heraldic gas brackets and standards which have been designed and executed for the Duke of Hamilton.

Among the rare books acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum at the Ellis sale there is a volume containing designs for lace, with some descriptive text. This form of decoration appears to have been applied to dress in the earliest ages. We find fringed borders on the robes of Egyptian princes and princesses, and minute directions are given in the Levitical Law for the fringed borders of sacerdotal vestments. Mary de Medicis, it appears, was the first who introduced the custom of wearing lace into the Court of France. She brought the fashion from Venice. Network, which is so closely related to lace, was undoubtedly produced in England under the Plantagenets. It seems that the establishment of the lace manufacture in England is due to some refugees from Flanders, who settled at the village of Cranfield, in the county of Bedford. Buckinghamshire was the chief seat of the lace manufacture in England during the seventeenth century. The earliest lace made in this country was of the kind called Brussels point. This is the kind which we find in the numerous portraits painted by Sir Peter Lely in the time of Charles II., and that this fashion continued up to George I. we are assured by Sir Godfrey Kneller's portraits.

Operations have been lately begun for the purpose of clearing away the mass of sand which has accumulated during centuries around the famous statue of the Sphinx. Brugsch Bey, brother of the distinguished Egyptologist, has charge of the work, which is being carried out according to a plan proposed by Signor Maspero, and will, it is expected, be finished by Easter. The portion of the statue at present above ground is about 40 feet. It is supposed that as much more, at least, is buried in the sand, and the amount of sand to be cleared away is estimated at 20,000 cubic metres. A small tramway is being constructed to carry away this mass of sand to a distance, and 150 labourers are employed on the task. When the statue has been laid bare to the level of the foundations, a broad circular walk will be constructed around it, and a high wall will be built to guard against future encroachments of the sands of the desert.

Recent excavations at the farm of Blondel, in Avenches, confirm the opinion stated last year by archaeologists, that it was the Christian burial-place of the Roman period. A white marble gravestone has been unearthed with a Latin inscription of four lines, too incomplete to be deciphered. A second stone is ornamented with a dove—a Christian symbol. In an oak coffin—supposed to be that of a young Christian maiden—were found two drinking vessels with engravings of palm-branches, and an invocation to God, a ring ornamented with crosses, a necklace which indicated Christian ownership, and even incense. Excavations north of the same field have brought many heathen symbols to light—two life-size busts of Jura marble, a number of urns with burnt remains, and the half of a column with a Roman heathen inscription.

Dr. Grierson has been appointed president of Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, in room of the late Dr. Gilchrist.

The Saxon church at Dunham Magna, which has been restored, has been opened. The work has been carried out from the plans of Mr. W. O. Milne, architect.

The parish church of White Notley has been reopened after repairs and alterations. A small Norman window was brought to light during the work, containing old stained glass nearly intact. Two niches were also found on either side of the chancel arch, with fresco painting in fair preservation.

In clearing the foundations for some military works at Shershal, in Algeria, a fine marble statue of Jupiter, two metres high, in thorough preservation, has been found. Shershal is believed to be the site of the Numidian Jol, the name of which the younger Juba changed to Casarea, in honour of Augustus. All the ground around the port has been a mine for archaeological inquirers.

An interesting sale of Brontë relics took place recently at Saltire, in the course of the disposal of the effects of the late Mr. Benjamin Binns, tailor, of Saltire, into whose possession they had come through his wife, the sister of that Martha Brown who was such a faithful domestic of the Brontës, and to whom they had been committed by the Rev. P. Brontë, as mementoes of his famous daughter. They consisted chiefly of copies of the novels of the sisters presented to Martha Brown by the Rev. P. Brontë and by Charlotte Brontë, with the inscription of the giver; a number of pencil drawings, principally by Charlotte; and a few other relics of a miscellaneous character. Among the most interesting of these relics was a water-colour drawing by Charlotte of her favourite dog, "Floss," scampering over a moor—rendered with considerable vigour and spirit, but execrable in colour. The drawing of "Floss" fetched £5 10s.; a small and finely executed pencil drawing—apparently copied from one of those artificial garden scenes, with an urn, a statue, a fountain, and a grove, which were such favourite vignette pieces for title-pages 80 or 100 years ago—£2 10s.; and a crayon drawing, seemingly from a steel engraving—perhaps a frontispiece to a book—of a river and mountain scene, with a bridge and a village, £5. After the pictorial mementoes the most interesting relics, perhaps, were a number of autograph letters of the Brontë family. One from Charlotte Brontë to Martha Brown was sold at £5 5s., and a brief note from W. M. Thackeray to P. Brontë, undated, and referring to arrangements for the delivery in Bradford by the novelist of his lecture on George III. and George IV., at £2 4s. The "Life of Charlotte Brontë" (by Mrs. Gaskell), two volumes, presentation copy to Martha Brown, 1857, with the authoress's autograph, was disposed of at £1 4s.; and "Jane Eyre," presented by Charlotte Brontë to Martha Brown, May, 1850, and also with an inscription by the authoress, at £1 16s. Copies of "Villette," "Shirley," "The Tenant of Wildfell Hall," and "Wuthering Heights," "Agnes Grey," and biography by Currer Bell, presented to Martha Brown by the Rev. P. Brontë on various occasions, were also offered. "Villette" was sold at £1 5s., "Shirley" at £1 6s., "The Tenant of Wildfell Hall" (first edition, in three volumes) at £1 5s., and "Wuthering Heights," "Agnes Grey," and the biography, in one volume, at 19s.

A work entitled *Mykenische Thongefässe*, issued in 1879 by Drs. Furtevaengler and Loescheke for Messrs. Asher, contained a section on the comprehensive treatment of the oldest painted Greek vases, the remaining and by far greater portion of which will appear in a work just announced, entitled *Mykenische Vasen*. In that section were comprised those vessels only which were found in the sepulchral chambers of the Akropolis of Mycenæ. But in the new volume all vases are figured or described which are referred by the authors to the sphere of culture whose most brilliant remains have been recovered at Mycenæ, and which are accordingly known as Mycenaean. These vessels come from the most diverse districts, and were by the editors named "Mycenaean" merely from the place where they were chiefly found. At the same time they endeavour to show that the manufacture of all such vases was localized in one centre.

In compliance with the suggestion of the second International Congress of Orientalists at London in 1874, M. Edouard Naville readily undertook the important engagement to prepare an edition of the Book of the Dead of the Ancient Egyptians from the older Theban papyrus manuscripts. After ten years assiduous labour the distinguished scholar has brought to a highly satisfactory issue this undertaking, on the steady progress of which he had kept subsequent Congresses duly informed. The work, which embodies the results of several journeys and the fruits of the most unflagging industry, has now grown to two sumptuous volumes, and will be published by Messrs. Asher and Co.

A committee has been appointed by the Vestry and Corporation of Stratford-on-Avon for the repair and preservation of the parish church of the Holy Trinity. The architects state that the work of the repair and preservation of the exterior of the fabric was being successfully carried out; that the work authorised to be done was nearly completed; that they were desirous of making further progress, and they would be ready to commence upon the roof of the aisles and the interior work as soon as the requisite funds were subscribed.

Mr. Houghton Spencer will publish by subscription a transcript of *A Booke of Register*, "Wherein are conteyned the names of those w^{ch} have bene Christnied, Wedded, and Buried within the pish of Wilton from the yere of our Lorde God 1558 untill the yere 1714."

A coin of the Confessor is not often dug up, but one such, in fine preservation, has just been found in Winchester, and, moreover, it was minted there by a moneyer named Godman. The obverse bears King Edward's bust, with the face in profile to the left. The figure is crowned with a high crown, and carries a sceptre like that known as St. Edward's staff. The King is bearded, and thus gives an additional strength to the supposition that the head photographed by Mr. Savage, and found in the *débris* of the arch at the Cathedral, is a representation of the monarch who was crowned in the Cathedral in 1042. The King's name and title are in Saxon, and abbreviated letters, and so too are, on the reverse, the name and city of the Saxon moneyer. The usual cross occupies the field of the reverse.

At a meeting of the Town Council of Inverness on February 1st, the Provost moved that "it be remitted to the Provost and Magistrates to consider as to the best means of preserving such charters and other documents of interest to the town as are now in the custody of the Town Clerk, or may hereafter be recovered, and to obtain copies of any documents of interest to the community which are in other custody, with power to expend a sum not exceeding £20." The Provost said they happened to have in their possession some very valuable charters—two of them of great historical interest—and he thought it would be a good thing if they took an opportunity of showing that they possessed such charters. It had occurred to him that they might be framed and shown in a glass case, say in the Town Hall, where townspeople and strangers visiting Inverness would have an opportunity of seeing them, rather than having them continually locked up in a safe. He thought that they could show that these charters were the oldest of any burgh in Scotland. He had no doubt but there were many other records and documents of very considerable interest in their possession, which ought also to be exhibited; and if they did agree to do this, gentlemen and others who might have records or documents of historical interest relating to the town might also be inclined to have them exhibited in the Town Hall. In the Advocate's Library in Edinburgh there were several documents of great interest to the town, which for a small sum might be copied and preserved here. He concluded by moving the motion which he had just read. The motion was agreed to.

An ancient canoe has been found by Mr. Rae, manager of the Spey Salmon Fishings, in the bed of the Spey, near the farm of Newton. The canoe is of pure black oak, and is in excellent preservation. It has been excavated out of a solid block or plank of oak, which must have been of immense size, for the length of the canoe is 16 feet, and the breadth aft 2½ feet, and at the bows 22 inches. The sides are mostly gone, but the bows are complete. The vessel is flat-bottomed, and rises a little at the bow. The canoe bears evidence that it has been hollowed out by the use of fire, and by the ordinary flint-scraper in use when it had been constructed.

An interesting discovery is reported from Faversham. In the course of some excavations for brick-earth in King's Field, near the town, a collection of old coins and other valuable relics was discovered. Among the articles are two large gold pendants, one of which is set with garnets, two large silver brooches, also set with garnets, a buckle set with three stones, a quantity of beads, quartz, a ring, and a sword. Similar discoveries have been made in the same field on previous occasions during excavation.



Correspondence.

GENERAL INDEX TO THE "ANTIQUARY."

May I suggest that the indexes to the twelve volumes of the *Antiquary* hitherto published need consolidation? It takes a considerable time to lift down and look through the twelve indexes; and I am sure that

many would be glad to give the shilling or eighteenpence which would be the outside price of such a complete index. Perhaps a larger type might advantageously be used in printing it. Q. V.

BISHAM ABBEY.

I have almost completed my collection of materials for a history of the above Abbey—the burial-place of the Earls of Salisbury, and of Richard Neville, the King-maker. Strange to say, no mention of their monuments has been discovered, save a bare statement that they were not destroyed at the Dissolution, but were standing in the Hall within the last century. Can any of your readers oblige me with further particulars?

JOHN ALT PORTER.

31, Store Street,
Bedford Square, W.C.

"MAIDEN" PLACE-NAMES.

[*Ante*, vol. xii., pp. 68, 134, 182, 231, 278; xiii. pp. 39, 86.]

In the February number, Mr. Round suggests "that it would be worth while to invite lists of these names as a basis of further inquiry." I forward as my contribution the enclosed:

Forty-third Report of Deputy-Keeper of Public Records, p. 488: "Maidford, Maydeford, North—Vincent de Meydeford."

Ditto, p. 488: "Maidstone, Meydenstan, Kent; Richard le Agee, of Maidstone—Maydenestan."

Tourist's Guide to North Yorkshire—Bevan—p. 111: "Grinton, Swaledale." "Visitor should ascend Harkerside Moor to see Maiden Castle, a circular camp."

Bruce's Roman Wall, p. 30: "Bear in mind that two great lines of communication, the Watling Street and the Maidenway, intersected the county from north to south."

Phillips's Yorkshire—The Calder—p. 96: "Todmorden, a branch rivulet from Maiden Cross and Stiperden."

Ditto, p. 105: "Maiden Grain, Rudston (Roodstone, 29 feet above surface)."

Ditto, pp. 52, 223: "Maiden Castle, where the Arkle joins the Swale, is a strongly-fortified point. This must not be confounded with the small square camp between Rey Cross and Brough, which bears the same name."

Stukeley's Diary: "Amile to the west of Dorchester is a great Camp, called Maidencastle, of an oval figure."

Maitland's History of London, 1739, p. 526:

Maiden Lane, Church Street, Lambeth.

Maiden Lane, Deadman's Place.

Maiden Lane, Half Moon Street.

Maiden Lane, Queen Street.

Maiden Lane, Wood Street.

Maid Court, Maiden Lane, Bow Lane.

A Maiden Bradley is also mentioned, near Longleat, in *Camden's Britannia*, vol. i., p. 110.

SCOTT F. SURTEES.

There was "le Mayden Streete" in Weymouth. It is mentioned in Moule's *Catalogue of Charters, etc., of Weymouth*, p. 54.

G. L. GOMME.

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I remain, Rev. and dear Sir, faithfully yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

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The Antiquary.



APRIL, 1886.

On the Scandinavian Elements in the English Race.

BY J. FREDERICK HODGETTS.

IN the district of Angeln, in Denmark, there was a tribe of Scandinavians, which, borne hither by the resistless wave of migration westwards, has filled the world with grand ideas of the reality and importance of absolute freedom, justice and honour. This tribe came to Britain in the fifth century of the Christian era, and found the island a Roman province, abandoned by the Romans to the people from whom they had taken it, and to whom they had contrived to impart a little surface-polish of Roman civilization. Deadly foes to Rome, hating her imperial tendencies, despising her vice and luxury, the Angliski were not likely to show the Kelts any particular consideration on the strength of their Roman assumptions. On the contrary, it seems to have enraged them against the Britons, against whom they waged a long war of extermination, driving them to the hills and into the sea, stamping them out with greater fierceness than the other Scandinavians drove out the Finns and other dwellers in the North, and took possession of their lands. Precisely in the same way they guarded themselves from admixture of race with the Britons as the Swedes did with the Lapps, Esthonians and Livonians. Travelling in the Baltic provinces of Russia, which were until a comparatively recent period under the dominion of the Swedes, we are struck at finding not the slightest trace of Teutonic influence among the Esthonians or among the Letts. Their language, dress,

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customs and feelings are even more national and unaffected by the conquest of their old Scandinavian masters than those of the Welsh of our own time.

Like the other Scandinavian conquerors already alluded to, we, on our first arrival in Britain, adopted *not a word* from the language of the conquered race. Even the topographical nomenclature of Kelt and Roman was rejected by the Englishman, precisely as he rejected the indigenous names in America twelve hundred years afterwards, calling the various places in which he formed settlements in the New World after localities with which he had been familiar in the Old. The early English called their new homes in Britain by the names of beloved spots in Angeln or Jutland, precisely as the "Pilgrim Fathers" created their New York, Boston, Waltham, etc., in the savage West, showing how England was with them even there. It is true that some places held their own against the English in Britain, as some do now in Australia and America; but the number is small in comparison with the prevailing names in the island, and is confined chiefly to the names of mountains and rivers. Hence the difficulty of identifying the names of localities in Sagas, many of which may refer to places colonized by Scandinavians in other parts of the world, and designated in memory of places in Scandinavia proper. In *Beowulf*, for example, we have names of places identical in the Scandinavian home of the epic, and in the more recent Britain. The Halle Herot and the lake of the Grendel are to be found quite as accurately at Hartlepool as in Denmark.

Doubtless the physical configuration of that part of Durham which still bears evidence in its local names of having once been the home of the *Skyldings*, from *Shields* to Hartlepool, is as suggestive of *Beowulf* as any part of Scandinavia can be, and may long continue to convince the English antiquary of the indigenous nature of the poem, as similar scenery convinces the Danes that it is Danish throughout.

But besides the names given by the new comers to new homes, reminding them of those they left behind them, the English warriors of the fifth and sixth centuries were in the habit of bestowing their own names

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and those of their followers on places of which they took possession. Hence many places in England bear the names of Horse and Hengest, Horsey Hill, Horsegate, Horsefield, Horseton, Horsley, Horsall, Horsell, Horsham, Horsepool, Horseclyff, and hundreds more. In like manner and to the same extent the name of Hengest is preserved all through the north-east of England, in Hengestsheale, Hinxhill, Hinkley, Hincksford, Hinxton, Hixworth, Henstridge, (Hengestshricg) Hensting, Hengston, and others. Nor are the names of such places confined to these two heroes; their cousins, Ossa and Octa, have left their traces all over England.

Ebba and Swane, both connected with Hengist and Horsa, are still celebrated and their names perpetuated in the same way in Ebbesfleet, Ebbesbourne, Ebbington, Swanwick, Swanton, Swanthorpe, Swanborough, Swanage, Swansea, etc. In some cases the names, of individuals connected with the two chiefs Hengist and Horsa, are found in groups in various parts of the country.

The suffixes tun, wick, ey, ed, ham, bury, chester, head, ness, stow, holm, holt, hurst, shire, by, grove, field, ley, worth, stead, ford, borough, thorp, burn, mouth, lock, bridge, gate, stone, stol, ton, or, are all Anglo-Saxon *substantives*, none of which have been borrowed from any foreign source. As this list includes the terminals of nearly all places in England and of many in Scotland, I subjoin a very brief explanation of each. Bury is the Anglo-Saxon *burh* (the *h* a strong guttural), a town, city, or fort; German *burg*; Swedish *borg*. Borough is another form of the same word. Bridge is the modern form of *brig*. Burn, or bourn, is burne a stream, brook or river, also fountain and well. *By* is a habitation or dwelling, Swedish and Danish *by*. Chester is the Saxon *Ceastere*, from *cest* a conflict, and the feminine termination *stere*. The word *ces* has another meaning of enclosure. Thus the whole word signifies, "she who encloses for (or from) strife," i.e., a town or fort. After very careful search through the Chronicle (MS. Tiberius, A vi.), Beowulf and other MSS., in which I have been most kindly assisted by my friend Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, Senior Assistant Keeper of the MSS. British Museum, I have come to the

conclusion that the attribution of this word to a Latin source identifying it with *castra* is not so in accordance with the evidence I have seen as the explanation above given. My theory is further borne out by two important points: first, that in the Scandinavian languages the letter K is pronounced as our K in king before a, o, u; while before e, i, y, æ, and œ, it has the sound of our CH in church, which accounts for the ch pronunciation of *cestere*—chestere. In the irregular orthography of some MSS. we find the word written *cæstere*, the pronunciation of which would in some parts of the island have been identical in sound with chestere, but in others it would have resembled the combination chast (in chastise), rather than chest. This accounts for the phenomenon in Doncaster and Lancaster of the æ having become written a. The second point is that *no* Roman name of any place in Britain ever ended in *castra* or *castrum*. I have carefully looked over *all* the local names so ending in English, and have invariably found something totally different as a Roman equivalent. Again, the word occurs in Beowulf, where Dr. Johnson himself would fail to find a trace of Latin taint, and where the stoutest Latinist admits no Latin word has had the possibility of creeping in. *Eð* or *à* is simply a river. *Ey* is an island. Here again our orthography is at fault. This word has no connection with *insula*. It is the Scandinavian *ö* and *å*, both meaning, of themselves, island. We meet the *ö* in the Far-öe, and we find *å* in Åland. The Anglo-Saxon forms of this word are *œ*, *æg*, and *ig*; this *g* becomes *y* by the usual law. Our word should be written "iland" as it is pronounced. The *s* has crept in from false analogy with the Norman "isle" (from *insula*), by the carelessness of scribes. In the chronicle it stands "igland," pronounced i-land.

Thus Thorny, or Thorney, is the island of thornes. Orkney, the island of goblins, etc. This termination, thanks to our wonderful system of orthography, is constantly being confounded with (*sic*) a river, so often used to denote places on a river, as Chelsea, Battersea and many others. Field and ford are too evident to need explanation. Gate is, originally, nearly equivalent to the Saxon *stræt*, our street, meaning a stretched-out way or

road. In modern Swedish, *gata* is road or street. Grove is the Anglo-Saxon *græf*. Ham is Anglo-Saxon *ham*, pronounced home, English home. Holm means an island in a river, and also the ocean; but for English nomenclature the first sense is the only one available. Holt is wood, German *holz*. Hurst is the German *horst*, a small thicket. Leigh, or ley, is the Anglo-Saxon *leagh*, *leah*, *lag*, *lah* (Sanskrit *lag*, Latin *lex*), law, and by derivation a place settled by law, or in which a given law prevailed. Most probably, however, the idea of *place* was the primary meaning. The modern signification of meadow-land seems to have crept in by usage at a late period. The combination meadow-lea is often met with; this shows that lea had not the sense of meadow, but of land legally set apart for use as a meadow. Lock is simply an enclosure shut off from something else—other land. Mouth is the mouth of a river. Ness, a promontory, or cape. Ore, a border, or boundary. Stead, a place. Ston, or stan, a stone. Shire is the old *scir*, or *scyr*, meaning a share, something cut off or divided, from *sciran*, to cut off, English shear. Ton, or tun, is the modern town, cognate with the German *saun*, a railing or paling enclosing or protecting a house or grounds, having the same value as chester. Thorp is a village; Swedish and Danish *torp*, Dutch *dorpt*. Wick: the old wic, or wyc, has the signification of a regular habitation extending beyond the idea of house, meaning rather village, camp, or station, also a safe bay for ships, a harbour; hence the *vikings*. Worth is very similar, meaning land, a farm, a street, a public way, a hall, a palace, and finally a shore; hence Worthing. Wold resembles the German *wald*, a wood or forest; also written weald. Y is the same as ey, an island. Street is derived from streccan, *Imperfect* strehte, gestreht (German *strecken*, *streckte*, *gestreckt*), to stretch out, to extend. In Yorkshire a street is called a straight. The word occurs in Beowulf, and in fragments which can have had not the slightest trace of Roman influence. The same word occurs in the older Icelandic as *stræti*. It is purely Scandinavian, having no more connection with the Roman *strata* than is to be expected from the family likeness existing between two Aryan languages. Certainly the Scandinavians, who never received

the faintest tincture of Roman manners, customs, or speech, did not borrow their *Heer-stræti*, or High Street (from *heer*, an army), from the Romans, any more than they took the idea of Thor, the god of thunder, from *Jupiter tonans*! That there are strong points of analogy between the two systems of religion only points to their common descent from one original and pure form of belief and speech, to which comparative philology and comparative mythology both point.

The unlucky word *Barbar*—which to the Greek meant "not a Greek," to the Roman, "not a Roman"—had originally not much more significance than our word *foreigner*: and yet it came to imply a savage, void of letters, ignorant of the arts, brutal, coarse and disgusting. The Teutons had as good a word for the Greeks and Romans, whom they contemptuously termed Welsh (German *Wälsch*). Nor did the term apply to these classic nations only; it was used in reference to all who had been influenced by them, or who had adopted Roman arts, Roman customs, and above all, Roman speech. Hence the English invaders of Britain, with true English contempt for what they did not understand, called the language and the people of Britain *Welsh*, because the Britons had been Romanized. As much contempt was entertained by the Scandinavian Teuton for the Welsh, or Romans, as by Imperial Rome for the Barbarians. It has been the fashion for scholars, in writing of the Goths and Germans, to look upon them as from a Roman point of view, though they themselves in name and origin may be as un-Roman (therefore as barbarous) as *Johnson*. It has been long the custom to ignore any culture but what emanated from Rome, to despise all literature but the Greek and Roman, and to learn no language in youth but Greek and Latin. We have been learning Latin when we ought to have been learning Anglo-Saxon for our *copia verborum*, and we have shut our eyes to the fact that the Scandinavian who came to Britain was, in his way, as cultivated as the Roman. He was *not* a savage; he brought with him a religious *culte* more pure, more refined and more manly than the old belief of the Romans had been. These northern warriors were

earnest, brave, serious, and men of their word to an extent which had provoked the Roman sneer on occasion of a soldier who had gambled away his all, staking at last his liberty, and, losing that, going off into voluntary slavery with the winner, whom a blow from his stalwart first would have paid for ever.

The system of education which could have produced such results as we read of everywhere upon the Goths and Teutons, must have been very thorough, and the religious *culte* was extremely simple and extremely pure to tame so perfectly such fierce and haughty natures as the sons of Odin; and I maintain, therefore, that this part of the history of our development is of the utmost importance to us.

In the homes of the Scandinavians a very peculiar system of education was pursued. The nobles, being engaged in war and other active amusements, had but little time or inclination for playing the part of school-master. The younger branches were accordingly placed under the care of wise old men, generally of the middle class, who had a taste for a life of peace. To these persons the sons of the warrior lords were confided, and their duty was to teach their pupils riding, rowing, shooting with the javelin, and all kinds of athletic exercises befitting young warriors; besides which they had to instruct them in the creed of their ancestors, the sagas of the heroes and demi-gods from whom they were descended; and last, not least, they taught them to carve and read runic inscriptions. Sometimes this yeoman was not so very old, and the son of a yarl or konung would be given to his wife at a very early age—indeed, early enough for her to supply the maternal nourishment which his own mother had been unable to give. This was a rare case, as a Scandinavian lady thought it a humiliation to be unable to nurse her own children. But whether the yeoman's wife had nursed the son of the yarl, or the young noble had only been entrusted to the family for educational purposes, the yeoman's son, who had the privilege of being educated with the yarl's son, regarded him as his "foster-brother;" and the tie thus formed was held sacred to the death, each being bound to avenge the death of the

other, each addressing the other as "thou." At a certain period—from the fifteenth to the sixteenth year of their age—the two boys performed a very solemn and certainly very weird ceremony. Not being related by blood, but yet being bound by a tie almost as sacred, they contrived to establish blood relationship by opening a vein in the left arm of each, and binding the two arms together at the point where the incision in each had been made, they conceived that some particles of the blood of each would enter the system of the other and render their relationship complete. They are supposed to have sat with the left arms bound and resting on a little table, while, during the given number of hours required to effect this peculiar inoculation of fraternity, the old yeoman would recite verses from the "*Völuspå*," and other hymns of the *Edda*, alternating these with stories of the heroes of their faith, the "*Hjeltar*" and "*Vikingar*," whose fame they were in after-life to emulate, while from time to time they were refreshed with draughts of mead from the same horn. From this custom has descended the fashion prevalent among students in Scandinavian Universities of drinking "*du skål*," or "*thou health*," with the left arm of each locked in the left arm of the new brother. From thenceforth the new-made brothers address each other as "thou." The use of "thou" is also a privilege among the *Burschenschaft* of the German schools.

To return to the yarl's son and the son of the bondé, or yeoman. When brotherhood had been thus solemnly established between them, they became inseparable for life; but this did not affect the social position or *caste* that had already existed. The young earl did not become a yeoman or lose *caste* in any way; nor did the yeoman attain nobility by the step. In battle he had the right to stand, or ride, near his brother-master; but he had no right to command, unless nominated by the noble as his lieutenant on special service. This, however, was frequently done; and as often the helm of the Dragon-ship was put into his hands, for we must remember that the education of these youths was strictly amphibious.

During the summer the boys were exercised in swimming, and in the use of the

sword as well on *terra firma* as on the water and even *in* it ; for from the contests related as taking place between heroes and water-spirits, we are shown that they were taught the use of the weapon while swimming, an accomplishment involving a degree of familiarity with the element never or very rarely attained at the present day. Anybody can learn to swim, but to become so completely at home in the water as to be able to bestow his whole attention on the management of the weapon, presupposes a proficiency in the art of swimming which is never attained in these times. The arts of sailing and rowing came later, and it would seem, although I cannot find the statement actually made anywhere, that instruction in ship and boat building formed part of the curriculum. The keels or ships were constructed with high prows fashioned into the form of a Dragon's head and neck ; hence the word "Draké" came almost to lose its original signification, and to apply solely to the ship. The stern was raised in the same way to represent the tail of the monster, and was often richly ornamented with silver scales. A wealthy yarl, who was in the habit of giving golden bracelets to his bravest warriors, would sometimes reward his Dragon for some daring deed on the ocean by gifts of gold rings large enough to adorn the *neck* or prow of the ship. To this feeling may be traced the pride of men-of-war's men in Nelson's time in adorning the figure-head, which was frequently richly gilt.

Whether the boys were taught ship-building or not, they were soon made familiar with sailing, and with the huge oars or "sweeps" with which the great ships were propelled when the wind dropped.

But the "Sea Horse" was not the only horse they were taught to manage. From almost infancy they were accustomed to leap on to the backs of small horses unprovided with saddles, and the young aspirants for military fame were expected to perform almost as many equestrian feats as one would expect to see in a fashionable *cirque* at Paris. From these smaller pony-like horses they were gradually advanced until they could ride the "bitted whirlwinds" that bore the warriors in mortal fight.

The chief weapons, the use of which

formed part of the education of northern gentlemen, were the sword and the gár, a kind of spear or javelin. The length of the sword seems to have varied from two to three feet. Frey's sword is described as "*blot en aln lǽngt*," only an ell in length ; while Odin's sword is very broad, and so long that he could rest his clasped hands upon it. In one of the hymns the shortness of Frey's blade is referred to as being sufficient for him who was brave enough to approach close to the foe ; "for him who is *not*, any sword would be too short," is the quaint comment, reminding one involuntarily of Sir Lucius O'Trigger's famous dictum that "two or three feet between the mouths of the pistols is as good as a mile !"

Having acquired proficiency in the use of the sword and javelin, the youthful warrior was next initiated into the handling of the spear, or *spjót*, and shield. The former was a formidable weapon, the prototype of the modern lance ; the shaft was of the sacred ash, dear to Odin and full of mystic teachings for his followers. What was in after ages called "a forest of lances," was then called the "grey ash wood."

Although the battle-axe played so prominent a part in the history of Scandinavian warfare, we find no mention of the period in the course of training pursued by the young warrior when he was taught to wield this murderous weapon ; yet it must have been a general favourite all through the North : and the Saxons would have defeated the Normans at Hastings by dint of their skill with the axe, but for having been drawn from their position by a *ruse de guerre* on the part of the enemy. Such dexterity did they acquire with this fearful weapon that they were able to shear off the spear-heads of the foe in battle ; and this points to special training. In the older sagas and legends the axe is mentioned as the "Bill." The form of the double-axe was terrific enough, having two faces ; and it is said by one of the Swedish writers (I think Gejer, but I have not his works at hand to refer to) that the Danes, who were specially famous for wielding it, were particularly clever in delivering a back-handed cut *upwards*, with which they sheared off the heads of the enemies' lances. The full crashing blow delivered on the helmet of

the antagonist was irresistible. All this must have involved careful training, but save the passage above referred to I know of no remarks definitely implying such a system.

Among the early Scandinavians the bow does not seem to have stood in very high repute. It was resorted to in the chase, and then chiefly by peasants for shooting birds. The nobler game, such as the bear and the elk, were attacked with javelins, and broad-headed spears called *spjot*, *spjöt* (our spear), similar to the weapon for war. Occasionally the animal, or a part of it at least, was roasted on the very spear by which it died. The German name for this weapon was "spiess," whence the name for the roasting-spit is to this day *spiess* in German, and *spit* (*spjot*) in English. During the early days of the English in Britain, the bow seems rarely mentioned; the only passages that I know of, in which it is referred to, are in the *Codex Exoniensis*. The first of these passages treats the bow with marked contempt:

Skjld skeal kempan,	A shield shall be for the warrior,
Skeaft reafere,	An arrow for the robber,
Skeal bryde beag,	A ring shall be for the bride,
Bec leornere,	Books for the learners,
Hûsl halgum men;	Housel for holy men;

evidently consigning it to the use of the bandit as an apt mode of slaying his enemy without exposing himself to danger. It does not seem to have been used in war by the Scandinavians at all. In another part of the same Exeter book, in a religious poem, we find:

Sumu wigeth sped	To some military good fortune
Giefethæt guthe,	In war he giveth,
Thôn gâr getrum,	Where the javelin band,
Ofer skjld breadan	Over the shield's defence
Skeotend, sendath	Shooting, send
Flakor flân geweork.	Flakes of arrows wrought.

This is a rare instance of the use of the arrow in war; but there are many proofs of the employment of the arrow as a weapon for the chase, especially against birds.

The Scandinavians were much more addicted to hunting than the people of the South, and at last the nobles and princes of the North usurped the right of chase until by degrees the people were entirely deprived of it, a circumstance perpetuated in our game laws.

From the earliest times hunting was considered as an important part of the education

of a gentleman. Asser, in speaking of Alfred, describes him as an expert hunter before he attained his twelfth year of age; and it is subsequently mentioned that whenever a temporary peace gave leisure for relaxation, hunting was the favourite pastime followed by the nobility. To ride with a hawk on the wrist was an old Scandinavian distinction, and one which was carried to Britain by the English, and to France by the Normans.

The Saxon or English shield was circular, and convex. In the centre was a boss of metal. The outer ring or border was beaten backward so as to cover the wood of which the body of the shield was composed, and to form a metal rim. We read in Scandinavian stories of such outer rims being of gold. The whole description reminds the reader of the target used in archery, while the structure of the shield itself seems to have resembled that of the Highland target worn in the last century in form, though much larger in size. The Anglo-Saxon shields were, as has been mentioned, of wood, covered with the hide of some animal, which was fastened to the wood by nails or rivets. The favourite wood was that of the linden-tree. Hence, in poetic language, the line of battle is periphrastically called the "Linden Grove;" the sound of the sword on the shield is called "The song of the linden;" and the warriors themselves called this important part of their equipment the "lind," or "linden." Under this name it is frequently mentioned in *Beowulf*, and in fact in all Saxon poetic writings. In size the Scandinavian shield greatly exceeded that of the Highland target, inasmuch as a wounded warrior could be borne off the field in his shield, like the Spartan, whose mother, presenting a shield, used the words, "*Aut hoc, aut in hoc*." The helmet, or helm-hat, was a leathern cap, strengthened by the addition of metallic rings for defence in war. The chief ring, generally of iron, went round what we should call the rim of the cap, or that part immediately encircling the head. To this lower rim, as to a base or fundament, two half-hoops of metal were affixed in such a manner as to cross each other at the apex, and form thus a sort of skeleton helmet outside the leathern cap, much as the hoops of the modern crown pass over the cap below. The lower ring, or band,

was sometimes further adorned by the addition of a circlet of gold, which when narrow indicated the thane, when broad the Earl; while the royal function was displayed by the addition of small triangular pieces of gold fixed to the ring, and so forming what modern heralds would call an invected coronet. The half-hoop coming to the forehead became prolonged into a nasal guard for the face, which piece was called the *grim*, and such a helmet was termed a grim-helm. The leather of the cap below was either blue or red; and when worn without the iron protection of hoops, ring and grim was ornamented with a sort of comb or crest. There are very few remains of actual Saxon helmets, because of the perishable nature of the materials; but the representations in MSS., and the descent to us of the kying helm, or crown, with its golden hoops crossing each other as the iron rings intersected in the old time, concur in showing what these pieces of defensive armour were like.* And they again show us, reflexively, whence our proudest distinctions of nobility are derived.

On account of Odin having assumed the wings of an eagle to escape from the hold of a certain giantess, the Scandinavian warrior, at the period of his career supposed to be the maturity of his wisdom and valour, the Odin's day or Wodensday of his mortal progress, was distinguished by bearing two eagle-wings, one on each side of his helmet, which towering high above his head, and bending somewhat backwards, imparted a haughty martial bearing to the man, reminding us of that of a life-guardsmen of the present day.

(To be continued.)



London Rogues and Relief of Distress Three Centuries Ago.

BY DR. CHARLES GROSS.

THE present distress of the labouring man and the recent concomitant prominence of London "rogues" recall a somewhat similar crisis in the corresponding decade of the sixteenth cen-

* In Jewitt's *Grave-Mounds and their Contents* there is a representation of the iron guards of such a helmet with a *boar* as a crest.

tury. It is interesting to note what measures were taken by the local authorities three hundred years ago to relieve the poor, and, above all, to suppress the rogues. The following are the more important sections of the "Orders appointed to be executed in the Cittie of London, for setting roges and idle persons to worke, and for releefe of the poore."*

"1. For releefe of the poore, and for setting to worke of vagaraunt people, there are to be set up in Bridewell certain artes, occupations, workes and labours.

"2. There are to be provided stocke & tooles for those workes. There is to be provided bedding, apparrell, and dyet for those poore to be set to worke.

"3. When order shalbe taken and sufficient provision had for the furniture of the workes, Proclamation shall bee made throughout the Cittie, that all vagarants which are come out of other places, where by the law they ought to be provided for, shall depart the Cittie and the lyberties thereof, to the places of their byrth or last abode according to the Law, upon the paines thereof due.

"4. Within convenient time after the day limited by such Proclamation a generall search shalbe made, and lykewise new generall searches from time to time as shalbe requisite, throughout the Cittie and the liberties therof at one instant, & all the vagarants that shalbe there founde shall be brought to Bridewell to be examined."

"8. Those whom the Cittie by Law is charged to provide for and are able to work, shalbe received into Bridewell, and there kept with thin diet, onely sufficing to sustaine them in health, and shalbe set to work in such of the workes, labours and occupations as they shall be found fittest for.

"9. If any such shall loyter and wyll not doo such labor as in reason they ought and as is doone by other of like capacite and strength, they shall be punished in Bridewell as is used by the discretion of the Governours."

"19. That Proclamation be made that every Cittizen shal have charge on paine of iii. s. iii. d. and every other person shalbe required, to bryng or cause to bee brought to

* "At London. Printed by Hugh Singleton, dwelling in Smithfelde, at the signe of the Golden Tunne."—These Orders were made by the Court of Common Council, August 4th, 1579. The numbering of the sections in the Guildhall MS. differs from that adopted in the text.

the Constable or his Deputie or to the Bedle of the Warde or other Bedle every such vagarant as shall beg of them in the Parish where such citzens or other doo dwell: that such vagarant may by such Constable or his deputie or by the Bedle be sent to Bridewell to be examined and used as is above sayd."

"24. For avoyding the returne of idle vagarants, and for better reformation of the idle youth and unthrifitie poore in this Citie and for further execution of the premisses, every Alderman or his Deputie in his ward assisted wyth a sufficient steward shall keepe his Court of Wardmote once in every month for the first yere now ensuing, and in other yeeres once in every three monethes, on payne to every Alderman for his default or of his sufficient Deputie for him in not keeping the sayd Court XL s. to the like use of the poore. And all the inhabitants shall there appeare or be amerced for their defaultes, and oute of the saide ameracements and profites of Court the steward shalbe rewarded with reasonable fee by the discretion of the Alderman, and the rest shalbe to the sayd use of the poore.

"25. By the Inquest shalbe there enquired, if [there be any] idle persons, roges, vagabunds, and other suspect persons which lyve disorderly or suspiciously or spend their times at Bowling allies, playes, and other places unthriftilly: & whether the meane officers doo their duties, and all other matters, as in the charge of leetes: and that speedy processe be used according to the law for the reformation without delay."

"28. In every parrish a general survey to be made, by the Constable, Churchwardens, Collectors for the poore and vi. other of the Parishners of all their poore and needye neighbors of the Parish *viz.* of every house particularly, the names of the dwellers, the children and servauntes, the sexe and age of every one, and which be able to labour and whereupon, and who be utterly impotent to any labour.

"29. No pension or other releefe to be given to any which are idle, being able to labor. And such as will labour and have not nor can provide to set themselves to worke, making their mone to the Churchwardens or Collectors for the poore, may by a Bill to be signed with the hands of the sayd Churchwardens or

Collectors, or any two of them and three other parishoners, have work appoynted or delivered them at Bridewell, or els where.

"30. None of the poore, or their children be suffered to begg or wander in the streetes, but be exercised upon meete labor toward the getting of their living in honest sort.

"31. In every parrish all the poore houses shall be at convenient times visited, daily if it may be, by some one or moe to be appoynted at the vestry to see how they apply theyr work, and the defaults to be certified every sunday to the Churchwardens, and by them to be noted in a book against the next vestry."

"38. To every art, science, or labor in Bridewell be appointed two of the governours of Bridewell to oversee the same, who shall have care to the doing therof as they may answer that charge in credite and conscience.

"39. Foure governors of that house shall attend two hours at the least in every day for examination & direction of such as shalbe brought thether after the first search & for expedition of other things requisite.

"40. The tresorer with some of the governours of Bridewell shalbe appointed for the providing of corne, bread, victuall, apparel and necessaries for the poore, and to oversee their lodgings and such other things as be needefull.

"41. Of such companies of this City as wel the worshipfull as the inferior as the governors of Bridewell shall find to be requisite according to the qualitie of the artes or labors that are to be overseene, there shalbe appointed persons to attend, so as there may be every day two attending at Bridewell to oversee the workes, and to give knowledge of the defaults which they shal find, to the governours, on paine of xx. shillings to be payed to the wardens if they appoynt not, being therunto required by the space of a weeke before, & on paines of vi. shillings viii. pence to be paid by every of the parties appointed, if he attend not being warned three daies before at the least, the sayd paines to be to the use of the poore in Bridewell and to be levied by distresse.

"42. Where in the Savoy are lodged nightly great numbers of idle wicked persons, cutpurses, cousinsers, and such other theeves, & there in the night are hidden from

officers and in the day do use their rogish life, so that the same place honorably ordeined is by such abuse made a noursery of roges theeves idle and dronken persons: for remedy therof, request to be made to the maister of that house, that speciall persons be appoynted to examine such as shall come to lodge in the Savoy that such be lodged there as be of honest fame, poore men comming up for their sutes or causes, or such as are knowen & can gyve accompt of their labour in the day time, and no other: & if any such lewde roges be founde there, the officers of the Savoy or the Justices to whom it may appertaine may send them to such place as they ought to be sent by lawe."

"49. . . . Artes, Occupations, Labors, and Works to be set up in Bridewell.

The worke in the Milles.	Knitting of hose.
The worke in the Lighter & unlading of Sand.	Spinning of Linnen yarne.
The carying of sand.	Spinning of Candell weeke.†
Making of shooes.	Making of Packthreed.
Thicking of Cappes by hand and foote.	Drawing of wier.
Making of woll Cardes.	Making of Pinnes.
Making of Nayles.	Making of Pointes.
Making of gloves.	Making of Knives.
Making of Combes.	Making of Tennise-balles.
Making of Inkle and tape.	Making of Bayes.
Making of silke Lace.	Making of Feltes.
Making of Aparrell for the house.	Picking of woll for Felts.
Spining of wollen yrene.*	Or any other that may fall in practise."

"51. To avoid the perill that the setting a worke of vagrants in the said Artes at Bridewell might be to the overthrow of the worke and to the undoing of poore citizens householders, and their families that live by working in the same arts for other, or by retaling of things wrought: Therfore the governours of Bridwell shall consult with the Wardens and discrete men of those companies that use the working or selling of such things as shalbe wrought in Bridewel, as shoemakers and other, that the said companies and their householders shal deliver their worke to such number in Bridwel as they may with the benefit of their company, and shall pay for the same at reasonable rates to their profit.

"52. Also a note shall be kept in Bridewell of places and persons where and of whome worke may be had, that poore in parishes

* Yarn.

† Candle-wick.

sent thether to require worke may be the better releved."

"54. For the better releefe of the poore, the leather that shalbe founde faulty in this Citty and seised as forfayted, shall never for any price come to the use of the searchers, or sealers of leather, but shall wholly be to Christes hospital, and Bridewell, to be there made into shooes for the poore, by the poore that shall worke there: and the searchers shall have their portion in money according to the praisement.

"55. Provision is to be made for apparell, bedding, and meate for the sayd poore, for tooles, and for stocke and stuffe for the occupations, for making of Milles, and buying of Lighters, for fees and wages of Bedelles and other necessary poore attendauntes: and therfore a competent & sufficient portion of money is to be had, which by an estimate for one yeere accompting for ii, c. [200] persons amounteth about ii, M, l. [£2,000.]"

"57. For the provision of the sayd stock to the accomplishing of the said good works, there may be graunted by the body of this Citty too fiftenes to be assessed & levied in usuall manner, wherof the one to be paid as speedily as may be, the other at the end of vi. monethes.

"58. Hereunto be added the taxations of all forens inhabiting within the liberties of this City to be assisted according to the statute lately made for erecting of houses, for setting the poore on worke, or els to be contributory in the sayd fiftenes by the rate of their houses."

"65. The Lord maior and aldermen by the request of the governours of Bridewell appoynt some speciall offycers or persons to enquire of goods foren bought and solde wherby Citizens shold otherwise lose the benefit of their trades and become unable to releve the poore, and part of the forfeitures so to be found may be to the releefe of the poore.

"66. That the preachers be moved at the sermons at the Crosse & other convenient times specially in the terme time, & that other good notorious meanes be used, to require both Citizens, Artificers, and other, and also all farmers and other for husbandry, and gentlemen and other for their kitchens, & other services, to take servants and children

both out of Bridewell and Christs Hospitall at their pleasures, with declaration what a charitable deed it shalbe not onely for the releefe of those whom they shall so take into service but also of multitudes of other that shall from time to time be taken into the hospitals in their places, and so be preserved from perishing, with offer also that they shall have them conveniently apparelled & bound with them for any competent number of yeeres, with further declaration that many of them be of toward qualitties in readyng, wryting, Grammer, and Musike."



The Introduction of the Potato into England.

THE remembrance of the centenaries of important events, though often in their commemoration made ludicrous by unsuitable demonstrations, has a use when it causes us to examine the accuracy of traditions that have been handed down to us.

The introduction of the potato into these islands is an event now seen to be of the highest importance. Had this been recognized and the history written at the time, with the care and detail which, as we now see, was needed, it would have saved us an immense amount of trouble in research, and much time in growth-experiments and inter-crossing by seeds. Could Raleigh have foreseen the national importance of his gardener setting those tubers from Virginia, he was just the thoughtful man to have given the account in full to its utmost details, and would without doubt have gone as far as he could to institute an inquiry as to how it was the South American plant (as we believe it to be) was cultivated in his own Virginia. But, dwelling on what were to him loftier themes, the receipt of a new plant—sent, so far as we know, for no special reason except that herbarists even then interchanged plants from one country to another—would to him be hardly an episode in his life. To his gardener it might have been an event.

We are now somewhere about the tercentenary of the introduction of the potato. The

date given by somebody and copied by nearly everybody else who writes on potatoes, is 1585 or 1586. Some give 1565, 1597, and even 1623.

A short leader in the *Morning Post* of October 7th appears to have first drawn attention to the fact of our having reached the tercentenary.

It so happens in the course of fitful attention to the subject that, just now, writers in agricultural and gardening journals have, without any reference to the tercentenary, reopened the question of the original home of our cultivated potato.

But we are still without having found any authentic record of the introduction, and we do not know its origin. Out of all the traditions it does not seem possible to evolve a consistent account that shall not discredit some of them. No serious attempt to do this appears to have been undertaken by those who have again and again reproduced the traditions. That Raleigh was not personally concerned in the introduction is, however, certain.

There are many points not yet settled. Some of them, it is hoped, may be decided by the experiments of physiological botanists, which it would be hardly in place to refer to here. It may suffice to mention two questions. One is, how did the potato (the *Solanum tuberosum*, as Linnæus* decided to call it) get extended in cultivation from Peru to North America? By Aztecs, or by Spaniards, or by some tribes the writer of *Hiawatha* had overlooked?† Research in the old libraries of Spain may possibly yet furnish some information. A more complete study of Mexican antiquities may help. Our knowledge here is still very imperfect. Another is, what were the general sizes of the tubers of the potato in Raleigh's time? Here antiquaries and bibliographers, especially those acquainted with the history of the production of *Kreuterbuchs*, may very probably help.

It appears that the first extant published figure of the potato is that given in Gerard's *Herbal* of 1597. The next seems to be 1598, in Bauhin's *Matthiolus*. Then follow Clusius (*Rar. Plant. Hist.*) 1601, *Hortus Eystettensis* (1613); Bauhin's *Prodromus*, 1620, and

* Retaining Bauhin's name.

† See De Candolle's *Origin of Cultivated Plants*.

Parkinson's *Paradisus*, 1629. The tubers in Gerard (p. 781) are represented as very little larger than the apple. Leaving Raleigh's introduction of the plant out of consideration for the present, to which attention may be afterwards paid, there are several interesting questions to ask about this woodcut. The three most important are: What is its value as regards accuracy? Was it especially cut for the *Herbal*? And from what plant was the drawing made?

For the convenience of those not acquainted with the history of the subject, it may be well to consider the second question first—Was the woodcut especially made for the *Herbal*? The book was published by John Norton, and probably "at his charge." Besides the original edition of 1597 there was another brought out after Gerard's death, in 1633, "amended" by Thomas Johnson. This was published by Adam Islip, Joice Norton, and Richard Whitaker. For some reason there are twenty-five cuts not the same as in the first edition. The cut of the potato is one of these, so that Gerard's cut appears in the *Herbal* of 1597, but not in 1633. This is a point that does not seem to have received attention before. If anything is known of Norton, perhaps some information may be gained of his dealings with continental publishers and of his books being left to his successors. There was a reprint of Johnson's edition in 1636.

Johnson, in the last three pages of his introductory matter, headed "To the Reader," tells us a good deal of how the *Herbal* was produced; and the tender way in which he alludes to Gerard's inefficiency must ensure our regard. That the text was almost entirely a translation of Dodonæus made by Dr. Priest is a matter that does not affect the present question. But he tells us that the woodcuts were obtained by Mr. Norton from Frankfort and other places, and that they were the blocks that had been used for Tabernæmontanus (1583), a Latinized addition to his Latinized name, Jacobus Theodorus. The publisher was Nicolas Basseus.

Whether the blocks were cut for Tabernæmontanus, or whether they were collected, need not here be inquired. That question is one that may interest those who are acquainted with the many *Kreuterbuchs* of that period. But that the blocks used for Tabernæmontanus

were those used by Norton for Gerard's *Herbal* there seems no doubt. Many, Johnson says, were first put in the wrong places—not necessarily through "printers' errors" (that much-abused cloak for ignorance), but through Gerard's imperfect acquaintance with so wide a range of subject as he dealt with. But they were used. The department of Botany in the Museum, officially called British Museum—Natural History, Cromwell Road, possesses a copy of the *Herbal*, in which Petiver has made MS. references to the pages of Tabernæmontanus on which the figures are given.

But there are some woodcuts in the *Herbal* which are not in Tabernæmontanus. How many? and were they from some other book, or especially cut? The writer has not troubled to go into the wider question, how many? but has confined his attention to the cut of the potato only. Mr. B. Daydon Jackson, however, in his life of Gerard, prefixed to his privately circulated reprint of the two catalogues (1596 and 1599), gives the number of cuts at about 1,800 (the writer has not counted them), and adds that the *new* cuts are sixteen. One hundred and thirty-one cuts are said to have come from Clusius or some other source.

Sprengel (*Hist. rei Herb.*, p. 466) professes to give a complete list of the new cuts in the *Herbal*; but in his list (25 in all) the potato is not included.* Taking Sprengel as an authority, the cut of the potato was not new. Here the writer believes Sprengel has made an oversight; and these are the reasons for that belief: In the first place, the index to Tabernæmontanus contains no one of the names by which the potato has been known. In the next place, among the MS. references in the *Herbal* mentioned above, there is none given with the potato, and the references throughout appear to have been made with care. The date of Tabernæmontanus makes it somewhat improbable that a cut should be given, for, though Scholz, in his *Hortus Vratislavia*, published in 1587, mentions the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) as cultivated in the garden at Breslau, it would then be a rarity, and Tabernæmontanus's book was published at 1588.

* Since writing this, I notice it is the "emended" *Herbal* (i.e., Johnson's) to which Sprengel refers. What he omits to mention is, that Johnson gave a different cut, as alluded to here on p. 150.

Then there are the following reasons for its being highly probable the cut was especially made. Gerard appears to have been very proud of his potatoes. While his sweet potatoes he had bought at the Exchange, these he had received from Virginia. He had grown some in his own garden, that garden which he had somewhere off Holborn. The attempts to decide on which side of Holborn it was do not seem very successful; it would be interesting if it could be known, but it is, perhaps, of small consequence, unless the difference of soil or of drainage down Holborn Hill had any influence on the growth of his plants, and the consequent size of the tubers. When it was he first received them he has not recorded, but in his catalogue of plants growing in his garden (1596) occurs the name *Papus orbiculatus*. In the *Herbal* (1597), in his description of *Papus*, or Virginian potato, he says, "I have received roots hereof from Virginia, otherwise called Novembeya, which grow and prosper here as in their own native country." To prevent mistakes it may be mentioned he uses the word potato alone for *Sisarum peruvianum*, or what we now call the *Batatas edulis*, or sweet potato. This is on page 780, and the woodcut is from *Tabernæmontanus*, 482. His *Papus orbiculatus* (our *Solanum tuberosum*) he distinguishes as "bastard potatoes" (p. 15 of second edition of his catalogue), or Virginian potatoes in the *Herbal*.

There is a fact which should not escape attention, that the second edition of his catalogue (1599) is dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh. In this he may have had hope of patronage; but, though he nowhere mentions it, it may be he had received his potatoes from Raleigh. He simply says, as quoted above, "I have received roots hereof from Virginia."

So proud of his potatoes, or so identified with them in some way that in his portrait, facing page 1 of the *Herbal*, he is represented holding the branch of the plant, it is highly probable he would have a special woodcut for his work. While in many cases he was describing (from Dodonæus) plants he had most likely never seen, here he was at home. Altogether the probability approaches almost to a certainty that the cut was especially made. It has not yet been found anywhere else.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it should be mentioned that in the second edition (Johnson's) there are new cuts (pp. 925, 927), both for the sweet potato and the potato, and a large tuber is given; while, very curiously, in Parkinson's *Paradisus* the cut used is taken from Bauhin's *Prodromus*, published in 1620 at Frankfort.

Then, as to the question, From what was the drawing taken? The most natural inference is that it was from a plant in his Holborn garden.

So much depends on the testimony of this cut that the importance of not drawing wrong inferences about its origin cannot be overrated. It might go far to help to clear up several questions if there were found means of deciding whether the cut itself was made in England or on the Continent. Those who are conversant with methods of work practised by wood-engravers in different countries may find, with a magnifying-glass, some peculiarity of touches that would decide the point. It seems, however, hardly safe even to speak of it definitely as a woodcut. Seguier in his *Bibliotheca Botanica*, 1740, says: "Herball with brass cuts in colours. London, by John Norton, 1597, in fol." Haller, in 1771 (tom. i., p. 389), says: "In B. Bodl. icones dicuntur æneæ esse: sed lignæ sunt undique." This is a matter that a careful examination can no doubt easily decide.

If there are any reasons for believing the cut was made on the Continent, then the inference would be that the plant from which it was taken also grew there. There is no difficulty on the score of date about this. We know that by 1587 the potato, under the name *Papas hispanorum*, was grown in a garden at Breslau; by 1588, Clusius had received tubers and seeds at Vienna, and he mentions both a hand-drawing and a cut (*picturam* and *iconem*); in 1590, Bauhin had seen "iconem suis coloribus delineatam," and had tubers in 1596. These references are possibly not all that may be found by further search. They suffice, however, to show that a drawing or a cut might have been sent from the Continent in good time for Gerard's book. Although it bears the date 1597, some of the introductory matter is dated December in that year. It is most probable it was not really issued till the

beginning of 1598. Platinius, the publisher, was a friend of both Clusius and L'Obel, and L'Obel was for a time at least helping Gerard with his book. There would be no difficulty about obtaining a drawing were it needed.

If the drawing represents a continental plant, then there would be this difficulty removed from botanists. It is recognised as a good *Solanum tuberosum*. *Tuberosum* is not now known wild in Virginia. Yet Gerard says his plants came from Virginia. Can this, then, really be taken from one of his plants? He nowhere states that it was. If the history of the cut can be worked out, the result may be that botanists need not really have to account for a plant coming from Virginia in the time of Elizabeth which is not found wild there now, for it is *solely on the evidence of this cut* that the statement has ever been made that the *Solanum tuberosum* is, or at least once was, a native of Virginia. No question in reference to it is too trivial for criticism.

A point of interest in connection with the subject is the size of the tubers represented. Why are they so small? The question is mentioned merely to keep it in mind, at this tercentenary epoch, as an unanswered one, on the chance that some one may be able to furnish suggestions. In connection with this question of the size of the tuber, attention may be drawn to a paper in the *Horticultural Society's Transactions*, by Joseph Sabine, F.R.S., vol. v. (1824), p. 249, read November 19, 1822. Mr. Alexander Caldcleugh had sent two tubers, which are figured on plate ix, p. 237. They are said to be from Valparaiso. Maglia is the native name given. The tubers were planted in pots. Six hundred tubers were the result, and it is stated that they were the size of pigeons' eggs *and smaller*. This was from a first year's growth, in somewhat rich soil.

Though this may seem rather a subject for botanists, it is not wholly so, for this question is very closely connected with the next, What is the value of the cut as regards accuracy? The one objection raised by botanists (and this the writer knows only from conversations, and not from any printed statements) is that the tubers are ridiculously small. As we now know potatoes, some of which weigh much over a pound, this objection would hold good. But,

bearing in mind the results of the Horticultural Society's growth of Maglia, it does not necessarily follow the cut is faulty, except that the roots are so large.

There is this point of interest, the meaning of which may be guessed at, and, by anyone who has studied the customs and perhaps even craft rules of woodcutters of the time, may possibly be explained and removed from the region of guess. All the blocks seem to have been of a fixed size. Whether the plant figured was small or large, there was a fixed area which could not be exceeded. There seems to have been a desire, in consequence, to twist some plants into what we now call "conventional treatment," in speaking of floral designs for occupying a space in wall-paper, panels, or carpet patterns.

Such plants as onions or hyacinths cannot readily be twisted to such treatment, and they stand in truthful miniature in the middle of the block, with a wide margin. But a vine, or convolvulus, or bryony, is "conventionalised" to fill the whole block. This can be seen in the somewhat plentiful copies of Lonicerus' *Kreuterbuch*.

An ordinary working gardener looking at Gerard's picture would no doubt fail to recognise the potato. Some of the leaves are "artistically" twisted down, and it is not unnatural to wonder whether the tubers have been "artistically" reduced in size, or the larger ones supposed to have been knocked off, and those that are drawn also "artistically" rounded and somewhat "idealized." But supposing that from an examination of the whole series of woodcuts some average estimate of accuracy were arrived at, supposing that it were admitted that German woodcutters did sacrifice accuracy to artistic effect, how far would that help us to decide the value of this particular cut, if, as is almost certain, it was specially made for the *Herbal*? Though in point of size the cut differs from others in being larger, yet the artist, whether Dutch or English, followed the style of the rest of the cuts, and a certain amount of departure from truth is perhaps to be expected.

Then there comes in this curious question. If Norton, the publisher, attached any importance to this cut as the first ever made of the potato, if he thought it good, why was it superseded by another in the Johnson

edition? Was the block lost? Just possibly Gerard may have valued it so highly that he had retained it as a relic. So much prominence is given to the tuber in the Johnson edition, that it is not unlikely that, for the especial purpose of showing the tuber, a different cut was used. But what was the source of this new cut? From some plant the result of the cultivation between 1597 and 1633? Thirty-six years of cultivation would, no doubt, have increased the size of the tubers; and it is not an unfair assumption that Gerard's figure is approximately accurate for the tubers as he knew them, and Johnson's for the tubers thirty-six years later. But then comes in this question, why, if these cuts were considered good, were they in Parkinson discarded for a cut from Bauhin? Possibly, if anything is known of Norton, who was Queen's printer, and his successors, some information may be forthcoming to throw light on these questions.

W. S. M.



Notes on Common-Field Names.

BY THE REV. J. C. ATKINSON.

PART II.—OFNAM.

THERE is another group of names which it may be better to notice separately, inasmuch as it has no very evident analogy to any of those enumerated in the list given above. I mean *Ovenham*, *Hovenham*, *le Hovenham*, *Ovenam*, *Ofnam*. It seems to have been a name in use over a considerable area. Thus it is met with in deeds connected with Ormesby, and with either Marton or Tollesby, in Cleveland; with Allerston, not far from Scarborough; with Cayton, still nearer Scarborough; with Folkton, in the same district; with Fylingdales, not far from Whitby; and so on. In all the instances specified, with one exception, the name only, in one or other of the forms given, is met with. The exception occurs in two several charters, one on F 50 b and the other on F 108, of the Museum copy of the *Rievaulx Chartulary*. These two deeds may be assumed to be not only con-

* Since this was written I find it is the same as in *Clusius Rar. Plant. Hist.*, 1601.

temporary, for the Testes are the same in either case, but also to all intents and purposes identical in purpose and effect, besides being in many parts coincident in language. The reason assigned for the existence of the second, which runs in the name of Robert, Dean of York, second of the name (who died in 1186), is that it had to be sealed with—presumably—the Dean's seal, because the grantor, Torphin de Alverstein, was without a seal, and so his charter would *per se*, as unsealed, lack validity. The purport of either is that Torfin, with the consent of his wife Matilda and his heir Alan, gives to Rievaulx a carucate of land, lying in the campus, or common-field, of Alverstein, now Allerstone. The grant is thus described in the charter: "The carucate which I gave to my wife Matilda and her heirs by me, with all its appurtenances in meadows and pastures, and in all other matters, except the tofts belonging to it, which are retained in my own hand, giving in exchange for them five acres of land in Gindale out of our *ofnams* (de *ofnamis* nostris), with twenty-six perches on the west side of the said dale for their buildings. In the tofts which we made from the outlands (fecimus de utlandis) we have given them three acres and half a perch lying in the *ofnam* itself, close to the aforesaid five acres in Gindale."

In the Dean's charter the carucate in question is described as of the dowry of the said Matilda, and is given as above stated; and then the document proceeds, "and for the tofts belonging to the said carucate they (the donors) have granted five acres in Gindale of Torphin's own *ofnam* (de *ofnam* ipsius Torphini), and twenty-six perches on the west side of the said valley for their buildings; and for the tofts which he (Torphin) made from the outlands they have given them (the monks) three acres and half a perch in the *ofnam* itself, close to the aforesaid five acres."

Collating these two forms of the grant, we note:—

1. The retention by the grantor of the tofts belonging to the carucate given, that is of the sites specially allotted for the buildings (*ædificia*) of the *villani*, or persons specially occupied in the cultivation of the said carucate.
2. The allotment, in compensation, of twenty-six perches in a different part of the

dale, for the creation of new "fronts," or "front-steads," or building-sites, if not of new tofts, as well as of five acres out of the grantor or lord's, own *ofnam*.

3. The further grant, and again out of the lord's own *ofnam*, of three acres (and a minute fraction over) adjoining the five acres already given, and apparently in compensation for certain tofts which had been formed (and so abstracted) from the outlands.

4. The outlands—"de utlandis."

It may be most convenient to notice this last head first.

The term itself, "outlands," pre-supposes a contrast or antithesis to "inlands," and this term at once suggests a reference to the state of things in Edward the Confessor's time, and before, when "the lord of the manor was a *thane* or *hlaforð*; the demesne land was the *thane's inland*, and [the rest], the land in villenage, was the *geneatland*, or the *gesettes-land*" (Seebohm, 128). The idea in this part of Cleveland, up to lately at all events, connected with the word *inland*, is that of enclosed, as in contradistinction to unenclosed, or common land; probably the idea is one of survival, connected with that of the ancient common-field. But in the documents before us the outlands (*utlanda*) can only be the lands of the vill not in demesne, but all equally held by the grantor of the capital lord of the fee, and consequently equally under his control.

But this is a conclusion which brings us back to a more precise recollection of the other matters noted above, viz., the retention, with whatever object or for whatever reason, by the donor of the tofts belonging to the carucate granted, and the compensation made for such deduction, by the grant, not only of a plot of land specially for building purposes in another part of the territory, but of eight acres in one specially distinguished part of the same territory, that is to say, the lord's *ofnam*; while the further fact that three of these acres were given in special compensation for certain tofts, newly made out of what had hitherto been land under the ordinary or regular rotation culture, accentuates the claim upon our attentive regard and consideration.

On the supposition that the carucate granted may have been subdivided into four

husband-lands of two ox-gangs each, houses and farm buildings for four *villani* would have been requisite, not allowing for possible cots or dwellings of *cotarii*. On the supposition that it was subdivided into more than four holdings—and the eight acres given in compensation favours the idea that there may have been eight—eight new building sites, with their appendages, and exclusive of cots, must have been requisite. But it must be remembered that every carucate in the vill or lordship lay under precisely the same hard and fast conditions as to subdivision, apportionment, culture, as that given to the Abbey, and that any disturbance in these conditions could only result in the same consequences as in the case of the carucate just named, which again would require to be remedied in the same way; and a case of the kind actually occurs in the arrangements noted. To obviate this, the remedy for the first or original disturbance might be, not to say would be, by assigning the compensatory lands out of a source, or tract of land, underlying different conditions to those in which all the common-fields of the lordship were involved. Such a source, or tract of land, might be found in land newly taken up, or enclosed and cultivated, out of what had hitherto been the waste or common land belonging to, and formerly part of, the vill, lordship, or manor.

That such takings up, enclosures, purpures, or by whatever other term they may be designated, were common enough, and as made alike by the lords, religious houses, or private individuals, is a matter which requires no elaborate proof. The evidences are met with in profusion in every chartulary, to mention no other class of old documents whatever.

But yet one matter remains to be noted in connection with the *ofnam* or *ofnams* concerned in the charters we have adverted to, and that is the date. From documentary evidence, notably in the *Whitby Chartulary*, and also, though less precisely, in the *Rievaulx Chartulary*, Torphin de Alverstein was dead by or before 1170, and his son Alan reigned in his stead as lord of divers manors, which were part of the fee of his father at the time the two charters above cited were drawn and ratified. The enclosures in question, then,

were of a date scarcely a century later than the Conquest itself, or sufficiently early to explain the application to them of a descriptive term older by far than the Conquest itself, but which had not yet had time to become obsolete. And that, I conceive, is the category under which the word or name, *ofnam*, *ovenam*, *hovenam*, *hovenham*, will have of necessity to be placed.

In the minutes and orders of quarter sessions held at Richmond, October 5, 1624, a re-seizure of cattle from certain bailiffs who had made an illegal seizure of the same, is described as made under a "warrant de withernam," where the *nam* is simply equivalent to taking, taking possession of, from A.-S. *nima*, to take, seize. It is the same word as in our name, *ovenam* or *ofnam*; and Bosworth gives us the verb, "*ofniman*, to take, seize." But the full force of the A.-S. preposition *of* is "*from, out of*; de, e, ex" [ib.]. And thus the clearly defined meaning of *ofnam*, as applied to an enclosure, is seen to be land taken up from or out of a larger tract hitherto unappropriated and unenclosed; in other words, a purpresture, encroachment, or inta'k, which latter word is the Cleveland word for the same to this day, involving the idea of "taking in" from the common, as *ofnam* does that of "taking out of" the same.



Precious Stones :

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

PART III.—THE DIAMOND.



THE history of the diamond is richer in detail than that of any other precious stone, for all the great stones are known by name, and their changes of ownership can be traced back to their first discovery. The Romans placed the diamond in the very highest rank as a precious stone; but as they were in the habit of wearing the crystals in their native form, this eminent position must have been given to it more on account of its scarcity than for its beauty. It is only in modern times

that the extreme brilliance of the diamond has been brought out by means of art. We do not know when it was first polished with its own dust, but the art of cutting it into a regular form, so as to bring out all possible lustre, was not practised before the year 1456, when Louis Van Berghem, a citizen of Bruges, made a revolution in the trade by the discovery of the art of diamond-cutting. In 1475 he was employed by Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, to cut three large stones—previously worn by the King in their natural state—as eight-sided crystals (*points naïves*). It was nearly two hundred years later (1650), during the supremacy of Cardinal Mazarin, that the true brilliant shape was discovered. The three forms in which diamonds are cut are the table, the rose, and the brilliant. The first two forms were long—the only ones in use; but when the brilliant cutting was introduced, they were superseded, except for inferior stones.

The diamond has sometimes been engraved upon, and there are a few historic stones with arms and initials on them. In the Paris Exhibition there was a ring with an engraved diamond, said to be by Jacopo da Frezzo. It is supposed that much of the engraving said to have been executed on diamonds was really displayed upon the white topaz or the colourless sapphire.

The diamond mines of Central India originally supplied the world with nearly all the notable diamonds; but they are now nearly superseded. The largest supply is now obtained from the Brazils, and the diamonds of Borneo are held in high repute. The mines of the Cape of Good Hope have produced a large number of stones during the last few years, but many of them have a yellow tint.

The diamond has been found in almost every colour, from the slightest tint to the most pronounced dye; and the rose-coloured diamond as far eclipses the ruby as the green does the emerald, and the blue the sapphire. A yellowish tinge is considered a great defect; but a decided colour is valued for its rarity as well as for its beauty. The famous Hope diamond is a brilliant of a beautiful sapphire blue, its weight 44½ carats, and it is valued at £30,000. A green diamond is a great rarity, and a small one

about $1\frac{1}{2}$ carats was sold a few years ago at Mr. Hancock's for £300. Mr. Streeter states in his work, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, that the actual number of diamonds over 30 carats* in weight now existing in every part of the world cannot safely be estimated at much more than one hundred, of which probably about fifty are in Europe, and the remainder in Persia, India, and Borneo. We will now proceed to note some of the most famous of these one hundred stones.

Several of the largest diamonds are still in the rough, and therefore cannot be compared with those which are cut. The *Braganza*, one of the Portuguese crownjewels, preserved in the Royal Treasury at Lisbon, is by far the largest stone professing to be a diamond. It was found in Brazil about the year 1797.† It is about the size of an ordinary hen's egg, and weighs 1,680 carats. As the Portuguese Government will not allow the stone to be examined, grave doubts have been expressed whether it is really a diamond at all.

The *Matan* is one of the largest and most esteemed diamonds in existence, although doubts have been expressed by some as to its genuineness. It was found in the Landak mines, near the west coast of Borneo, in or about the year 1787. It is uncut, and weighs 376 carats. The Sultan of Matan highly values it, and does not allow it to be seen. Strangers are shown a model of it in crystal. Tempting offers have been made to the Sultan, but he will not part with it, as he believes that the prosperity of his family depends upon it. The Dutch Governor of Batavia offered two gunboats, with stores and ammunition and 150,000 dollars, but his offer was rejected. Mr. Crawford valued the stone at £269,378.

The *Nisam*, which weighed 340 carats in the rough, is described by Barbot, who values it at £200,000; but little is known of its history.

The *Orloff* is a rose diamond now set in the top of the Russian imperial sceptre, but it had passed through many vicissitudes before arriving there. Count Orloff, who was on

his travels in 1775, bought the stone at Amsterdam from a merchant named Khojeh Raphael for £90,000 cash and an annuity of £4,000 in addition. The early history of the Orloff diamond is very confused, and those who wish to judge for themselves as to its identity with stones having other names, such as the Koh-i-Tûr, must consult Mr. Streeter's work, where the matter is fully discussed. The weight of the *Orloff* is 193 carats.

The *Darya-i-Nur*, or "Sea of Light," and the *Taj-e-Nah*, or "Crown of the Moon," are two splendid stones of 186 and 146 carats respectively, belonging to the Shah of Persia. They are described by Sir John Malcolm in his *Sketches of Persia*, who tells us that they are the principal stones in a pair of bracelets valued at near a million sterling.

The *Austrian* or *Florentine*, also called "The Grand Duke of Tuscany," is of citron-yellow hue, which makes it less valuable than it would have been had its colour been pure. It has been estimated as worth from £40,000 to £50,000. The following is the official description of the stone: "The Florentine, also called the 'Great Florentine diamond,' actually forming part of a hat-button, is known to be one of the largest diamonds in the world. It weighs $133\frac{1}{4}$ carats of Vienna, but is rather yellow. The stone is cut in nine surfaces, covered with facets forming a star with nine rays. This jewel was once the property of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who according to the custom of the day carried all his valuables in the battle-field, first to have them always in sight, and secondly on account of the mysterious power then attributed to precious stones. Charles lost this diamond at the battle of Morat, on the 22nd June, 1476. Tradition relates that it was picked up by a peasant, who took it for a piece of glass and sold it for a florin. The new owner, Bartholomew May, a citizen of Berne, sold it to the Genoese, who sold it in turn to Ludovico Moro Sforza. By the intercession of the Fuggers it came into the Medici treasury at Florence. When Francis Stephen of Lorraine exchanged this Duchy for the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, he became the owner of the 'Florentine diamond.' Through this prince, who became later on the consort of the Empress Maria Theresa,

* The weight of diamonds is calculated by grains and carats. 4 grains = 1 carat; $141\frac{1}{4}$ carats = 1 ounce troy; 5 diamond grains = 4 troy grains.

† Other dates have been given, some fifty years earlier, but this is apparently the correct one.

this diamond came into the private treasury of the Imperial House at Vienna. At the coronation of Francis Stephen as Emperor of Germany at Frankfort-on-Main, the 4th day of October, 1745, the Florentine diamond adorned the crown of the House of Austria." Mr. Streeter, who quotes this account, disputes its authenticity. He shows that it is a mistake to introduce the names of Charles the Bold and Fugger into this history. The stone that the Duke of Burgundy lost was sold by the Fuggers to Henry VIII. of England, whose daughter Mary presented it to her husband, Philip II. of Spain. The authentic history of the "Austrian" really begins with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in whose possession it was when it was examined by Tavernier.

The *Pitt*, or *Regent*, is the most perfect brilliant in existence, and is without a rival in shape and water. It weighed 410 carats in the rough, and is said to have been found in the Partael mines, in the year 1701, by a slave who ran away from his master, and offered it to a skipper. The skipper lured him on board his ship, and after throwing him overboard, sold the stone to Jamchund, the largest diamond merchant in the East, for £1,000. Jamchund offered it to Thomas Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George, for £85,000. Much negotiation was carried on between these two, and at last Pitt became possessor of the stone for £20,400. It was cut in London at a cost of £5,000, and the cutting occupied two years; but the fragments cut off were valued at between £3,000 and £4,000. Pitt seems to have found his diamond a somewhat unenviable possession, for so fearful was he of robbery that he never made known beforehand the day of his coming to town, nor slept two nights consecutively in the same house. The fame of the diamond spread over Europe, and many persons tried to obtain a sight of it; but Uffenbach, the German traveller who visited this country in 1712, found all his efforts to see it useless. Another source of uneasiness to the possessor was caused by the sinister rumours which were spread about as to the mode by which he obtained it. It seems that the crime of the skipper was attributed to Governor Pitt. The calumny took a very unpleasant form when Pope wrote, in his *Moral Essays*:

Asleep and naked as an Indian lay,
An honest factor stole a gem away:
He pledg'd it to the Knight; the Knight had wit,
So kept the diamond, and the rogue was bit.

Pitt published in 1710 a full account of the purchase in order to silence his calumniators, and this was reprinted in 1743, many years after his death. In 1717 Pitt sold his diamond to the Duc d'Orleans, Regent of France, through the intervention of Law, the financier (who received £5,000 for his trouble), for £135,000. In the inventory of the French crown jewels drawn up in the year 1791, it is valued at 12,000,000 francs, or £480,000. During the Reign of Terror the stone was stolen, but was restored in a mysterious manner. Napoleon I. found it of inestimable value to him, for after the 18th Brumaire, by pledging it to the Dutch he procured the funds that were so indispensable for the consolidation of his power. It was afterwards redeemed, and ornamented the pommel of the Emperor's sword. It was exhibited at the Paris Exhibition of 1855 amongst the crown jewellery; and it is mentioned in the report of the proceedings of the French Parliamentary Committee which has lately been considering the advisability of selling the crown jewels. This celebrated stone gave point to one of the first Lord Holland's speeches in the House of Commons. His great opponent, the first William Pitt had expressed a wish that a certain motion might be a millstone about the mover's neck to drag him to the lower regions. Pitt afterwards (when in office) adopted the plan he had before stigmatized, so Henry Fox rose and said, "I am happy the right honourable gentleman has retracted the opinion he has hitherto maintained, and I sincerely wish that what he hoped would prove a millstone about my neck may become a brilliant equal, if not superior, to that of his namesake's to grace his hat withal."

The *Star of the South* is a brilliant which was found in the mines of the province of Minas-Geraes, Brazil, in 1853, by a negress, who obtained her freedom and a small annuity. Her master sold it for the ridiculously small sum of £3,000. It subsequently changed owners several times, and at last was sold to the ex-Gaikwar of Baroda for eight lakhs of rupees, or £80,000.

The *Koh-i-Nûr*, or "Mountain of Light," was the talisman of India for many centuries. According to Hindu legend it was worn by Karna, King of Anga, and one of the warriors who were slain in the great war which is the subject of the Sanscrit epic *Mahabharata*. The Emperor Baber records the fact of this diamond having been taken at Agra, by Humayun, in May, 1526; and when Tavernier visited the Court of the Great Mogul, it was in the possession of Aurungzebe, who treated it with the greatest solemnity. According to tradition, Mohammed Shah, the great grandson of Aurungzebe, wore the *Koh-i-Nûr* in front of his turban at his interview with his Conqueror Nadir Shah, when the latter monarch insisted upon exchanging turbans in proof of his regard. It was Nadir Shah who gave to this famous stone the name by which it is still known. Mr. Streeter calls this stone pre-eminently the great diamond of history and romance, and Professor Maskelyne writes: "History seems never to have lost sight of this stone of fate, from the days when Ala-ed-din took it from the Rajah of Malwa, five centuries and a half ago, to the day when it became a crown jewel of England."

On the annexation of the Punjab, in 1850, by the British Government, it was stipulated that the *Koh-i-Nûr* should be presented to the Queen. After being exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851, the Queen and the Prince Consort decided that it should be recut, and Mr. Voorsanger, of Mr. Coster's establishment, Amsterdam, undertook the task. The operation cost £8,000, and the result, from various causes, has not been considered very satisfactory. It has been frequently asserted that the *Koh-i-Nûr* and the *Great Mogul* were one and the same stone, but Mr. Streeter very vigorously repudiates this view. It is, however, a very curious fact that nothing is known of the history of the *Great Mogul* since the time it was seen by Tavernier in 1665. To get over the difficulty which this blank presents, Mr. Streeter supposes that the stone has ceased to exist in its complete state. He writes: "It was probably stolen either at the sack of Delhi, or at the death of Nadir Shah, and then, in order to escape detection, its possessors had it broken by cleavage into two or more stones."

The *Shah* is a table-cut diamond of the finest water, which appears to have formed part of the Persian regalia from very early times. It has two peculiarities: one is, that it is so pure throughout that the cutter was able to leave several of the natural facets untouched, and only nine carats were lost in the process of cutting; and the other, that it is engraved with the names of three Persian rulers, viz., Akbar Shah, Nisim Shah, and Fat'h Ali Shah. The last of these potentates was the nephew of Aga Mohammed, and succeeded him in 1797. In 1847 this diamond was presented to Nicholas I., Emperor of Russia, by Prince Chosroes, youngest son of Abbas Mirza, who visited St. Petersburg in that year.

The *Nassak* has an eventful history, and is one of the few large stones that have been put up to public auction. It formerly belonged to the shrine of Shiva, the presiding genius of the town of Nassak, on the Upper Godavery. It was captured by the Marquis of Hastings from the Peishwar of the Maharrattas, and presented to the East India Company, but was ultimately given up, and formed part of the booty, being valued at £30,000. It was in London in 1818, and was soon afterwards sold to Rundell and Bridge, who had it recut. The original Indian cutting was very bad, and the recutting, which was performed at but a small sacrifice in weight, transformed the diamond into a stone of considerable brilliancy. At the sale of Messrs. Rundell and Bridge's stock, in 1831, the *Nassak* was sold to Emanuel Brothers, for the small sum of £7,200. In 1837 it was again sold by auction, when it was purchased by the Marquis of Westminster.

The *Pigott* takes its name from Mr. (afterwards Lord) Pigott, Governor of Madras, who is supposed to have received it either from the Rajah of Tanjore or the Nabob of Arcot. Lord Pigott died in 1777, and some few years afterwards this stone was disposed of in a lottery for £30,000. It then came into the hands of Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, for a much lower price. They sold it to Ali Pasha for £30,000, who, when he was mortally wounded by Reshid Pasha, ordered an attendant to crush it to powder. Thus was destroyed one of the finest of historical diamonds.

The *Sancy* is a renowned stone, with a long but somewhat confused history. Although Mr. Streeter calls it the very sphinx of diamonds, he has done much to clear up the mystery. It has been supposed by most writers that this stone was worn by Charles the Bold of Burgundy when he was killed at the battle of Nancy; but it is really this erroneous supposition that has so thoroughly confused the history. The stone makes its first appearance about the year 1570, when it was purchased in the East, for a large sum, by Nicholas Harlai, Seigneur de Sancy, who was French Ambassador at the Ottoman Court. Some stories say that this diamond was in the possession of Henri III., and subsequently of Henri IV. of France; but if so, it was only lent to them by Sancy, for it still belonged to him when he was appointed Ambassador to the Court of England by Henri IV. During the time he was in this country he would seem to have sold the stone to Queen Elizabeth; and a most important link in the history of this famous diamond has been discovered by Mr. Streeter in the *Inventory of the Jewels in the Tower of London*, March 22, 1605, where the "Mirror of Great Britain," a famous crown jewel, composed soon after the accession of James I., is described as follows: "A greate and ryche jewell of golde, called the 'Myrror of Greate Brytayne,' conteyninge one verie fayre table dyamonde, one verie fayre table rubye, twoe other lardge dyamondes, cut lozengewyse, the one of them called the 'Stone of the letter H of Scotlande,' garnyshed wythe smalle dyamondes, twoe rounde perles, fixed, and one fayre dyamonde, cutt in fawcettis, bought of SAUNCEY."* M. de Sancy died in 1627, and a few years afterwards we find the stone in the possession of the exiled Henrietta Maria, and still called by his name. It was set in a ruby necklace when the Queen presented it to Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester. Robert de Berquem mentions this diamond in his *Merveilles des Indes* (1669), and describes it as in the possession of the Queen of England; but he could not have seen it, because, although he describes it correctly enough as "almond-shaped, cut in facets, perfectly white and fine," he adds that it weighed 100 carats, which is nearly double

* *Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer*, vol. ii., p. 305.

the correct weight. We know that it subsequently came into the possession of James II., for he sold it to Louis XIV. for 625,000 francs, or £25,000. In the *Inventory of the French Crown Jewels*, of 1791, it is valued at 1,000,000 francs, or £40,000. It was lost to the nation in the great robbery of September, 1792, at the Garde Meuble, when the Regent diamond also disappeared. We lose sight of the Sancy until about the year 1828, when it was bought by the Demidoff family from a French merchant. In February, 1865, it was sold by the Demidoffs to Messrs. Garrard (who acted for Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, of Bombay), for £20,000. Mr. Streeter says it did not remain long in India, for in 1867 it was exhibited in MM. Bapst's glass case, at the Paris Exhibition. When the Prince of Wales made his tour in India, the Maharaja of Puttiala wore the Sancy diamond in his turban at the Grand Durbar. Since then the Maharaja has died, and the diamond is now again for sale. With the Sancy we conclude our notices of the chief historical diamonds, but may add a few particulars of some large diamonds that have been discovered within the last few years. One of the finest of these is the Brazilian stone formerly belonging to Mr. E. Dresden, which Mr. Streeter calls the "English Dresden." It was discovered about the year 1857 in the Bagagem district, from whence the Star of the South also came. This stone was bought by a Bombay merchant for £40,000, on whose death it was sold to the Gaikwar of Baroda for the same sum. The following table of the diamonds mentioned above may be useful:

LIST OF FAMOUS DIAMONDS.

Name.	Where from.	Weight after cutting. Carats.	Weight in rough. Carats.
Braganza.	Brazil.		1,680
Matan.	Borneo.		367
Nizam.	India.		340
Orloff.	India.	193	
Darya-i-Nûr, or "Sea of Light."	India.	186	
Taj-e-Mah, or "Crown of the Moon."	India.	146	
Austrian or Florentine.	India.	139½	
Pitt or Regent.	India.	136½	410
Star of the South.	Brazil.	124½	254½
Koh-i-Nûr, or "Mountain of Light."	India.	106	
"Indian cut.		186	
Shah.	India.	86	95

Name.	Where from.	Weight after cutting. Carats.	Weight in rough. Carats.
Pigott.	India.	82½	
Nassak.	India.	78½	
„ Indian cut.	„	89½	
English Dresden.	Brazil.	76½	119½
Great Sancy.	India.	54	

We have not as yet made any mention of the remarkable stones (mostly with a light yellow tinge) which have been found within the last few years in the Diamond Fields of South Africa. The chief of these are: The remarkable white diamond, weighing 457 carats, which arrived from Griqualand in August, 1884. It was purchased by a syndicate of London and Paris diamond merchants, who despatched it to Amsterdam to be cut. It now weighs 230 carats; but it is intended to reduce it to something under 200 carats, when it is expected to be one of the most wonderful brilliants on record. The Stewart, weighing 288½ carats, in the rough; the Porter Rhodes, 150 carats (rough); Du Toit I., 244 carats (rough); Du Toit II., 124 carats (rough); the Jagersfontein, 209½ carats (rough); the Tennant, 112 carats (rough), 66 (cut as brilliant); and the Dudley, or "Star of South Africa," 83½ (rough), 46½ (cut). The discovery of so large a number of fine stones in the short period during which the South African mines have been worked is quite unexampled in the history of diamond discovery, and those who desire to know the history of these stones should consult Mr. Streeter's valuable work, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, to which we have already frequently referred. The late Professor Tennant, who always exhibited a great interest in the African mines, made a very interesting report respecting the Cape diamonds, before the Geological Section of the British Association, in September, 1875. He said that the late Mr. Mawe, who wrote on diamonds, and described their mode of occurrence, in his *Travels in Brasil* (London, 1812), told him of the probability of their existence in South Africa, and affirmed that if people only knew them in their natural state they must be found. Mawe died in 1829, and Mr. Tennant took every opportunity of making the subject known; but it was not until March, 1867, that the first Cape diamond was found.

Quaint Conceits in Pottery.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F.S.A., ETC.

IV.—"BELLARMINES," OR "GREYBEARDS."



HE "Bellarmine," to which I made passing allusion in my last chapter, is one of the many varieties of liquor-holding vessels in use by our ancestors and known as "Drinking Stone Pottes," "Ale Pottes," or "Cologne Pottes," and for the making of which in England, among others, a patent was granted in 1626 to "Thomas Rous als Rius and Abraham Culy," the patent being "for the Sole Making of the Stone Potte, Stone Jugge, and Stone Bottelle within our Dominions for the tearme of fowerteene yeares." Among other English makers later on was John Dwight, of Fulham, who, in 1671, had a patent granted to him by Charles II., the preamble of which states that he had discovered "The Mystery of Transparent Earthenware, commonly knowne by the Names of Porcelaine or China, and Persian Ware, as also the Misterie of the Stone Ware vulgarly called Cologne Ware; and that he designed to introduce a Manufacture of the said Wares into our Kingdome of England, where they have not hitherto bene wrought or made;" and who again, fourteen years later, received a new patent for "Severall New Manufactures of Earthenware, called by the names of White Gorges, Marbled Porcellane Vessels, Statues, and Figures, and Fine Stone Gorges and Vessels, never before made in England or elsewhere; and also discovered the Mystery of Transparent Porcellane, and Opacous, Redd, and Darke-coloured Porcellane or China and Persian Wares, and the Mystery of the Cologne or Stone Wares." Thus Bellarmines and "Ale Pottes" and such-like vessels, which previously had been imported from abroad, became a staple branch of manufacture in our own country.

The *Bellarmines*, otherwise known as *Greybeards* or *Longbeards*, are, as the engraving will show, of bottle form, and made of the hard stoneware known as Cologne ware. In some instances they have a handle at the back of the neck, and usually an ornament in front. The neck is narrow, and

the lower part, or "belly," as it is technically and correctly called, very wide and protuberant. They were of various sizes, each having its special designation; thus, the *Gallonier* was capable of containing a gallon of liquor, the *Pottle Pot* two quarts, the *Pot* a quart, and the *Little Pot* a pint. They were in very general use in the "ale-houses" of the period, and being very strong were not easily broken.

These curious vessels took their name, derisively, from Cardinal Bellarmine, who died in 1621. "The Cardinal having, by his determined and bigoted opposition to the reformed religion, made himself obnoxious in the Low Countries, became naturally an object of derision and contempt with the Protestants,



FIG. 1.

who, among other modes of showing their detestation of the man, seized on the potter's art to exhibit his short stature, his hard features, and his bloated and rotund figure, to become the jest of the ale-house and the by-word of the people." Usually the Bellarmine has, at the top of the neck, a more or less rudely modelled human head with long beard; and in front, on the belly, usually in an oval tablet, either a shield with armorial bearings, or some other device. The two first engraved show these kind of ornaments (Fig. 1); the next is somewhat different, and has a central encircling band between circular tablets and foliage, as well as the characteristic bearded full-face head (Fig. 2). Another example, engraved in the *British Archaeological Journal*, has rudely formed arms. It was found in Cateaton Street, London.

Allusions to the Bellarmine under its various names are often met with in our old writers. In the curious play of *Epsom Wells*, for instance, one of the characters, while busy with ale, says: "Uds bud, my head begins to turn round; but let's into the house. 'Tis dark. We'll have one Bellarmine there, and then Bonus nocius." Bulwer, in his *Artificial Changeling*, 1563, says of a formal doctor that "the fashion of his beard was just, for all the world, like those upon Flemish jugs, bearing in gross the form of a broom, narrow above and broad beneath;" and Ben Jonson, in *Bartholomew Fair*, says of a drunken man: "The man with the beard [the Bellarmine of



FIG. 2.

ale] has almost struck up his heels." Again, in Cartwright's *Ordinary*, 1651, are these words:

"Thou thing,
Thy belly looks like to some strutting hill,
O'ershadowed by thy rough beard like a wood;
Or like a larger jug that some men call
A Bellarmine, but we a Conscience;
Whereon the lewder hand of Pagan workman
Over the proud ambitious head have carved
An idol large, with beard episcopal,
Making the vessel look like tyrant Eglon."

A different and somewhat comical version of the origin of these drinking vessels with protuberant bellies is given thus drolly by Ben Jonson in his *Gipsies Metamorphosed*. He says:

"Gaze upon this brave spark struck out of Flintshire upon Justice Jug's daughter, then Sheriff of the county, who, running away with a kinsman of our captain's, and her father pursuing her to the Marches, he great with justice, she great with juggling, they were both for the time turned into stone upon sight of each other here in Chester; till at last (see the wonder!) a jug of the town ale reconciling them, the memorial of both their gravities—his in beard, hers in belly—hath remained ever since preserved in picture upon the most stone jugs of the kingdom."



FIG. 3.

In another place, "O rare Ben" also says:

Whose at the best, some great round thing
Faced with a beard, that fills out to the guests.

These are but few out of very many allusions that might be quoted, but they are enough for the purpose. I cannot, however, forbear quoting a pleasantly told little story of a "sell" that is said to have been practised on a Scotch lady, Mrs. Balfour, of Denbog, about the year 1770. That lady being one day engaged on her usual half-yearly brewings, was called upon by a neighbour, Mr. Paterson, when she complained to him that she found herself short of bottles, and asked him if he could lend her any. Paterson replied

that he had no bottles he could spare just then, but added, "I think I can bring you a few greybeards that would hold a good deal. Would they do?" Yes, she said; they would do well. What day would he bring them? This being settled, and the day arrived, Paterson made his appearance and was asked, "Well, have ye brought the greybeards?" "Aye, aye," said Paterson; "they're dounstairs." "How many an ye brought?" "Nae less nor ten." "I hope they're large, for I have more ale than I thought." "I'll warrant ye ilk yan o' them'll hould twa gallons. Come and see them." Down then went Mrs. Balfour with her neighbour, and there found ten of the deepest drinkers—greybearded old lairds—of the district. She at once saw the joke, but said before filling the greybeards with ale it would be well to have some dinner, which she accordingly ordered, and it is said no bottles were wanted for extra ale.

The engraving last given (Fig. 3) is a Bellarmine of Dwight's make, of Fulham, dug up on the spot, and presented to me by the owner of the site of those historical works. It bears the royal monogram of the conjoined C's of Charles II.



Notes on the History of Crown Lands.

By S. R. BIRD, F.S.A.

PART III.

LITTLE change appears to have taken place with regard to the extent and composition of the demesne lands of the Crown during the rule of the Norman sovereigns. There being in fact no standing army to be maintained, the knight-service of the feudal system meeting all military requirements and the practice of employing mercenary troops for service abroad not being regularly introduced till a later period, the expenses of the Sovereign and his household were limited to the maintenance of the kingly state, and of a profuse hospitality to his nobles and retainers, for which the resources provided by the Crown lands were

amply sufficient. It is true that extensive alienations of those lands took place during the turbulent reign of Stephen, in order to enable that monarch to endow the new earldoms by the creation of which he sought to counterbalance the rebellious attitude of the rest of the Barons; but on the restoration of order in the following reign those earldoms were abolished, and their possessions restored to the Crown.

It was not till the royal Exchequer had been impoverished by the prodigal extravagance of the Plantagenets, and by the foreign wars in which they were continually involved; that the alienation of the King's demesnes took place to such an extent as to call for legislative interference. When, however, the Sovereign sought to replenish his exhausted finances by the imposition of new or excessive taxation, the Parliament was provided with an effective remedy in the shape of an *Act of Resumption*—the Commons frequently expressing their opinion that the King should "live upon his own, so as not to burden the State nor require any relief therefrom," and demanding that all grants made subsequent to a specified date, without the consent of Parliament, should be resumed into the King's hands, the unlucky purchaser of the royal manors, lands, and tenements (for few of the so-called "gifts and grants" were made without a very substantial consideration in hard cash, as appears by the frequent entries of such payments on the Oblata and Fine Rolls) being not only compelled to yield up their bargains, but also severely censured, and occasionally condemned to fine and imprisonment, for having instigated the Sovereign to such an immoral transaction.

It is difficult to understand how grants, the tenure of which was so very uncertain and even perilous, should have been considered worth accepting.

Acts of Resumption were of frequent occurrence during the whole of the Plantagenet period, the last Act of this kind actually passed being that of 11 Henry VII.

Amongst the Ordinances promulgated in the fifth year of Edward II., by the committee of "Ordainers," to whom had been entrusted the task of rescuing the kingdom from the "oppressions, prises, and destructions" proceeding from the bad and deceit-

ful counsel of the King's advisers, more especially of the hated Piers de Gaveston, was one to the effect that all gifts which had been made "to the damage of the King and the diminution of the Crown" since the appointment of the said commissioners, should be repealed and not be re-granted to the same persons without the common consent of Parliament; and, moreover, that if any such gifts should be hereafter given as aforesaid without the consent of the Baronage in Parliament, until the King's debts were acquitted and his state becomingly relieved, they should be void and of none effect.

In the sixth year of Henry IV. the Commons pray that, inasmuch as the Crown of the kingdom of England is greatly "emblemisez et anientisez" by the great and outrageous gifts made to divers persons, both spiritual and temporal, it may be enacted that all castles, manors, lands, seigneuries, tenements, etc., which were part of the ancient inheritance of the Crown in the fortieth year of Edward III., and which have been since granted, whether for life or for a term of years, or in fee-simple or fee-tail, may be entirely resumed, retaken, and seized into the hands of the King, and rejoined to the Crown aforesaid for ever, unless such grants have been made by the express authority of the Parliament; and that no person shall enjoy any such lands or tenements so granted since the said fortieth year of Edward III. under pain of forfeiture of such lands and of three years' imprisonment; and that no officer of the Crown shall make or put into execution any such gift or grant in time to come, on pain of losing his office, forfeiting his possessions to the King, and suffering imprisonment for the like term.

To this petition the response of the King was to the effect that, "for als much that the Communes desiren that the King should live upon his owne as gode reson asketh, and all Estates thynken the same, the King thanketh them for ther gode desire willing to put it in execution als sone as he wel may,"—and that commissioners should be forthwith appointed to ascertain what lands did belong to the Crown in the fortieth year of Edward III., and what did not, and to carry the said resolutions into effect.

By far the most important of these Acts,

however, was that of the twenty-eighth year of Henry VI., when, if we may judge from the preamble to the Act, the King was reduced to a condition of the most hopeless insolvency.

The Commons remind his Majesty that by his own high commandment it was declared and shown unto them at the last Parliament, by the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and other Lords of the Council thereto appointed, that the King was indebted in three hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds, and that his livelihood in yearly value was but five thousand. And it was furthermore declared that the expenses necessary to his Majesty's household, without all other ordinary charges, come to twenty-four thousand pounds yearly, being thus nineteen thousand pounds in excess of his annual income. And the Commons further say that although they are as well willed to the relief of his Highness as ever a people were to any King of his progenitors, yet they are so impoverished, "what by taking of vitale to your houshold, and other things in your said reume and noght paied for; and the Quinszisme by your said Communes afore this tyme so often graunted, and by the graunt of Tonnage and Poundage, and by the graunt of the Subsidie upon the Wolles, and other grauntes to your Highnesse, and for lakke of execution of justice, that your pore Communes been full nigh distroied; and if it should continue longer in such grete charge, it cowde noght in any wyse be hadde nor borne."

They therefore pray his Majesty, in consideration of the foregoing, to resume into his hands and possession all honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements, etc., granted by him since the first day of his reign—and all such manors, etc., parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster as had passed from him by grant or grants—and that all letters patent or grants made of any of the premises, or of any part thereof, shall be void and of none effect; to which petition his Majesty was graciously pleased to accede. Similar resump-tions took place in the thirteenth year of Edward IV., and the third and eleventh years of Henry VII.

To these Acts of Resumption, however, numerous exceptions were made on the behalf of specially favoured individuals, and more especially of religious foundations; and

notwithstanding the magnificent windfalls which accrued to the King by escheat and forfeiture, especially during the more turbulent and unsettled reigns, the Crown lands gradually dwindled in extent from the reign of Henry II., when they may be said to have reached their highest point, to that of William III., when but a miserable remnant of these formerly vast possessions was left.

Amongst the escheats and forfeitures by which the Crown was enriched subsequent to the reign of Henry II., may be mentioned the "Terræ Normannorum," or possessions of the Norman nobles in England, which on the separation of the duchy from the Crown of England in the reign of Henry III. were confiscated *en masse*. The followers of Simon de Montfort, who after the Battle of Evesham are significantly described by an ancient chronicler as "Exheredatos," also contributed largely to the aggrandizement of the royal possessions. By the dictum of Kenilworth, however, the rebels were permitted to redeem their lands by the payment of five years' purchase; and in the case of those who were unable to do so, the lands were probably disposed of to those persons who already had the custody of them, so that little permanent increase to the land revenue of the Crown resulted from these vast forfeitures. An acquisition of a more lasting character was the inheritance by Edward I. from Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle, of her important possessions, which included the great Lordship of Holderness, and the whole of the Isle of Wight; and on the death of Alexander III. of Scotland the extensive Honour of Penrith in Cumberland, with all the manors of which it was composed, and the Lordship of Tyndale in Northumberland devolved on the English sovereign.

The Earldom of Chester, which had been annexed to the Crown for ever by letters patent of 31 Henry III., was granted by that King to his younger son Edmund, by whom, however, it was transferred to his brother Edward, and subsequently granted by the latter to Simon de Montfort. On Montfort's death in 1265, the earldom again reverted to the Crown, in the possession of which it remained until 1301, when, together with the Principality of Wales, it was conferred by Edward I. on his son Edward of Carnarvon.

On the extinction of the Earldom of Cornwall in 1300, the revenues thereof were received by the Crown until 1307, when the earldom was re-granted to Piers de Gaveston. On his execution in 1314 the Crown again took possession, the dignity being finally granted in 1330 to John, the second son of Edward II.

The earldom again became extinct in 1336, and in 1337 the Duchy of Cornwall was created and conferred on the Earl of Chester, the eldest son of Edward III., since which date the two titles have always been vested in the heir-apparent.

The land revenue in Wales did not, as has sometimes been imagined, appertain to the Princes of Wales in right of that dignity, but formed a part of the hereditary revenue of the Crown, such lands as the Princes possessed within the Principality having been always conferred on them by some special licence or grant distinct from the patent of creation. By an inquisition taken in 50 Edward III., shortly after the death of Edward the Black Prince, it was found that the revenues thus settled on him in North and South Wales, which thereby reverted to the Crown, amounted to £4,871 12s. 5d. per annum, which, according to the comparative value of money at that time, would be equal to about £30,000 at the present day. The whole of the Crown property within the Principality may, however, be assumed to have been of much greater value than the lands thus specified, which do not include any in the counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, or Pembroke.

A peculiar species of revenue, called *Mises*, appears to have been derived from the Principality of Wales, and also from the county of Chester. These have been stated to be sums of money levied in each county on the creation of every new Prince, to whom they were granted by the people in consideration of the allowance of their ancient laws and customs. In a commission issued in the first year of Henry VII. for levying *Mises* in North Wales and Chester, they are, however, described as being due by the royal prerogative to the *Kings* of England on their accession to the throne, which is confirmed by an account of the *Mises* in North and South Wales, dated 4 James I. It seems

probable that the *Mises* due to the Crown having been in some instances granted to the Princes of Wales with other revenues in the Principality, it has thence been supposed that they were due to the Princes in their own right. The total amount of the *Mises* for North and South Wales in 4 James I. was £5,653 11s. 11d., those in Cheshire being stated to be £2,000.

Great alienations of the Crown lands in Wales took place during the reign of Charles I., and although, when the Act of 22 Charles II. was passed for the sale of the fee farm rents belonging to the Crown, those in Wales were expressly excepted, the net produce of the whole revenue of the Principality in the reign of William III. amounted to barely £1,900 per annum.

In the reign of Edward II. large accessions to the landed property of the Crown resulted from the forfeitures by the "Contrarians," or adherents of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, and in that of Richard II. by the attainders of Alexander Nevill, Archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, Michael De la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and many others; and in the reign of Henry VII. it was further enriched by the acquisition of the lands of the attainted Yorkists, and of the Earldoms of Salisbury and Warwick.

The Duchy of Lancaster, which had belonged to Henry Bolingbroke in right of his father John of Gaunt, was, on his assumption of the crown as Henry IV., confirmed to him and his heirs as a distinct possession; being very greatly enlarged in the following reign by the annexation thereto of the lands in England and Wales which descended to the King from his mother, one of the daughters and heiresses of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton.

On the attainder of Henry VI. the duchy was, however, declared to be forfeited to the Crown, and vested in the King and his heirs for ever, but under separate governance from the other inheritances of the Crown, in 1 Henry VII. an Act being passed for the resumption of such of the duchy lands as had been dismembered from it during the reign of Edward IV.

(To be continued.)

Beatrice Cenci.

BY RICHARD DAVEY.

PART III.

THE other members of the family, excepting Bernardo, are not of great interest. Some time after the death of his first wife, the Signor Francesco invited a cousin, a certain Signora Porzia Cenci, to come and live with him as housekeeper. We know very little of her, except that in 1585 she had a jewelled girdle stolen by a servant who escaped with it to Foligno. She never seems to have recovered it, although an agent of the Signor Francesco, named Gaudenzio Sartori, appears to have taken a great deal of trouble about the matter, and to have written her several apologetic letters excusing delays and non-success of mission. Lavinia Cenci was an illegitimate daughter, and must have been a favourite with her father, for to her in 1597 he makes the present of a carriage and pair of horses, as a proof "of his great love for her"—*ab sincerem amorem et benevolentiam*. She was married in 1593 to the lawyer, Simone Morea. Her dower, including 1,000 crowns left by her grandmother Beatrice Arias, amounted in all to 3,500 crowns. Two years after the marriage, Morea was convicted of an odious offence and imprisoned for eighteen months. On leaving prison a package of thirty-three pawn-tickets which had been taken from him was returned to him. Evidently the son-in-law was after the heart of the father-in-law. Both were cursed with infamous desires. This Morea is mentioned as one of the executors to the old man's will. Signor Dalbono in his work on the Cenci gives extracts from this will, and says that it affords genuine evidence that Francesco hated his womankind, "since therein is no mention made of them." This is not only an error, but a gross misstatement. The items omitted by Signor Dalbono refer to the two daughters: "I leave my daughters, Antonina and Beatrice Cenci, now at school in a convent on Monte Citorio, the sum of 18,000 crowns each, over which their husbands, if they ever marry, are to have no control. I moreover leave them the rents of the houses I possess by the Custom House,

worth 120 crowns yearly." "I leave Lavinia, my illegitimate daughter, 5,000 crowns if she marries, and 1,000 if she becomes a nun." Evidently he did not neglect the pecuniary interests of his daughters. Oddly enough his wife, Lucrezia, is not mentioned in the will; but then by Roman law she was entitled during her lifetime to a third of whatever property was left. She had three daughters by her first husband, who seem to have been pensioned off by the Signor Francesco. After the murder they were obliged to invite the aid of the Pope to assist them in recovering it and to enable them to retire into a convent, otherwise they stood "the risk of dying of starvation." They reminded the Pontiff that although "Francesco Cenci was very parsimonious, nevertheless he was well aware of their poverty; and when he took their mother from them as his wife, he determined to assist by promising to give them three thousand crowns between them, and their daily food, whereby they have hitherto been able to live decently and sustain their wretched existences." It is satisfactory to know that their petition was granted, and they entered the nunnery of Santa Caterina.

The Cencis are usually supposed to have lived in the grand and gloomy palace known by their name, and which Shelley has described in his inimitably gloomy and weird manner in the preface to his tragedy. They did live there sometimes, but Francesco often inhabited a smaller house near the Customs, or Dogana. He was murdered at Petrella, a village on the confines of the kingdom of Naples, situated on a very high mountain at the end of a deep and terrible gorge in the Abruzzi. The Castle, or Rocca, was inaccessible on three sides, but entered from the village high street, and was fortified. It is thus described in MS., dated 1642: "The Castle, or Baron's Court (Baronal Corte), stands on a mountain. It has on the ground-floor a dining-room and six chambers, and a covered courtyard, or cloister, leading to the kitchen. Underground are the prisons. Upstairs the two state-rooms, and a small saloon and two bedchambers. There is a square in front, and a largish chapel; also a fine piscina." In 1642 it was dismantled by order of the Neapolitan Government. Pompeo Colonna, the last baron, was arrested and

taken prisoner to Naples. At present, the parish priest says, "there is only a mass of ruins. The tower is down. The first-floor exists; the rest has fallen in." The Cenci did not own it. They simply hired it from Martio Colonna for the summer season of 1598, in order, we are told, to economize, and perhaps so that Francesco might have his family more under his immediate supervision.

The best plan of narrating the famous murder will be, I think, to give it in the words of the accused. I translate literally, but have tried my best to give the familiar style of the period, one in which the ladies spoke very little better than servants would nowadays. The English reader must not imagine Beatrice and her mother to have been great ladies. They belonged to a well-known and wealthy family, but lived a huggermugger life, like most of the smaller barons of the period. No doubt they were very untidy in their attire, keeping their finery, as their descendants do to this day, for the streets and great receptions.

The following is an extract from the "Confession of Lucrezia Petroni Cenci." She was, as already said, a short, plump woman, over forty, very stout, with a pale complexion, exceedingly black hair and dark eyes:

"EX CONFESSIO DOMINÆ LUCRETIAE."

Die 8 Augusti, 1599, fol. 947, vix elevata in tortura dixit.

"Let me down, for the love and passion of Christ. (Is let down.) Gentlemen, I'll tell you the whole truth. About three months before his death, the said Signor Francesco, my husband, struck Beatrice with a cowhide, because she had written against him to Rome, to her brother. Beatrice said to me she would make him repent having hit her, and she then began to talk a great deal in secret with Olimpio, sometimes on the staircase and sometimes at the window, and now and again through the keyhole of the upper room. Then, when Signor Francesco went after his two sons who ran away to Rome—Paul and Bernardo, I mean—or he slept out of the house, either at the Capuchin Convent or at Santa di Pompa, Beatrice and Olimpio used to come and sit in our room and talk by the hour with the Signora Beatrice, and I used to go to bed and leave them chatting (*chiacchie-*

rare). I began at last to think that Beatrice was plotting against her father's life, and urging Olimpio to kill him. I thought this at least fifteen days before they killed him. One day Beatrice said to me, 'I am going to kill my father.' I said, 'Oh, Beatrice, what a wicked thing to do! We shall all be hanged for it; and Signor Martio (Martio Colonna, the landlord) will never rest till we are punished for doing such a bad act in his house, which we have only hired from him.' She answered that she did not care. She was full of it (*ne era piena et haveva animo grandissimo*). When we got back to Rome, Signora Beatrice told me Olimpio had spoken to my stepson Giacomo, and he quite approved of her plan, and said to me later on, 'Let us kill him, and have done with it.' I said, 'Well, do not kill him on the 8th of September, for that is the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and she might perform some great miracle and kill us all whilst we are about it.' With this Olimpio and Martio agreed, and said they would wait until the 9th. After supper on this fatal night—it was a Wednesday—I left my husband, and went out of the room and found Martio, Olimpio and Beatrice all talking together in the corridor. I went into Beatrice's room, and she followed me, and sat down on her bed, and began talking about the blows her father had dealt her, and that she was resolved to kill him. I did not give the Signor Francesco any opium before he went to bed. I did give him some, however, one night, but not then. I was not in the room when they killed my husband. I waited outside in my daughter's chamber. It was Beatrice who mixed me up in the matter. It was she who told me to talk about it with Martio; and I think she did so in order to inculcate me, as well as herself. (*Fu Beatrice che mi mando a parlare con Martio, et credo lo facero a posta per incolparmi ancora me.*)"

EXTRACT FROM THE CONFESSION OF
BEATRICE CENCI.

"Being tortured, endures it for a few moments, and then cries out: 'For the love of Christ let me go, and I'll tell the truth! I had my father killed because he beat me. Lucrezia knows very well that he struck her with his spurs (Lucrezia denies this), and she

was just as anxious as I was to get rid of him. I said, "We ought not to stir in the matter without the consent of our brother."—Write down this. Signora Lucrezia said to me—now that I remember it—more than once: "Let us get rid of that traitor of a father of yours. He promised to give my daughters 2,000 crowns, and now he will not do it, and they are obliged to leave the convent; and God knows where they'll go or what will become of them, because your father will not give me a penny to help them." She, Lucrezia, often urged me to kill him.—It was Lucrezia, I say, who advised me to get Olimpio to kill my father. My brother Giacomo promised Olimpio a dower for his daughter Victoria if he would help him to murder the old man. When Olimpio came back from Rome one day, and after he had seen my eldest brother, he said to me that he, Giacomo, had promised him 2,000 scudi as a dower for Victoria if he killed my father. I remember that Lucrezia said once that it would be difficult to get rid of the old man, because he had seven spirits like a cat." (An Italian version of the old saying, "Nine lives like a cat.")

Comment is needless. It is very clear that this amiable young woman did her best to spread the guilt over the entire group, and that her equally criminal stepmother and brothers did the same. It would really seem that Francesco did beat and ill-treat both the women, for Bernardo says in his evidence:

"Did your father ever beat or ill-treat either your sister or her mother?"

BERNARDO: "Yes, sir; my father beat Beatrice very hard because she wrote to our uncle, Marcello Santa Croce, complaining of ill-treatment. The letter begged that Signor Marcellò and other friends should come to the rescue, and take our sister from my father, for she would not stay with him any more."

BEATRICE (Evidence on January 15, 1599, fol. 92): "I declare that it is not true that my father ever beat me, or that he broke my middle finger of the left hand." (Holding it up, showed that it was naturally deformed.)

LUCRETIA: "No, my husband never ill-treated me. We sometimes had *disgusti*—rows—as husband and wife naturally have, but nothing serious. He always treated me well."

Notwithstanding these contradictions, pos-

sibly suggested by the lawyers, there is no doubt but that Signor Francesco did ill-treat both of the women, for two good reasons. In the first place, he suspected that they intended killing him; and in the second, he strongly objected to the intimacy which existed between his daughter and Olimpio.

The evidence of the parish priest, which was taken on January 30th, 1599, is important, since it also confirms the report that the murder was committed out of revenge for cruelties inflicted upon Beatrice and her stepmother.

REV. DON MARZIO THOMASIO (Rector of Petrella): "The body of Francesco Cenci was buried by me in our parish church. My colleagues, Rev. Fathers Francis and Dominico Canonici, and myself received the body at the Castle, where we found it left where it had fallen or been thrown—that is, beneath a sycamore-tree in the garden under the terrace. I got Philip Evangelista, Pasquale di Giordano, and another man to lift and bring the said corpse round to the front-door, and there we washed the blood off the face and neck, and dressed it decently, in order to put it in the coffin. I noticed three wounds of great depth—two in the temples and one at the back of the neck; but I really cannot say whether they were caused by accident or done on purpose. The women came round and made a terrible noise and such ado, that I got confused; so that I could not see whether there were any pieces of wood or steel still sticking in the wounds. We buried the body that night. Soon after I heard it rumoured that he had been murdered by Olimpio Calvetti and Matteo or Martio Catalano. They told me they had killed him and thrown him over the terrace where it was ruined and unsafe, to make believe he had fallen down in the dark whilst going to the *cabinetto*."

TULIO (a servant): "It was said all over the neighbourhood, even as far as Siculi and Poggio, that the Signor Francesco was murdered, with his women's consent, by Olimpio and Martio."

CÆSAR CENCI (a cousin): "A peasant brought me in Rome a letter from Beatrice, telling me of her father's death. This peasant said the body was quite warm when he left Petrella."

The PARISH PRIEST: "Everybody said that if he was murdered, it was because he treated his two women so badly, and kept them such close prisoners in the Castle."

PLAUTILLA (wife of Olimpio): "Please, sirs, I am the wife of Olimpio, who is accused of this deed. The Signora Lucrezia sent for me three days after her husband's death, and told me not to be afraid, for my husband had had nothing to do with it; and that it was Martio who flung him over the terrace. I knew the contrary, and that she only said this to tranquillize me. I then went to the Signora Beatrice, and implored her to tell me the truth. She repeated exactly what her mother had said."

MARTIO: "I was once put in prison by the Signor Francesco, and this is why. I took a letter about a year ago to Rome, from the Signora Beatrice to her brother Giacomo, in which she entreated him to help her, for she could not stay with her father, and preferred even to enter a cloister. Her father, she said, treated her unkindly. This letter was shown to Signor Paolo Santa Croce, her uncle, and when I got back to Petrella he had written about it to Signor Francesco, who was furious with me for taking letters from his daughter to Rome, and thereupon threw me into prison for two days."

LELIO: "The cause of the murder, I always was given to understand, was that the Signor Francesco beat his daughter Beatrice and his wife Lucrezia."

GEORGIO (another servant): "When my mistress called me on the morning after Signor Francesco died, I felt sure they had got rid of him at last, because I know he had recently struck the Signora Lucrezia with a cowhide, which he always kept hung up in his room."

PLAUTILLA: "The Signor Francesco went twice to Rome. The first time he allowed the women to go about freely; but the second time he shut them both up, and they could only get their food given them through a pane in the window. Santo (a servant) used to feed them, and he kept the key. The aforesaid ladies made a great outcry about this treatment, and one day managed to get out. 'Lock yourself up in there if you like,' said they to Santo, 'but we go in no more.'

So after that he used to let them go about where they liked, and only locked them up at night, in case the Signor Francesco might come home unexpectedly."

BERNARDO: "I know my father was furious with Beatrice for writing to my maternal uncle, Santa Croce, and that he beat her for it."

This is all the evidence concerning the cause of the murder. In it there is not one word about that unnamable outrage of which the poets have spoken. Cruelty, yes; but not incest.

(To be continued.)



Glimpses of Old London, from Scarce Tracts, Poems, and Satires.

By G. L. GOMME, F.S.A.

PART II.—CITIZEN PLEASURE FIELDS AND SPORTING GROUND.



IT is no doubt difficult to imagine London encircled by a wall, and surrounded by green fields, pastures, and agricultural lands. And yet such was the case to within quite historical times.

FitzStephen, as early as the reign of Henry II., gives an account of the general agricultural aspect of London citizenship. Everywhere, he says, without the houses of the suburbs, the citizens have gardens extensive and beautiful, and one joining to the other (*contiguë*). Then he describes the arable lands of the citizens as bringing plentiful corn, and being like the rich fields of Asia. And then come the pastures. On the north side there are pasture fields, and pleasant meadows intersected by streams, the waters of which turn the wheels of mills with delightful sounds. Very near lies a large forest in which are wild beasts, bucks and does, wild boars, and bulls.* Now, such a description as this, coming from a Norman chronicler at a time when Roman and Teuton had both become Londoners, and when London was the capital of the nation, tells a

* *Liber Custumarum*, vol. i., p. 4.

great deal more than the meagre words of the Latin narrative. It must be noted that the citizens owned all these lands—garden grounds, arable lands, and pasture. The citizens then were agriculturists. The gardens were contiguous, and the pasture and forest were in common. This much we do know; and by analogy we may conclude that such a state of things shows a remarkable parallel to the constitution of other English municipal towns.

The very name of Long Acre, preserved in modern street nomenclature, tells its tale of old times. It was one of the long narrow strips of arable into which the lands of the citizen community were divided. Such strips, possessing exactly the same name, "Long Acre," exist in many parts of the country as portions of the village community, as it survives in England to this day, and we cannot disassociate the London "Long Acre" from the same set of facts. When once we can grasp the conception, and Fitz-Stephen enables us to do so, that London was once agricultural London—that her citizens depended upon their garden ground, arable lands, and pastures for much of the means of existence—we may realize how vast is the difference between the old life and the modern life of London citizenship.

What, then, has become of the garden ground, arable lands, and pastures of London citizenship? Some of it became corporate property, and remains so to this day; the city still owning their conduit mead estate in Marylebone, which was once citizen meadow land, lying by the conduit which supplied water to the city. But this last outlying relic of old citizen land does not tell us of the alienations which have taken place during these last eight hundred years. Just let us turn, for instance, to the *Liber Albus*,* and study that most instructive list of grants and agreements made by the city. "Concessio majoris et communis" is the formula. And the mayor and community grant extra-mural property away with a free hand—"de domo vocata Bedlem extra Bysshopigate, de domo extra Newgate de quadam domo extra Crepulgate." And besides these there are such instructive documents as "Memorandum de quadam Placea terræ extra

* Vol. i., p. 552.

Crepulgate capta in manum Civitatis."* I cannot conceive a more instructive piece of work than a map of the city property, restored from the archives and documents of the city, to show the possessions of the earliest times.

Stow gives us some information about the enclosure of lands in his day. At Houndsditch, he says, "was a fair field," which, "as all other about the city, was inclosed, reserving open passage thereinto for such as were disposed." Again, he says, "And now concerning the inclosure of common grounds about this city whereof I mind not much to argue, Edward Hall setteth down a note of his time, to wit, in the 5th or 6th of Henry VIII. Before this time, saith he, the inhabitants of the town about London, as Iseldon, Hoxton, Shoreditch and others, had so inclosed the common fields with hedges and ditches, that neither the young men of the city might shoot, nor the ancient persons walk for their pleasures in those fields; but that either their bows and arrows were taken away or broken, or the honest persons arrested or indicted, saying that no Londoner ought to go out of the city, but in the highways. This saying so grieved the Londoners, that suddenly this year a great number of the city assembled themselves in a morning, and a turner in a fool's coat came crying through the city, 'Shovels and spades!—shovels and spades!' So many of the people followed, that it was a wonder to behold; and within a short space all the hedges about the city were cast down, and the ditches filled up and everything made plain, such was the diligence of these workmen."

This is an instructive and interesting account of old life in London. Not all the citizen land was allowed to be enclosed. Some of it remained citizen land, changing its uses as the circumstances of the time changed. Thus Finsbury Field† and Smithfield were used for games and sports, as open lands outside the city, long after their original purpose had been forgotten.

* In the *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London* we read how Henry III., in 1165, came to London and took all the foreign lands of the citizens into his hands, foreign lands being those without the liberties of the city (see p. 83).

† See *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, p. 174, for an account of how nearly this was lost to the citizens in 1173.

One or two further instances of the usages of the citizens outside the city boundaries may perhaps be useful. According to the *Chronicles of the Mayor of London*, in 1232 the citizens of London mustered in arms at the Mile End, and were arrayed in the London Chepe. And it is well known Mile End long continued to be the place where the citizens mustered their train-bands. On the western side of London, also, there is some indication of an ancient municipal jurisdiction extending far beyond the city wall, for in 1257, as recorded in the chronicle above quoted, "Upon the King approaching Westminster the mayor and citizens went forth to salute him, *as the usage is*, as far as Kniwtebrigge." On the north, too, we have similar evidence. When James I. entered London in 1603, he was met by the Lord Mayor; and the description of his progress by a contemporary writer—John Savile—is very curious. The following is a passage: "After his Majestie was come from Kingsland, there begun a division amongst the people which way his Highnesse would take when he came at Islington, but in fine he came *the higher way*, by the West end of the Church; which streete hath euer since been, and I gesse ever wilbe, called *King's-street*, by the inhabitants of the same. When his Highnes had passed Islington, and another place called *New-rents*, and entered into a close called *Wood's-close*, by a way that was cut of purpose through the banck, for his Majestie's more convenient passage into the Charter-house-garden, the people that were there assembled, I compare to nothing more conveniently then to imagine euery grasse to have been metamorphosed into a man."

But the fact is, London seems to have exercised jurisdiction over the whole of the county of Middlesex, and in one particular it is thought to carry us back to very early days. Henry I. granted a charter confirming to the city of London the county of Middlesex in fee farm. Such a grant as this points to much more than a King's favour, even if we take into account Henry's peculiar position. There is evidence of ancient rights claimed by the citizens, "and the citizens of London may have their chaces to hunt *as well and fully as their ancestors have had*." Mr. Green places these ancient rights far back in the past.

"Middlesex," he says, "possibly represents a district which depended on London in this earlier [*i.e.* 500-577] as it certainly did in a later time; and the privileges of the chase which its citizens enjoyed throughout the Middle Ages in the woodland that covered the heights of Hampstead, and along the southern bank of the river as far as the Cray, may have been drawn from the rights of the Roman burghers."

This historical evidence of the interest of Londoners in ancient days in the land surrounding their walled city is in more ways than one most instructive to the modern inquirer. The great era of encroachment was not in the days noted above, when the citizens took the matter into their own hands, but in later times, when citizens transgressed and the Crown tried to stem the tide of growing bricks and mortar.

Everyone knows the mad attempt of Queen Elizabeth to restrict the building of houses beyond the area to which it had reached in her days; and her successors on the throne followed her policy, but equally without avail. The Act of Elizabeth passed in 1580, but that it failed of its purpose there can be little doubt, for on the 22nd of June, 1602, another proclamation was issued, with more stringent provisions. It directs that houses built in defiance of previous Acts and proclamations should be pulled down, and the timber given to the poor of the parish in which the offence was committed. All shops and sheds built in the seven years past are to be pulled down, and tenements divided into several habitations are to have their inmates turned out, and offenders to be made answerable to the Star Chamber. This was one of the last Acts of Elizabeth's reign, but her successor, King James, on July 11, the following year, issued a proclamation to the same effect. It was a season of infection, and it complains that one of the "chiefest occasions of the great plague and mortality" was caused by "idle, indigent, and dissolute persons," and the "pestering of them in small and strait rooms." Like all the others, this proclamation appears to have been ineffectual, for only four years afterwards, on October 12, 1607, another appeared, declaring emphatically that unless by special license "there shalbe *no more new buildings* in or neere the sayde city of London." It is

remarkable, however, that "two miles of the citie gates" is the limit specified, which is one mile less than in previous edicts; the other provisions are much the same as those which formerly appeared. The value of this authoritative declaration is shown in another proclamation, dated July 25, 1608, complaining of the evasions through the "neglect of officers and justices," and the "covetous desire of gain." Seven years now pass over before we hear any more attempts by authority to arrest the inevitable law of progress. But in 1615 a proclamation, dated July 16, appeared, which in its composition is remarkable, and was doubtless by the hand of James himself. It says, "Our citie of London is become the greatest, or next the greatest citie of the Christian world; it is more than time that there be an utter cessation of further new buildings." "This," it says, "shalbe the furthest and utmost period and end of them." It commends the recent paving of Smithfield, bringing the new stream into the west part of the city and suburbs, the pesthouse, Sutton's hospital, Britaine's Burse, the re-edifying of Aldgate, Hicks' Hall, etc., but it speaks in great determination of putting a stop to further increase, and no one is to expect licenses again. Exactly fifteen years now pass away in silence, when we find Charles I., on July 16, 1630, issuing a proclamation to the same intent as those that went before it. Even under the Protectorate they did not cease to endeavour to repress, by the same vain and ineffectual efforts, the expanse of the city into the green fields beyond it.*

We can now pass on to some of the details of this phase of old London life, and then we see the citizens pouring forth from the gates into the fields beyond. In a poem written circa 1576, entitled *A warning to London by the fall of Antwerp*,† by Rafe Norris, we see by one of the allusions that the walls of London were looked upon as important elements in the city's safety—

Keep sure thy trench, prepare thy shot.

And again—

Erect your walles, give out your charge.

Londoners made the fields beyond the walls their constant place of resort. A ballad, *temp.*

* See *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1858, p. 377.

† This is taken by the Percy Society, vol. i.

Elizabeth, published by the Percy Society (vol. i.), and entitled *A proper new balade expressing the fames concerning a warning to all London dames*, by Stephen Peell, says:

And oft when you goe, fayre dames, on a rowe
In to the feedles so greene,
You sit and vewe the beautifull hewe
Of flowres that there be scene.

A little later they journeyed out further, and a tract by Ward in the British Museum gives us, both by its title and its contents, a curious picture of the times in 1699.* It is entitled *A Walk to Islington, with a description of New Tunbridge Wells and Sadler's Music house* (London, 1699). That Islington was very famous as a resort for Londoners is to be gathered from the fact that the Pied Bull Inn there was supposed to have been Sir Walter Raleigh's country-house, and the first place in England where tobacco was smoked. A few verses of this curious tract may be quoted, though we fear that many readers of the *Antiquary* would not care to see all of it printed in these pages:

In holiday time, when ladies of London
Walk out with their spouses or think themselves
undone;

* * * * *
Then I, like my neighbours, to sweeten my life,
Took a walk in the fields.

* * * * *
We sauntered about near the New River head,
* * * * *

We rambled about till we came to a gate
Where abundance of rabble peep'd in at a gate
To gaze at the ladies amidst of their revels,
As fine all as angels, but wicked as devils.

* * * * *
We entred the walks to the rest of the sinners,
Where lime-trees were placed at regular distance,
And scrapers were giving their wofull assistance;
Where bawds with their jilts, and good wives with
their daughters
Were met to intrigue and to tippie the waters.

* * * * *
Some citizens, too, one might easily know
By his formally handing his "Whither d'ye go?"
For in the old order you're certain to find 'em
Advance, with their tallow-fac'd daughters behind 'em.

The fast women are then described, and the writer proceeds:

The sparks that attended to make up the show
Were various, but first we'll begin with the beau,

* Pepys records, in 1661, walking in "Graves-Inn-Walks, and thence to Islington, and there eate and drank at the house my father and we were wont of old to go to."

Whose wig was so bushy, so long, and so fair,
The best part of man was quite covered with hair;
That he looked (as a body may modestly speak it)
Like a calf, with bald face, peeping out of a thicket;
His locks drudg his coat, which such filthiness har-
bour,

Tho' made of black cloth, 'tis as white as a barber;
His sword, I may say, to my best of belief
Was as long as a spit for a sir-loin of beef,
Being graced with a ribbon of scarlet or blue,
That hung from the hilt to the heel of his shoe;
His gate is a strut which he learns from the stage.*

The author of this curious tract then goes on to describe the company to be met, and he does not give a very flattering account of it. Finally:

When pretty well tired with seeing each novice
Bow down to his idol as if sh' was a goddess,
We walk'd by an outhouse we found had been made
For raffling and lott'ries and such sort of trade,
And, casting an eye into one of the sheds,
Saw a parcel of grave paralitical heads
Sit sipping of coffee and poring on paper,
And some smoaking silently round a wax taper;
Whilst others at gammon, grown peevish with age,
Were wrangling for pen'worths of tea made of sage.
In a hovel adjoining, a cunning sly fox
Stood shov'ling of money down into a box;
Who by an old project was picking the pockets
Of fools in huge wigs and of jilts in gold lockets;
Who're strangely bewitch'd to this national evil,
Tho' th' odds that's against 'em would cozen the devil.

The Board ev'ry time, I observed, was a winner.

The tract then describes the dancing-place, and at last leads us away to Sadler's Wells, where—

We entered the house, were conducted upstairs,
Where lovers o'er cheesecakes were seated by pairs;
The organ and fiddles were scraping and humming,
The guests for more ale on the tables were drumming,
And poor Tom, amaz'd, crying, "Coming, sir, coming."

The remainder of the description given in this curious tract is full of interest, though too long to quote now. From such sources as these can be gained a true picture of London life in the past.

A curious legend about Moorfields and its

* So late as 1736 Islington waters were recommended. A letter, dated April 21, of that year, printed in the fifth report of the Historical MSS. Commission, says: "Dr. Crowe thinks that if you could abide cold bathing it would go a great way in your cure. He has also a great opinion of Islington waters for your case." In 1755 was printed a curious book, entitled *Islington; or, the Humours of the New Tunbridge Wells*. They were apparently first opened about 1684, for two curious tracts are thus entitled, *A Morning's Ramble; or, Islington Wells Burlesqt*, 1684, and *An Exclamation from Tunbridge and Epsom against the new-found Wells at Islington*, 1684.

origin as citizen ground is contained in a ballad printed by the Percy Society (vol. i.). It is called *The Life and death of the two ladies of Finsbury, that gave Moorfields to the city for the maidens of London to dry cloaths*. A verse or two describes the events as follows:

And likewise when those maidens died

They gave those pleasant fields

Unto our London citizens

Which they most bravely build.

And now are made most pleasant walks

That great contentment yield

To maidens of London so fair.

Where lovingly both man and wife

May take the evening air,

And London dames, to dry their cloathes,

May hither still repair.

In Richard Johnson's *The Pleasant Walks of Moor-Fields*, 1607, we have an interesting addition to this legend. Stow, in 1599, gives some information as to the improvements going on in his time in Moorfields,* and, says Mr. Collier, "in the very words which Johnson eight or nine years afterwards repeated; but Stow did not live to witness, or at all events to record, the means resorted to by the citizens to complete what had been so well begun. Stow died on April 5, 1605, just anterior to the laying-out of the walks and making the plantations, which are the chief eulogys" of Johnson's tract.† Johnson calls Moorfields "those sweet and delightfull walks of More fields, as it seemes a garden to this city, and a pleasurable place of sweet ayres for cittizens to walke in." After relating the legend that the fields were given to the City in the time of Edward the Confessor by the daughters of Sir William Fines, he says, "these walkes beares the fashion of a crosse, equelly divided foure wayes, and likewise squared about with pleasant wals: the trees thereof makes a gallant show." There were 291 of these trees, and "many of them doe carry proper names . . . the first of them at the corner of the middle walke westward was first of all placed by Sir Leonard Hollyday, then Lord Maior . . . there standeth neere a tree called the 'two brothers,' planted by two little boys, and sonnes to a citizen here in London;" and other special names of trees

* Survey, edit. Thoms, p. 159.

† Collier's *Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature*, vol. ii.

are then curiously recorded. The dimensions of Moorfields are given as "within the walles some ten akars, which was so measured out, and by a plough made levell as it is now, a thing that never hath been seene before to goe so neere London." Stocks with "a huge chaine of yron lockt to the wall" were provided "as a punishment for those that lay any filthy thing within these fields." The general aspect of outer London is thus alluded to: "What faire summer houses, with loftie towers and turrets are here builded in these fields and in other places the suburbs of the citie, not so much for use and profite as for shewe and pleasure." Other interesting details of the planting of Moorfields are given in this curious tract; but, alas! it is to be regretted that the prognostication that "no doubt this field will be maintained, time out of minde, in as good order as it is now kept," has not been fulfilled. But here we have one instance how useful it is to refer back to these old days, in order to find out some of the lost rights of London citizenship.

These notes are, I hope, useful to those who wish to understand the social history of the past. Old ballads contain much that does not exist in chronicles or other materials for history; and in the ballads which have in this article afforded amusement for our readers I can trace, I think, the only record of the continuation of the very early connection between London and outer London.



Wearing the Hat in the Presence of the Sovereign.

THE De Courcy privilege of wearing the hat in the presence of the Sovereign having occasioned some controversy in *Notes and Queries*, the following literal translation of a grant of a similar nature, made by Henry VIII. to Robert Morgan, of Little Comberton, co. Worcester, may be interesting to the readers of *The Antiquary*.

In the De Courcy case the grant is said to have been made by King John to John de

Courcy and his descendants. In the present case the grant was made by Henry VIII. to Robert Morgan *for his life only*, and not to his heirs nor descendants; although the heirs of the Sovereign were bound to recognise the privilege during the lifetime of the grantee. It is most probable that grants of this kind made by Henry VIII. were for the lifetime of the grantee only.

A great deal has been said upon this subject, but it does not appear that any grant has been printed as evidence for the judgment of the impartial reader. The following document is interesting as illustrating the seemingly innumerable offices one was liable to be called upon to discharge in those days; from which a total exemption must have been very desirable. In what manner Robert Morgan distinguished himself to merit such "liberty" does not appear. I believe he was in some way connected with the Morgan family of Tredegar and Llantarnam, co. Monmouth; but I have not yet completed his pedigree.

The original copy of this grant is with the State Papers in the Public Record Office. It is written in abbreviated Latin, of which the following is a literal translation. I shall be happy to show a copy of the Latin record to any of your readers who may desire to see it.

"Privy Seal—Chancery, 6 Nov. 1522. No. 14-197.

"Be it remembered that on the tenth day of November in the year under written this writ was delivered to the Lord Chancellor of England at Westminster to be executed.

"Henry the Eighth by the grace of God of England and France—King—defender of the faith and Lord of Ireland to the Most Reverend Father in Christ Thomas by divine mercy of the title of St. Cecilia across the Tiber priest of the holy Roman Church Cardinal on the side of the legatee of the Apostolic see our Chancellor greeting.

"We command you that under our great seal being in your custody you cause our letters patent to be made in form following—

"The King to whom &c. greeting Know ye that we of our special grace and of our certain knowledge and mere motion have granted and by these presents grant as much as in us lieth to our beloved *Robert Morgan* gentleman otherwise called *Robert Morgan* of Little Comberton in the County of Worcester

gentleman or by whatever other name surname or addition of name or surname the said Robert may be deemed or named that he for all his life may have this liberty, namely—that he should not be put impanelled or sworn in assizes inquisitions attainds or other bonds or juries whatsoever although the same or any of them may affect us or our heirs or the pleas of the crown of us or of our heirs and although we or our heirs solely or jointly be one party. We have granted also and by these presents do grant to the said Robert that he hereafter shall not be made a Sheriff Escheator Coroner Bailiff Receiver Constable of us or of our heirs in any County or City town or borough of our kingdom of England nor Collector assessor or taxer of any tenths fifteenths or other tallages taxes or subsidies whatsoever granted or in anywise hereafter to be granted to us or our heirs by authority of parliament or otherwise or in anywise to be imposed by us or our heirs upon our liege men in our Kingdom nor Collector of any reasonable aid to make the first born son or any other son of us or our heirs a knight or to marry the first born daughter or any other daughter of us or our heirs. And that the said Robert hereafter should not be made nor elected a knight of any county nor burgess of any borough within our Realm aforesaid to come to any parliaments of us or our heirs hereafter to be summoned or held nor in anywise to be ordained assigned or become keeper of the peace or any Justice or Commissioner or assignee to preserve the peace of us or of our heirs or to enquire hear and determine concerning labourers servants artificers or of any trespasses riots or other offences contempts forfeitures or evil deeds or sewers or other things whatsoever nor Justice labourer or artificer nor any other Justice Chief Constable traveller arrayer or leader of men at arms or in any business of us or of our heirs or any other whomsoever. And that the same Robert hereafter shall not be elected or ordained or in anywise become a mayor sheriff Bailiff coroner escheator Chamberlain or other officer whatsoever in any County City town or borough nor any Bailiff officer or minister of us or our heirs within our Realm aforesaid. And that he should [not] be assigned ordained called or

compelled or in anywise straitened in any manner by us or our heirs to undertake military order or the grade state or order of sergeant at law or any office or charge above recited or to have exercise to receive or occupy in any manner any other office or charge or honour or honours nor to be a juror upon any trial array of any assize before any Justices of us or of our heirs assigned to take the assizes or other Justices whatsoever. And that he should not be put nor impanelled in any great assize within our kingdom of England between any parties whatsoever against his will although we or our heirs be one party. And further of our abundant grace we have granted to the aforesaid Robert that [if] he be elected to any offices or honour or honours aforesaid or any of the premises or any other office or charge or honour whatever, and he shall refuse to do or receive those offices honour and honours then the said Robert shall in no wise incur forfeit or lose any contempt loss penalty or forfeiture or any issues fines and redemptions [and] amercements whatsoever by reason of the omission or non-omission or reception of the same or any of the same. But that our present grant of exemption may be allowed before whatever our Justice and Barons of the Exchequer of us and our heirs and in any place or court of record throughout all our Realm aforesaid upon the safe shewing of these presents without any writ precept or command or anything else thereupon to be had or prosecuted or any proclamation to be made to the said Robert. We have granted also and by these presents grant that he henceforth *during his life* in the presence of us or our heirs or in the presence of any other or others of our Realm whomsoever at any times hereafter *be covered with his hat on his head and not take off or lay aside his hat from his head* for any reason or cause against his will or pleasure. And therefore we command firmly enjoining you all and singular and any Justices Judges Barons of our Exchequer Sheriffs Escheators Coroners Mayors reeves Bailiffs and other officers and ministers of us and our heirs whatsoever and all our lieges and faithful subjects that you do not vex disturb in anywise or aggrieve the said Robert against this our grant and against the tenor exigence or effect of these presents.

Any statute act ordinance or provision thereof to the contrary issued made or provided or any other thing cause or matter whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding.

"In witness whereof, &c. Given under our privy seal at our Castle of Hertford the sixth day of the month of November in the fourteenth year of our Reign."

G. B. M.



Reviews.

The Works of Thomas Middleton. Edited by A. H. BULLEN, B.A. Vols. iv. to viii. (London: John C. Nimmo, 1885-6.)

Messrs. Nimmo have completed the publication of Mr. Bullen's valuable edition of Middleton's works, and it forms a most handsome set. The first four volumes were reviewed in the number of the *Antiquary* for October last; the present four volumes contain some of Middleton's best work, some of his most interesting work, but also some of his worst. Of *The Wisdom of Solomon* Mr. Bullen writes: "I have read at various times much indifferent verse, and much execrable verse, but I can conscientiously state that *The Wisdom of Solomon Paraphrased* is the most damnable piece of flatness that has ever fallen in my way." We have no doubt the editor is right in his criticism; but we have not had resolution enough to read the poem. From casual inspection, it appears to be one of those things that only an editor can be expected to read. Still, it is well to be here.

The sixth volume contains three of the best plays—*The Changeling*, *The Spanish Gipsy*, and *Women beware Women*; and, strange to say, none of these were published during the author's lifetime. Of the first two, Rowley assisted in the composition, but *Women beware Women* is entirely by Middleton. *The Witch* (vol. v.) is probably the best known of Middleton's plays; but those who, not having seen it, have placed it in a high position on account of its supposed connection with *Macbeth*, will probably be much disappointed when they come to read it.

A Game of Chess (vol. vii.) is especially interesting from its intimate connection with a curious passage in English history. The play was acted in August, 1624, for nine days continuously with great applause, as it expressed the popular feeling with respect to Prince Charles's broken-off Spanish marriage; and many years afterwards this play was remembered as one of the most popular ever acted. Gondomar was indignant, and protested to the King. Secretary Conway wrote to the Lords of the Council: "His Majesty hath received information from the Spanish Ambassador of a very scandalous comedy acted publicly by the King's players, wherein they take the boldness and presumption, in a rude and dishonourable fashion, to represent on the stage the persons of his Majesty the King of Spain, the Conde de Gondomar, the Bishop of Spalatro, etc." The Lords of the Council

acted on this, and the play was suppressed. Mr. Bullen has taken especial pains in the elucidation of the difficulties in this play, and his notes are very valuable.

These eight volumes are a distinct addition to the well-edited series of our early dramatists, and they also form a set which will be an ornament to any library in which they are placed.

The Early Life of Anne Boleyn: a Critical Essay. By J. H. ROUND. (London: Elliot Stock, 1886.) 8vo., pp. vi-47.

Mr. Round is well known to our readers as a close reasoner, a skilled researcher, and a careful writer. All these qualities are exhibited in the *brochure* before us; and if he is merciless in the exposure of errors, he is so on the high and pure grounds of historical truth. A great deal has lately been written about Anne Boleyn, and Mr. Round's essay does much to clear away some of the confusion to which careless writing has brought the subject. It relates to her early history. Of her father Mr. Round has much of great importance to say, proving that his marriage with a daughter of the Howards was not so much an advantage to him as others have made out. Another point Mr. Round clears up is the date of Anne's birth. He fixes it at 1501; and if this is not quite conclusively proved, one thing is, namely, that she was the eldest of the two daughters of Sir Thomas Boleyn. Then Mr. Round takes us to the *liaison* of the King with Mary Boleyn, and gives good reason for his opinion that it took place *after* her marriage with Carey. To this influence may be traced the steady flow of honours to Sir Thomas Boleyn between 1522 and 1525; and finally, he pertinently and skilfully asks, "Is it not possible that in his selfish greed he may, when his elder daughter had lost her attraction for the King, have sought to maintain his power by the means of the charms of the other?" i.e., Mary Carey. All through this clever pamphlet are suggestive facts pointed out; and as it concludes with a quotation from Mr. Friedmann, that "the history of Henry's first divorce and of the rise and fall of Anne Boleyn has yet to be written," we would suggest that Mr. Round himself should undertake this task. No one could do it better; and it wants doing.

A true and most dreadful discourse of a woman possessed with the Devil, who in the likeness of a headlesse beare fetched her out of her bedd, and in the presence of seuen persons most straungely roullled her thorow three chambers and downe a high paire of staires on the fower and twentie of May last, 1584. At Ditchet in Somersetshire. Imprinted at London for Thomas Nelson. Edited by ERNEST G. BAKER. (Weston-super-Mare: Robbins, 1886.) 8vo., pp. ii-13.

We quite agree with the editor of this curious tract that it is in every way serviceable to reprint and bring to light these rarer tracts as evidence of the thoughts and beliefs of the people in the sixteenth century. The title explains fully the nature of the contents, and it only remains for us to say that the facsimile reprint before us is to our way of thinking a valuable addition to the library of the curious, and is likely in its turn to become as scarce and valuable as a book rarity.

Ancient Rome in 1885. By J. HENRY MIDDLETON. (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1885.) 8vo., pp. xxvi-512.

We think it is matter for considerable congratulation that the author of this important work should have been appointed Slade Professor of Art at Cambridge. Mr. Middleton's long stay in Rome, and the deep and systematic study he has given to the remains of classical workmanship there, are shown on every page of his book; and we venture to affirm that no excuse is

when he adds the result of the study of ancient authors to the researches of the spade and the pickaxe, we feel pretty confident that what has been told in this conveniently sized volume embraces all, or nearly all, there is to say on the subject. Two points of some importance seem to have been established by Mr. Middleton. One is, that the Romans did not develop the principle of the arch, using on the contrary a mass of concrete to create their enormous domed roofs; and the other is that the Etruscans were probably of more



ROMAN BATH, FROM AN ANCIENT WALL PAINTING.

needed for the appearance of yet another volume on this subject.

Mr. Middleton commences by giving an account of the building materials and methods of construction by the ancient Romans; and he then proceeds to take us through the wonderful remains on the Palatine Hill, the Forum Magnum, the Capitoline Hill, the imperial fora, the places of amusement, amphitheatres, baths, temples and other remains, tombs and monuments; and finally deals with the water supply and the con-

influence in early days than the Latin race. On this subject he says: "Most important of all in its relation to the early history of Rome has been the discovery of a large Etruscan necropolis on the Esquiline Hill, which implies the existence at a very remote period of a great city of the Rasena, highly advanced in culture and technical skill in all the minor arts of life—a serious blow to the long-established tradition of the early supremacy of the Latin race in the city of the seven hills."



RELIEF ON THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

struction of roads. In all these chapters there are plans and maps and other illustrations to guide the reader, and we must draw attention to the singular importance of the plans which accompany this volume. Particularly we must mention a map of modern Rome, showing existing ancient remains; a map of ancient Rome; and a plan of the Forum Magnum, showing the most recent discoveries.

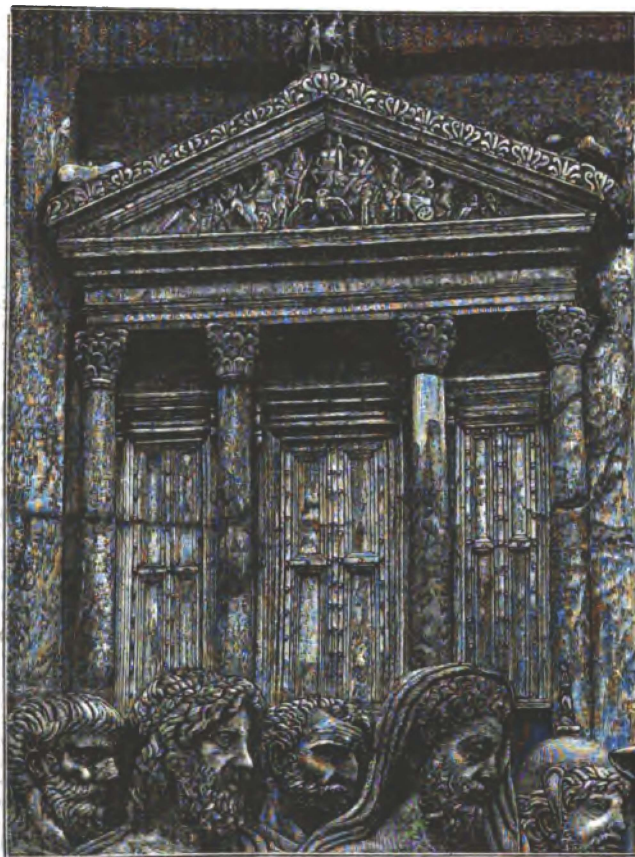
This brief summary of contents will give some little idea of what Mr. Middleton's work is. He was an excavator long before he took the pen in hand, and

It is impossible to deal in a review with the whole of Mr. Middleton's book, and as few subjects interest us in England more than the remains of Roman baths found here, we will turn to the chapter on Baths. By the kindness of the publishers we are able to reproduce the illustration of a Roman bath from an ancient wall-painting (Fig. 1.). This painting was found in the *Thermae* of Titus. The first room shown is the *Elethesium* or room for anointing with oil and perfumes. The whole skin of the bathers was covered with olive oil, which was then scraped off with

asharpstrigil. The *Frigidarium* is shown next, and then the *Tepidarium* with benches against the wall. This is heated by a hypocaust. The next two rooms are called *Concamerata Sudatio* and *Balneum*, both heated by furnaces and hypocausts. The last room contains three bronze cisterns to supply cold, tepid and hot water. This very interesting picture serves as a guide to Mr. Middleton for the description of existing remains, and we thus get an exhaustive account of what the baths of ancient Rome really were.

This very curious object is of surpassing importance for the proper understanding of the Roman Rostra.

We have only space for one more illustration, and this is a relief (Fig. 3) from the arch of Marcus Aurelius, giving a good representation of the front of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. It is shown with only four columns. The three gold-plated doors of the Cellæ are represented, and the sculpture in the pediment is shown with much minuteness, as are the three chief deities in the centre, and others on each



RELIEF ON THE ARCH OF MARCUS AURELIUS.

The second illustration which we have chosen is that of a relief (Fig. 2.) on the arch of Constantine, which represents the Rostra with a number of standing figures, and in the centre Constantine addressing the people. At the extreme ends are two coloured seated statues. The balustrade along the top of the platform is carefully shown with its break in the centre. In the background appear on the left of the spectator some of the arches of the Basilica Julia, next the arch of Tiberius; in the centre five columns with statues on them; and on the right the triple arch of Severus.

side. A richly designed row of bronze *antifixa* runs up the slope of the pediment; on its apex is a quadriga, and there are remains of other groups at each angle of the gable.

From such materials as these, rich as remains of classical Rome, and richer still in the evidence they give to modern inquirers of the meaning of the ruins now extant, Mr. Middleton has laboriously built up his excellent work. And although we can only pretend to have given a slight idea of its interest, there is sufficient to indicate that it has thrown some fresh light

upon a subject that is of almost undying interest to students of the history of Europe.

Grimm Centenary: Sigfred-Arminius and other Papers.

By G. VIGFUSSON and F. YORK POWELL. (Oxford and London: Clarendon Press, 1886.) 8vo., pp. 93.

Jacob Grimm was born on 4th January, 1786, and this book reminds English students of the important fact in biographical history. Mr. Vigfusson tells in a charmingly simple way the story of his visit to Grimm in 1859, and we get a picture of the scholar and his library such as is seldom to be met with. Then come the papers which make up the volume. The first seeks to prove, and we think successfully, that the Sigfred of tradition may be identified with the Arminius of history. Then follow papers on the "Defeat of Varus;" "Place of the Helgi Lays;" "Place of the Hamtheow Lay;" "Two Latin Law Words;" "The Ballad of Sir Ogie;" and "Traces of Old Law in the Eddic Days."

Perhaps the latter paper is the most generally instructive and useful, and we recommend it strongly to those who are engaged in the study of archaic history. It will be recognised that the contents of this volume well fit in with the object it has in view, and we can affirm that each paper is worthily and ably written. Our northern literature is a subject of great interest to many, and the notes afforded by this volume will be most useful.

The White Horses of the West of England, with Notices of some other Ancient Turf Monuments.

By REV. W. C. PLENDERLEATH. (London and Calne: A. R. Smith.) 8vo., pp. 41.

Many will be glad to get this too short account of an interesting group of English antiquities, and the unpretending little volume before us will no doubt be eagerly welcomed. It is the substance of an article printed some years ago in the *Wilts Archaeological Magazine*, and contains illustrations of seven turf-cut monuments. The drawing of the Cerne giant, we may remark, is not complete, and the legend quoted from Britton differs from one given in the preface to the fourth volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, which was obtained on the spot. We should like to see the legends of these curious monuments collected and printed, and would suggest to Mr. Plenderleath that he should undertake the task.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Society of Antiquaries.—Feb. 4.—Mr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. J. P. Rylands exhibited, by permission of Mr. H. A. de Colyar, a massive gilt bronze ring of Pope Paul II. (1464-1471).—Mr. Peckover exhibited a small MS. codex of the Greek Testament, c. 1100, with illuminations of the four Evangelists.

—Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum exhibited the seal of Cardinal Andrea de Valle, 1517, which he fully described, comparing it in its artistic character with bronze casts from three other seals of approximate date made for cardinals of Leo X.'s creation.—Lord Justice Fry read a paper, by Prof. Chandler, on the value of Court Rolls, pointing out their great interest and the necessity for their better preservation. The professor's paper concluded by appealing to the Society of Antiquaries to take some steps to instruct the possessors of these documents how great is their value, and how and where they may best be preserved.—A discussion followed, in which Lord Justice Fry, the President, Mr. Stuart Moore, Mr. Gomme, and others took part. It was finally resolved that the Society should take some such action as that indicated by Prof. Chandler.

Feb. 12.—Mr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—The Rev. J. T. Fowler exhibited an iron spear-head, with traces of gilding, found during excavations on the site of the chapter-house at Durham in 1874.—Mr. Ready exhibited a magnificent set of silver parcel-gilt plates, with London Hall-marks for 1567-8, engraved with the labours of Hercules, probably by Peter Maas.—Mr. F. G. H. Price read a paper "On further excavation in the Roman Station at Silchester," describing all operations up to date.

Feb. 25.—Mr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. Franks exhibited a mediæval silver-gilt paten from Hamsterley, Durham, with sexfoil depression, containing the vernicle in the centre. The paten bears the London hall-marks for 1519-20.—Mr. T. F. Kirby exhibited a mediæval silver parcel-gilt paten from Wyke, near Winchester. This paten has an engraved figure of the Agnus Dei for central device, within an octofoil depression, with fine floriated spandrels.—Mr. W. H. St. John Hope assigns to this paten a date *circa* 1280, and pronounces it to be the oldest piece of church plate in actual use now remaining in England.—Mr. F. J. Mitchell exhibited a hitherto unknown, but veritable example of a rood which anciently stood on the rood-loft in the church of Kemeys Inferior, Monmouthshire. It was found some thirty years ago, with a quantity of bones and rubbish, in the blocked-up rood staircase. Only the head and trunk, with the arms and one foot, remain, the remainder having decayed away; but these are fairly perfect.—Mr. H. Norris exhibited a number of antiquities discovered at Ham Hill, including Roman fibulae, mediæval ornaments, etc.—Mr. J. C. Robinson exhibited some interesting examples of Byzantine art.—Mr. R. S. Ferguson exhibited a curious flat candlestick, hall-marked for 1705-6, given by Col. Gledhill to the Carlisle Company of Glovers, 1710; also a silver salver, given by the same gentleman to the Carlisle Company of Shoemakers, 1710.

Archæological Institute.—Feb. 4.—Mr. R. P. Pullan in the chair.—The Rev. J. R. Boyle read a paper "On the Crypt of St. Wilfrid's Church, Repton," in which he disputed the statement that the Danes destroyed the monastery, and contended that the crypt and chancel are of early Saxon date.—Mr. P. Harrison gave a description of a remarkable find of "sun-beads" at Minster, and explained the method of their formation.—Mr. J. Saunders exhibited through Mr. Hartshorne an oil picture of the east side of the cloisters at Westminster, a picture showing, with much

excellence of drawing, the walled-up entrance of the Chapter House as it appeared about 1700.—Mr. Ready sent a large picture of Chester, of about the same period.—Mrs. Kerr laid before the meeting some drawings of rude-stone monuments in Servia, possibly prehistoric.

Asiatic.—Feb. 15.—Col. H. Yule, President, in the chair.—Prof. Sir M. Williams read a paper "On Buddhism in its Relation to Brahmanism."

Society of Biblical Archaeology.—Feb. 2.—Mr. W. Morrison, V.P., in the chair.—Mr. W. Simpson read a paper "On the Tower of Babel and the Birs Nimroud: Suggestions as to the Origin of Mesopotamian Tower Temples."—A paper was read by M. E. Lefebvre, "Le Cham et l'Adam Egyptiens."

Anthropological Institute.—Tuesday, Feb. 9.—Mr. Francis Galton, President, in the chair.—The President read a paper on "Recent Designs for Anthropometric Instruments."—Prof. A. Macalister read a paper on a skull from an ancient burying-ground in Kamtschatka; and Dr. J. G. Garson read a paper on "The Cephalic Index."

Philological.—Feb. 5.—Rev. Prof. Skeat, President, in the chair.—Mr. Whitley Stokes read a paper entitled "Notes on Curtius's 'Greek Etymology,' 1879."

New Shakspeare.—Feb. 12.—Dr. F. J. Furnivall in the chair.—The Rev. W. A. Harrison read a paper "On William Herbert and Mary Fitton in connection with Shakspeare's Sonnets."

Royal Society of Literature.—Feb. 24.—Sir Patrick de Colquhoun (President) in the chair.—A paper was read by Mr. R. Davey on "Victor Hugo as a Dramatist."

British Archaeological Association.—Feb. 3.—Mr. G. R. Wright in the chair.—Mr. Loftus Brock exhibited a collection of ancient engravings of German and Flemish towns, mostly of sixteenth century date.—Mr. de Gray Birch described two stones now at Valetta in the possession of Mr. Strickland, who brought them from Asia Minor. They are covered with Phœnician inscriptions hitherto unpublished. Etton Church, Northants, was described by Mr. J. T. Irvine by some well-executed drawings.—Mr. E. Way reported the discovery of a series of brick arches, the basement of a portion of the Duke of Suffolk's palace, in the Borough, Southwark, which were revealed during some works of rebuilding on the site. A large number of fragments of pottery were exhibited, but these indicated the earlier occupation of the site by some Roman building, since they were of Roman date.—A paper by Mr. Syer Cuming on an ancient Roman *turbo* was read. It is formed of hard bone, and had been painted green, and was found in the Roman Station at South Shields.—A paper was read by the Rev. C. Collier, on the remarkable excavations now in progress at Winchester Cathedral under the direction of the Dean.—An old record of ancient earthworks at Alfriston and Wolstonbury was read, prepared by Mr. A. Cope.

Geographical.—Feb. 8.—The Marquis of Lorne, President, in the chair.—The paper read was "Sketch of the Physical Geography of Brazil," by Mr. J. W. Wells.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—Feb. 8.—The Rev. G. F. Browne, President, in the chair.—

The President made a communication upon "Some Early Sculptured Stones and Symbols in Ledsham Church, Yorkshire." All Saints' Church at Ledsham, a few miles east of Leeds, was carefully restored some years ago. The original building was rectangular and lofty, with a Romanesque arch at either end, the one leading to an apse, the other to what is now the base of the tower, and was probably a *porticus ingressus*. The northern wall was pierced later, to form an arcade for the addition of the north aisle. The outlines of all the original Romanesque windows in the north and south sides are clearly visible. There is a similar opening above the western arch; as there is at Monk-Wearmouth. A low, narrow doorway on the south side of the base of the tower had been closed up. When it was opened out, the capitals of the jambs were found to be ornamented with interlacing work, the bands unusually narrow and in high relief; the patterns on the two capitals are different, and though the known varieties are counted by hundreds, both of the patterns are new. Up the sides and round the head of the doorway a band of ornament, seven inches wide, is let into the wall. The original had perished so much that it was removed and restored, but the portions which have been protected by the accumulated soil remain, and they bear members of a singularly graceful scroll with flowers and fruit; there were probably thirty of such members on twelve or thirteen lengths of stone. In the more recent north wall of the aisle two beautiful fragments of a like band, or of the shaft of a cross, eight inches wide, are used as building materials. One of these has a pair of interlaced birds feeding on the fruit of two scrolls, which spring from conventional roots; the other is a graceful and new variety of the continuous scroll, with four heart-shaped leaves meeting at the centre of one member, and four tendrils interlacing in the next. On a stone in the apsidal wall, at the point where it leaves the east wall of the nave, is an almost perished incised symbol, which had escaped the keen eyes of the restorers, formed of a capital S three times repeated, the head of each hooking into the tail of another, forming a sort of triangle, with curved sides of four inches. It is startling and suggestive to find this symbol, cognate with the three legs of Man and of Greek shields, and found in Hibernian and "Pictish" work, in a Yorkshire church on the borders of the ancient kingdom of Elmete. On a stone in the west wall of the nave, within the church, a weapon which is either a chopping-knife or the head of a one-barbed lance, is cut in bold relief.—Mr. Rule summed up his communication upon Eadmer's elaboration of the first four books of the *Historia Novorum*.—Mr. C. C. Moore Smith exhibited five books, all of them in the handwriting of Mr. John Hall, of Kipping, at Thornton-in-Craven, Yorkshire. The writing was remarkably clear, though for the most part very minute. Mr. Hall was born about 1630, and lived some ten years into the next century. In religion he was a Presbyterian of the party of Baxter, but besides he had studied medicine and astrology, and he had acquired a system of shorthand. One of the books exhibited was a medical work completed 1661, and apparently ready for press, though as there is no copy in the British Museum, it seems not to have been printed.

March 1.—A communication by Mr. W. L. de Gruchy was read in his absence by the Secretary, upon the Land-measures mentioned in the early records of Jersey, in which he showed that *virgata* (in French *vergee*) is always used as a *rood* (and never, as in England, in the extended sense of "yardland" also), though containing 40 perches of 484 square feet, whereas the English perch contains only 272½ square feet. The relief due to the lord of the manor on the death of a "roture" holder was shown to be XII *denarii* (one solidus) *per acram* in the case of *terre viventes cultura subjacentes*, and only VI *denarii* for *terre silvestres, quæ in Normania mortuæ dicuntur*.—Mr. Lewis exhibited and commented on one large and two small terra-cotta lamps discovered in a barrow at Kertch (the ancient *Panticapæum*) in November, 1885.—The Rev. W. Graham F. Pigott gave an account of the site of a Roman veteran's holding at Abington Pigotts in the county of Cambridge, from observations made during the excavation of coprolite from 1879 to 1884. About eight chains less than half a mile nearly north of the parish church of Abington Pigotts, County Cambridge, there is undulating ground; in fact, a slight hill trending east and west which, during the period mentioned in this heading, has been turned over for the purpose of excavating the coprolite under it. From a perusal of Mr. F. Seebohm's *English Village Community*, and from personal investigation and observation during the works in question, he concluded that it was without much doubt a retired Roman veteran's holding of some 25 Roman *jugera*, or about 20 of our present acres before the land was dug over. A ditch filled with black earth mixed with *débris* of pottery and bones was cut through during the working on the *west*, but *no* ditch was found on the *north*: on the *east* there is still a ditch. The land is pasture (possibly has been so ever since the Romans left the district), and therefore is more easily traced than an old ditch on arable land. On the *south* for some distance there was evidently, at the time of occupation, and most likely much later, a morass, judging from the deposit of mud dug through, and from the fact of there being no coprolite in that distance. In fact, at the time the Romans were in England a great portion of this valley was under water, and consequently required little protection in the shape of trenches from beasts of prey or from robbers except in boats. At the village of Litlington, distant 1½ miles, is the site of a Roman villa. Possibly a commander or officer built or occupied the same, and sent one of his veterans to occupy the highest ground northward of the neighbouring valley; for the hill lies about midway between the Croydon Hills and the Royston Downs, and in those days was doubtless nearly as fertile as at present, and therefore to be desired for agriculture. Be that as it may, many are the evidences of Roman habitation on this same hill, and more especially attention might be called to holes used for domestic purposes (*vide* Wright's *The Celts, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 215, London, 1875).

Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.—Feb. 18.—At the anniversary dinner, the Rev. Preb. Scarth in the chair, Mr. Scarth made some remarks on the recently discovered altar-stone, and stated that his interpretation of the figures differed somewhat from that of Mr. Sayce.

Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—Feb. 15.—The chair was occupied by Mr. W. Bolitho, jun. (President).—The following papers were read:—"Marazion," by Mr. R. N. Worth; "The Solomon Islands," by Mr. Guppy, R.N.; "Ghost Story," by the Rev. W. Colenso, of Napier, New Zealand; "An Old Cross," by the Rev. S. Rundle; and "Plants and Animals," by Mr. Ralls. The cross to which the Rev. S. Rundle referred had been discovered by him at Chytodden, where it had been acting as a gate-post. It was presented to Mr. Rundle by Mr. F. V. Hill, steward to the Duke of Leeds, on whose property it was found, and Mr. Rundle intends having it placed in Godolphin Church. The Chairman spoke strongly in favour of the preservation of ancient monuments, and proposed that £1 of the society's funds be voted for the removal and fixing of the cross, which was agreed to.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—Feb. 27.—Dr. Bruce presiding.—The Secretary (Mr. Robert Blair) read papers by Dr. Bruce, on "A small Roman Altar from Magna;" by Mr. James Clephan, on "William London, Newcastle Bookseller;" by Mr. James Clephan, on "Coal Mining in Old Gateshead: Explosion in the Stony Flatt."—The Rev. J. R. Boyle read a paper on "St. Edmund's Chapel, Gateshead."—Some valuable and interesting gifts to the society were announced and cordially acknowledged.

Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural Society.—March 8.—Mr. Cannon in the chair.—An address was given by Mr. G. Aitchison, on "The Neglect of Architecture in the Present Day." Mr. Aitchison said, that in England architecture was looked upon now in a very different way from what it was in the seventeenth century. Now the finest buildings never excited admiration, and as often as not were used as texts to introduce abuse of architects and a depreciation of the architecture of the day. The ways in which the public could outwardly show its yearning for their art were by its publicly expressed praise of successful works, by indicating how or in what parts the building conformed to its ideal, by an ardent desire to secure the very best possible building, by admiration for the architect, by discriminating praise of the particular excellence of his work, by rewarding him with consideration, honours, and wealth. In 1295, the Florentine Republic, a little city with a small territory, determined to rebuild its cathedral, and gave instructions that it should be built "so that for size and magnificence nothing more could be desired." England was supposed to be the richest country in the world, and was the centre of an empire on which the sun never set. It had lately held a competition for a vast building, in which the defences of the empire were to be organized, and the instructions were that "convenience of arrangement was all that was to be considered." One great want of the present day was a high aim. Hitherto architects had been contented to copy. At the end of the last century they only gave up copying Roman to copy Greek, and though this was to advance enormously in art, it was to retrogress in construction; and in this century they had taken to copy Romanesque and mediæval. Among all the sciences and the other arts, architecture alone seemed to have the peculiar faculty of standing still. They were constantly forced to ask themselves why barbarous, semi-barbarous, and civilized nations of former

days had styles that they in the present day thought good enough to copy. It seemed obvious that modern architects were pursuing wrong methods.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Lost Books.—Strabo's *Historical Memoirs* and *Continuation of Polybius*. The *Supplices of Æschylus* is the commencing drama of a trilogy on the subject of the "Danalides"—*Ἰκερίδες, Αἰώντιοι, Δαναΐδες* Welcker, *Griechisch. Tragödien*, vol. i., p. 48: the two latter are lost. The old epic poem called "Danais" or "Danalides," which is mentioned in the *Tabula Iliaca*, as containing 5,500 verses, has perished, and, unfortunately, is very little alluded to. (Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, i., p. 121.)—The adventures of Tyro formed the subject of an affecting drama of Sophocles, now lost. (*Ibid.*, p. 148.)—The story of Jason and Medea was contained in one of the earliest dramas of Euripides, the *Πελοπιδες (Peliades)*, now lost. (*Ibid.*, p. 159.)—The lost drama of Sophocles, called *Iobates*. (*Ibid.*, p. 167.)—The *Πλευρώνια (Pleurhonia)*, a lost tragedy of Phrynichus. (*Ibid.*, p. 198.)—The sufferings of Æneus (who was deposed by the sons of Agrios, and fell into extreme poverty and wretchedness, and his restoration by his grandson Diomedes, were the subjects of a lost tragedy of Euripides. (*Ibid.*, p. 208.)—A lost tragedy of Euripides, on the story of Augé and the birth of Téléphus, called *Augé*. The *Μυσοί of Æschylus*, and two lost dramas, *Ἀλεάδαι and Μυσοί*, of Sophocles. Téléphus and his exploits were much dwelt on in the lost old epic poem, the *Cyprian Verses*. (*Ibid.*, p. 243.)—The subject of Kokalus, the Likanian King, receiving Minos of Crete (to deliver to him the person of Dædalus) with apparent friendship, and ordering a bath to be prepared for him by his three daughters, who, eager to protect Dædalus at any price, drowned the Cretan King in the bath with hot water, formed the subject of a lost drama of Sophocles. (*Ibid.*, p. 308.)—Sophocles composed two tragedies on the adventures of Jason and Medea, the *Κολχιδες* and the *Εκίθας*, both lost. (*Ibid.*, p. 325.)—Asclepiades of Myrlea, in Bithynia, about 170 B.C., composed a periegesis of the Iberian tribes, which unfortunately has not been preserved. (*Ibid.*, p. 337.)—The compositions in the Boeotian dialect of Pindar are unfortunately lost. (*Ibid.*, p. 349.)—Lysimachus, a lost author, who wrote *Thebaica*. (*Ibid.*, p. 352.)—The adventures of the Argô were narrated by Eumelus and the author of the *Naupactian Verses*, but the poems are unfortunately lost. (*Ibid.*, p. 317.)—Many histories of Egypt were written at different periods, by native as well as foreign authors, which have unfortunately been lost. (Sir G. Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, vol. i., p. 20.)—The two ancient epic poems called the *Thebais* and the *Epigoni* (if indeed both were not parts of one very comprehensive poem) detailed these events, the disputes of Eteocles and Polynices for the throne of their father, Œdipus. Of this once valued poem we unfortunately possess nothing but a few scanty fragments. (Grote's *Greece*, vol. i., p. 364.)—There is hardly anything more to be deplored, amidst the lost treasures of the Grecian mind, than the poems

of Solon, for we see by the remaining fragments that they contained notices of the public and social phenomena before him. (Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, vol. iii., p. 118.)

Spinster.—The Records of the County of Essex show that this word was used as a designation of gentility and honour in Elizabeth's time. The numerous Elizabethan presentments of persons, for non-attendance at church or any other usual place of common prayer, yield testimony that, besides being employed for the description of single women who had never married, the title was retained as an indication of their parental quality by wives and widows. For instance, "Margaretta Tirrel spinster, *alias dicta* Margaretta Tirrel uxor Thome Tirrell armigeri," and "Maria domina Petre de Westhorndon, co. Essex, spinster, *alias dicta* Maria domina Petre uxor Johannis Petre de Westhorndon predict' militis," are amongst the gentlewomen presented for non-attendance at divine service in 23 Elizabeth; and a writ of 7 Elizabeth gives the name and style of "Joan Lambe widow of London spynster."—*Hist. MS. Commission, Tenth Report* (1885), p. 27.

A Court Lady's Wardrobe in 1603.—In the tenth report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, the Commissioners state that in one of the papers of the Earl of Eglinton's collection there is afforded a glimpse of a Court lady's wardrobe in the year 1603. This account begins with an entry dated the 9th of June at Newcastle. The lady enumerates various articles of female dress—head-dresses, French and English "rouffs" and their materials, "quhall-bon" bodies, "vardingells," etc. Among other items is a payment for "ane vyer to my haed with nyne pykis, xs.; item for ane perewyk of har to couer the vyer, vs." For "ane treming to my gown with gret hornis of gould and silk and federis, the hornis my auen xs." (all sterling money). She pays on an average 2s. 6d. for a pair of gloves, and the same sum for a pair of shoes; for a pair of night gloves, 9d.; for a beaver hat with feather and string, 52s.; for two fans, one of paper and the other of parchment, 5s., etc. She pays in Coombe for two necklaces of black jet, 3s. For the washing of her own and her page's clothes from June to Martinmas, she pays only 20s.

Custom of Shaving.—The shaving of the upper lip is one of our customs which we may trace to the Normans (see *Malmesbury*, 100; *Theory*, ii. 147), though it seems that in the time of Edward II. the higher orders let their beards grow to an immoderate length (see the Scots' account of them, *Vestig. Anglican*, by Clark, ii. 145).

London in 1773.—"The City of London is full of lamps at night, and the watch is set at eight o'clock, and continues till the morning light. The watchmen in London are the most insignificant creatures I ever saw. Some of them are scarcely able to walk; a great number of them are old superannuated persons, who can only sit in a box and look at those who pass by; and if there is any truth in reports, there are a number of them kept in pay by the ladies of the town. Those who keep good hours in London are in no danger; as for others, they must abide the consequences."—*The Travels of the Imagination: A True Journey from Newcastle to London in a Stage-Coach*, by J. M. (1773), p. 113.

Woman's Dress in 1607.—In a sermon preached at Whitehall at the nuptials of Lord Hay and his lady, on 6th January, 1607, the preacher, Robert Wilkinson, says: "Of all qualities a woman must not have one qualitie of a ship, and that is too much rigging. Oh, what a wonder it is to see a ship under saile, with her tacklings and her masts, and her tops and top-gallants; with her upper-decks and her nether-decks, and so bedeckt with her streamers, flags, and ensignes, and I know not what; yea, but a world of wonders it is to see a woman, created in God's image, so miscreate oft-times, and deformed with her French, her Spanish, and her foolish fashions, that he that made her, when hee looks upon her shall hardly know her, with her plumes, her fannes, and a silken vizard, with a ruffe like a saile, yea a ruffe like a raine-bow, with a feather in her cap like a flag in her top, to tell, I thinke, which way the wind will blow." This curious extract is given by Beloe, in his *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, iii. 162.



Obituary.

HENRY STEVENS, F.S.A.

Mr. Stevens was born at Barnet, in Vermont, U.S., on the 24th of August, 1819, being the son of Henry Stevens, the first president of the Vermont Historical Society. In 1845 he came to London with good recommendations, made the acquaintance of the principal booksellers, and one day "drifted" into the British Museum (as he was fond of saying). It had been ascertained that the Museum was in 1845 woefully deficient in modern American books. Mr. Stevens aided them in filling up these deficiencies, the result being that the British Museum now contains a more extensive library of American books, says the *Athenaeum*, than any single library in the United States. Mr. Stevens, while thus engaged in book-selling, was continually putting forth some *brochure* or another on bibliographical subjects. He formed a large collection of documents relating to Franklin, which was purchased by the American Government. In 1852 Mr. Stevens was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1877 he was conspicuous as a member of the committee for promoting the Caxton Exhibition, and joined with Mr. Blades, Lord Charles Bruce, and others in cataloguing the various exhibits, Mr. Stevens taking the department of Bibles.

In 1877 Mr. Stevens became a member of the Librarians' Association, and took a prominent part in the annual gatherings of that body.



Antiquarian News.

In Egypt a curious sculpture has been found, representing a chariot drawn by two horses and containing three persons. The principal figure is a bearded man,

lifting his right arm and holding a bow in his left hand; behind him is a beardless slave, bearing an open fringed parasol or umbrella; to his left is the charioteer with the reins and whip. Sir Gardner Wilkinson has engraved a representation of an Ethiopian princess travelling through Upper Egypt to Thebes, in whose chariot a large umbrella is fixed to a tall staff or pole, which rises from the middle of the chariot, the whole arrangement being very similar to the carriage umbrella of the present day, or resembling still more closely the large umbrella of the London Metropolitan Railway omnibuses.

The well-known Egyptian scholar, Mr. Le Page Renouf, one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, has been selected to succeed the late Dr. Birch as Keeper of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum; and Mr. A. Stuart Murray, an assistant in the department of Classical Antiquities, was appointed to fill the post of keeper of that department, vacated by the retirement of Mr. C. T. Newton, C.B.

A large number of human bones and skulls has been discovered at Sherborne, Dorset, during some excavations which are being made. The remains were embedded in lime, and were found about 3 feet below the surface.

A singular discovery of gold coins has been made at Park Street, a little village on the southern borders of Bedfordshire, and has been reported to the Treasury. A man in the employment of Mr. Boff, carpenter and builder, was engaged splitting some old oak beams, when in the centre of one of them he came upon a cavity out of which rolled a number of bright coins. The hole had been neatly formed, and was circular in shape, having apparently been drilled into the wood, and it was fitted with a plug to conceal it. On further search being made, another hiding place of the same kind was found, also containing treasure. The coins, which number over a hundred, consist of nobles, angels, and half-angels, and vary in date from the reign of Henry VI. to that of Henry VIII. They are in excellent preservation. Some of them bear the figure of St. Michael, others a ship with a cross for a mast, and all have Latin inscriptions upon them. The largest coins are about the size of half a crown, and the smallest resemble a sovereign. It is not known at present where the beam in which the treasure was found came from, as Mr. Boff has recently pulled down several old farm-houses and other buildings in the neighbourhood.

An interesting discovery of bronze hatchets and other warlike instruments has been made at Llantwit Major, Glamorganshire. A number of workmen were engaged digging up a foundation for building, when they came upon three spearheads, six hatchet-like weapons, and several other interesting relics, which were concealed under an ancient wall; some bones were also discovered. The whole matter is under investigation, and a further search is being organized.

The *Times* correspondent at Rome reports a discovery of high interest from historical, architectural, archæological, and other points of view. He states that a few days ago the workmen, while dressing the left perpendicular side of the cutting, which passes

near the remains of the Emporium, laid bare the front of an ancient tomb, facing exactly on the line. It is perfect in every respect, except the cornice, which is wanting. It stands at a depth of some 20 feet below the modern level, embedded in the solid mass of accumulation, which rises above the upper part of it full 10 feet. As seen now, it looks like part of a fine architectural panel, set into the cleanly-dressed side of the trench. It is of rectangular construction, measuring as it is about 9 feet in height by 15 in length; the dado being formed of four courses of tufa blocks, standing on a projecting base, with finely wrought mouldings. In the middle of the face is a single block of travertino, about 3 feet in length by 2½ high, bearing an inscription, and on each side of it five lictor's *fascies*, wrought in bas-relief on the tufa blocks. The inscription reads:

SER . SULPICIUS . SER . F.
GALBA . COS.
PED . QUADR . XXX.

This Sergius Sulpicius Galba, son of Sergius, must have been the same who was Consul in the year 144 B.C., together with L. Aurelius Cotta, and grandfather of the Sulpicius Galba who was sent by Cæsar at the opening of the Gallic campaign in 58 B.C. against the Nantuates, the Veragri, and the Seduni, and who was great-grandfather to the Emperor Galba. Sergius, who was eventually the occupant of this monument (which, judging from its materials and style of construction alone, might be attributed to a still earlier date, and which, according to the last line of the inscription, occupied a space measuring 30 square feet), received Spain as his province during his Prætorship in 151 B.C., and committed unheard-of atrocities against the Lusitanians. He was wealthy and niggardly, except when bribery and corruption required an open hand; but, on the other side, his memory is distinguished by the high praise which Cicero bestowed on his talent as a speaker, in calling him the first among the Romans whose oratory was what it should be. He was still living in the year 138 B.C., when he spoke for the Publicani; but that is the last record we have of him.

Since the discovery of the supposed reliquaries in the inner wall of the south choir aisle of Peterborough Cathedral, they have been visited by numerous people. The belief expressed by some people that the recesses when re-opened will prove to be aumbrys, is more than ever entertained, and the Dean and Chapter, taking this view, believe little purpose will be served by at present proceeding with the exploration. There is little doubt that they are of twelfth-century work and were attached to an altar which was evidently done away with, or its position changed, at the construction of the apse. They are the oldest, possibly, in the entire fabric, as they are situated in the most aged part of any of the Norman work of the venerable pile. The opening of them to view is awaited with interest; but it is expected that until the cleansing and restoration of the whole of the interior of the Cathedral is proceeded with, further exploration will not be made. The fragments of bones found have caused some amount of controversy, but the doubts expressed at the time as to their being human have been pretty generally confirmed.

The large and valuable collection of manuscripts which have lain for one or two centuries at Leven's Hall, Westmoreland, has recently been examined. Among the documents are a number of great historical interest, including several letters written by James II. at the time of his abdication. They were addressed to Colonel James Grahme (the descendants of whom at present live at Netherby, the scene of the recent daring burglary). Grahme was keeper of the Privy Purse, and accompanied James in his memorable flight from London to Rochester, in 1688. One of the most valuable of the documents is the original draft (in the King's handwriting) of the manifesto which James issued from Rochester, giving his reasons for withdrawing from his country. The first letter written by James after arriving in France is also among the collection. James appears in this correspondence under the name of "Mr. Banks," the name of the steward at Leven's at that period, and France is referred to as "Oxford." Thus, the first letter written by the King on quitting England is endorsed "Mr. Banks' first letter after his going to Oxford." It is as follows:—"Boulogne, January the 4th, 1689 (new style).—I arrived safe here this day, and have but little to say to you at present but that I am going on to Paris, from whence you shall hear from me when I arrive there. In the meane tyme go to my corispondent that payd you some mony upon my account, and put him in mind of putting the rest of the mony I bad him put into your hands, that you may returne that, and what you had of myne in your hands, to me as sone as you can, I having present occasion for it, and pray remember me to your friends with who I was to have been, if I had stayd. Lett me know a little newse." A small piece of paper headed "My Oxford Cypher" gives the key to the secret parts of some letters from abroad. The correspondence in cypher is bulky, the letters being couched in most quaint and curious language. There are also contemporary notices of the battles of Blenheim and Ramillies. The Duke of Hamilton (who fought the celebrated duel with Lord Mohun, in which both combatants were killed) expresses his political sentiments in a series of letters to Colonel Grahme, and Bolingbroke contributes three characteristic letters. One of the papers, dated a few months after the accession of William III., gives an account of 108 red deer brought over from Germany by order of the Prince of Orange, and for which £117 was paid by Colonel Grahme to Thomas Howard, a yeoman of the Toyles. An amusing letter from the Duke of Hamilton to Grahme states:—"The proceedings with you about our affairs are above my comprehension. They put me in mind of what I have heard of the Peace of Ryswick, when it was said that it was like 'the peace of God, which passes all understanding.'" Colonel Grahme died in 1730, in his eighty-first year.

The remains of an ancient Roman city have been found near Nantes. The foundations of numerous villas and of a theatre containing five thousand places, and numerous trinkets and pieces of pottery, have been discovered, together with a Roman road to Loire, and a large hippodrome.

The early Christian mosaics and frescoes in the Kahrié-Djemil Mosque at Constantinople, which had

remained hidden under whitewash since the storming of Constantinople in 1453, have recently been brought to light and carefully photographed. A detailed price list of the photographs may be had on application to Mr. D. Nutt.

One of a row of thatched houses at Alloway, of which the birthplace of Robert Burns is one, was recently burnt to the ground. The house was the end one of the row, and fortunately the wind, which was very strong, was blowing from the other end, thus carrying the fire away from the other buildings. But for the lucky circumstance that the wind was blowing from the direction it was, the other cottages would have certainly fallen a prey to the fire; and, with the wind as it was nearly all last week, blowing from the opposite direction, Burns's Cottage would have been a thing of the past, for there are no means nearer than Ayr for extinguishing a fire of these dimensions. The incident shows that precautions require to be taken for the safety of a piece of property of the high public value and sacredness of the birthplace of the Scottish national poet.

The Dean of Winchester has this month performed an act in the Cathedral that will command the approbation of every man of taste or lover of our national historic monuments, viz., the replacing in the choir of the massive marble-covered tomb of William Rufus. This monument of the Red King was originally placed, in the year of his death, 1100, under the Norman tower over the choir; and, according to the chroniclers, the tower fell because of his profanity and unhallowed exit from the world, but doubtless from imperfect construction. After this event the tomb was removed nearer to the high altar, and there remained for centuries, till, in 1868, on the untenable ground of inconvenience of access to the communion-table, it was removed to the aisles of De Lucy. The Dean has now had it replaced exactly under the massive Norman tower, its first place; and thus the tower and tomb commemorate, the one the munificence of Bishop Walkelin, the Conqueror's cousin, and the founder of the Norman Cathedral, and the other the Conqueror's son, Rufus. Rufus's brother Richard is also buried in the choir, in a niche of the partition walls; and his nephew, Henry de Blois, the first founder of St. Cross Hospital, and brother of King Stephen, by Adela, the Conqueror's daughter, lies under the pavement near, rolled up in lead, and without any monument to mark the spot.



Correspondence.

THE SURNAME OF FRENCH.

[*Ante*, p. 97-100.]

May I be allowed respectfully to protest against the theory as to the origin of the above name that has been advanced in the columns of the *Antiquary*? No genealogist is likely to be led astray by it; but the general public might easily be misled, if so erroneous a proposition were to pass unchallenged.

When Playfair attempted, in his gigantic *Baronetage*, to assign to the surname of every baronet a per-versely ingenious origin, he derived Smith from "Smeeth—a level plain," but was fairly baffled by Baker. To that surname, he confessed, he could assign no possible origin.

So with the name of French (*Francus*). Nothing is more obvious or more certain than that it belongs to the same class as English (*Anglicus*), Norman (*Normannus*), etc., etc. Why, then, endeavour to derive it from the wholly distinct surnames of De (or Des) Frènes (*De Fraxinis*), De Frenai (*De Frasneto*), De Frenaic (*De Fraismeio*), etc., all of them proved (by the *Rot. Scacc. Norm.*) to be derived from "locations" in Normandy? The leading authority given for this derivation is the astounding one of Sir Bernard Burke, followed by the, if possible, more worthless one of D'Alton. Such a form as "De Fraxinus" (*sic*) is probably sufficient for most people as to the value of such hypotheses, but it is necessary to insist on the self-evident difference of such names as "*le Frensh*" and "*de Freigne*" (which are among the forms quoted by the writer). It is, of course, impossible to assert that, in special cases, the names may not, in later days, have been confused; but that they were radically distinct in origin is beyond human ingenuity to deny.

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

MAIDEN LANE.

[*Ante*, vol. xii., pp. 68, 134, 182, 231, 278; xiii., pp. 39, 86, 135.]

My remarks in this matter were intended to be particular, not general. I did not by any means wish to raise the question as to the derivation—Celtic or otherwise—of the word "Maiden" at any other place than Maiden Lane, Covent Garden. I do not profess to have anything but a very humble acquaintance with etymology; but as I earn my daily bread through Middlesex topography, I may reasonably be supposed to know something about that.

I shall probably have an opportunity shortly of seeing what light the Bedford archives throw on the subject, and may therefore perhaps trouble you again.

Mr. Foster appeals to Mr. Round on the general question. Another Essex antiquary seems rather on the other side. In the last number of the *Essex Archaeological Transactions*, which reached me about a week ago, is a very interesting and able paper on "Colchester Castle," by Mr. F. M. Nichols, F.S.A. He mentions a street there called Maidenburgh Street, and adds in a foot-note, "I am told that the name 'Maidenburgh' is found elsewhere associated with ancient earthworks. Was it the old English name of the castle (the castle of the midden or mound) before the Norman keep was built?"

Here is clearly a suggestion of Anglo-Saxon, not Celtic, derivation.

J. C. L. STAHLSCHMIDT.

Balham, 1st December, 1885.

The full form Maiden, as illustrated in Maiden Bower, Dunstable, and Maiden Castle, Dorchester, is best got at by recognition as a compound from the

Celtic *magh*, a field or plain, and *dinas*, *dune*, *don*, a hill fort.

The Gaelic *magh* is equated with the Welsh *maes*, having the same meaning, as shown in Maes-Knoll, Maes-mawr, Maes-y-Garmon, in Flintshire; as illustrative of the Celtic *magh*, I claim Armagh, but this is disputed; also Machaire, Maghera in Down and Derry, Maghera in Armagh, Magh-Rae, Balmaghie, and Maghera-more; which last pairs off with Maes-mawr cited above.

These forms, viz., *maes*, *magh*, may be connected etymologically with Latin *margo*, a border, the Teutonic "mark," now so increasingly interesting to our antiquaries. It is of necessity here to note that the lost Roman station, south of London, called Noviomagus in the *Antonine Itinerary*, may thus mean "new field," or "new mark," according as to how the Romans used the word "magus" in their transliteration; for here we must recognise the "Mark," so persistently preserved at Keston, adjoining the astounding earthworks now enclosed in Lord Derby's grounds at Holwood Hill. As a support to this attribution, so dear to the genial and festive Noviomagians, we must note the continental Noviomagus, now Speier or Spire, in Bavaria. These Nemetes are called a Germanic tribe; so here we are probably dealing with the Teutonic *mark* rather than the Celtic *magh*.

There are, however, other origins for the place-name "Maiden," as used in Great Britain, thus:

Maiden Lane is common; see also Maiden Causeway, Inverary; Maiden Way, Appleby, Gilsland, Shap. It may, in some cases, equate the term Lover's Walk.

I have records also of Maiden Castle at Arbroath, Rosslyn, Markinch, Kirkcaldy, Falkland, Wooller Durham, Brough on Stanmoor, Tilston, Richmond, Yorks, as well as at Dorchester. There are Maiden Bowers at Kirtlington and Dumfries, as well as at Dunstable. Maiden Ring, Cramond; Dance Maidens, Cornwall; Maiden Stone, Brecknock and Garioch. Here, in some cases, we are dealing with fays or fairies, but some must be from the feminine maid-virgin; so "our Lady." Maidenkirke, Stranraer; Maiden Newton, a dedication to St. Mary; Maid's Moreton, Bucks, attributed to two ladies named Peover; Maid's Well, *i.e.*, Lady Well; Maiden Paps, at Hawick, Latheran, Dull—this is purely physical.

I do not like to leave this subject without a reference to Margidunum, *i.e.*, Bingham, Notts, which may be the Celtic *magh*; again, Magiovinum, or Magiovinium, found in the *Antonine Itinerary*, for Dunstable, is obviously the primitive *magh* found in Maidenbower, adjoining that town.

A. HALL.

MARAZION.

It seems a pity our old smaller boroughs are deprived of their charters. None more deserved to retain its privilege than Marazion. The corporation have held a quiet, inoffensive, and blameless existence, and the borough records and plate are (as you notice in December number) of great interest. What practical men may regard of more importance is that the town is rising; and having about the mildest climate in

Great Britain, might, by expenditure of a little capital, be made an important health-resort.

W. S. LACH-SZYRMA.

WHITSUN ALES.

[*Ante*, vol. vii., p. 34.]

In 1883 I gave an extract from Dunkin's *History of Bicester* (1816), illustrating the survival and the character of the Whitsun ales. I now supplement it by an allusion to the Whitsun ales at Redburn, in Hertfordshire, from Mr. Urwick's valuable *Nonconformity in Herts* (1884). From the charges brought (1589) by Mr. Innocent Reade against the Puritan minister of the parish, Mr. Dyke, we learn that:

"The inhabitants of Redburne had at the feast of Whitsuntide a neighbourly meeting or feast in the church-house of the said parish, where they have made merry together to the maintenance and increase of love and charity amongst them, and at the same time have contributed liberally their money towards the reparation of the church and buying of necessities for the church and such like uses (as of ancient time the like hath been used in that place, and many other places of this realm to the uses and intents above mentioned). The said Dyke having a great dislike of the said feast or meeting, hath in his sermons inveighed against that kind of feasting, calling it profane, riotous, drunken and disorderly—yea, the way unto perdition and hell" (p. 291).

Mr. Dyke's rejoinder (1597) as to "the Whitsun ales" is that:

"These are in their origin bad; they are shamefully abused, having in them piping and dancing, and Maid Marian coming into the church at the time of prayer and preaching to move laughter with kissing in the church, and they justly deserve to be called profane, riotous, and disorderly" (p. 107).

Mr. Urwick's authority for these passages, which, it will be seen, are of great interest, is "*Burghley Papers*, 1589; *Lansdowne MSS.*, 61; *Plut.*, lxxiv., E. fol. 75."

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

Can any of the readers of the *Antiquary* inform me what has become of Gainsborough's "Boy at the Stile"? It is mentioned in the following extract, from, or reference to, Smith's *Life of Nollekens*, where he relates that Nollekens once found Barthélemon playing exquisitely on his violin to Gainsborough; and the artist exclaiming: "Go on, go on, and I will give you the picture of the 'Boy at the Stile,' which you have so often wished to purchase of me." Barthélemon proceeded, and the painter stood in speechless admiration—tears of rapture running down his cheeks at Barthélemon's incomparable Adagio.

Barthélemon, having finished, called for his carriage, and carried the picture away with him.

It is supposed to have been sold at Barthélemon's death in 1808.

Having a portrait of the celebrated violinist by the more famous painter in charge as an heirloom, I would be glad to learn what has become of the "Boy at the Stile."

S. V. H.

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He must, he is, he cannot but be wise.—TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, Act ii. sc. 3.

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The Antiquary.

MAY 19 1886

MAY, 1886.

Historic Streets of Plymouth, their Names and Associations.

BY W. H. K. WRIGHT, F.R.HIST., F.S.Sc., ETC.

ALTHOUGH the town of Plymouth cannot boast of any high antiquity, yet towards the close of the fourteenth century it stood as the fourth town in the kingdom in point of population and importance, London, York, and Bristol only exceeding it in these respects. It was at first called *South Town*, which was soon compressed into *Sutton*; and two of



EQUESTRIAN RIDGE-TILE, PLYMOUTH.

its divisions were termed *Sutton Prior* and *Sutton Valletort*; the former comprising lands annexed to the famous Augustine Priory, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and SS. Peter and Paul. *Sutton Valletort* was the designation of that portion of the town held by the Valletorts, a family of some distinction, whose name is still retained by the Earls of Mount Edgcumbe, the eldest son of that house taking the title of Viscount Valletort. It is significant that the term Sutton still applies to the neighbourhood of the oldest portion of the town, Sutton Pool being that portion of the inner harbour where merchant

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craft and fishing-boats have their rendezvous. Leland says of Plymouth of his time, that it was "a mene place, a habitation for fischars."

But without pursuing the early history of Plymouth further, it is sufficient to say that in the beginning of the fifteenth century the town threw off its allegiance to the Priory of Plympton, and received its first charter of incorporation under its present appellation, thus assuming the name of the river Plym, at the mouth of which it is situated.

Numerous maps and plans of Plymouth exist, some of which show the principal streets and thoroughfares, and, from an inspection, it will be noted that the main thoroughfares (with slight alteration) have remained the same up to the present time.

We will first take a glance at Old Plymouth, the "mother Plymouth sitting by the sea." A reference to any old map or plan of the town will show at once that the ancient town was immediately seaside—not always "a mene place," as Leland puts it, yet still "a habitation for fischars," and others who "do business in great waters." The whole town before the present century lay clustering around the water-side, only extending northward as far as North Gate, at the top of Gasking Street; westward as far as West or Frankfort Gate; eastwards as far as East Gate at Coxside, and so on. A glimpse at the map or chart, *temp.* Henry VIII., will show that there were but few houses westward of St. Andrew's Church, and that Mill Street, the locality of Drake, and Saltash Street, across Old Town to Green Street, and hence to Whitefriars Lane, would indicate the boundary line of the town as it then existed. Of course some of these names are of a much later date.

Very little increase, it any, is perceptible in a later map called the Siege Map of 1643. In neither of these maps are any street names marked, and therefore, except as regards the extent of the town, they are not of much service to us in our present inquiry. It should be mentioned, however, that in one of the plans showing the course of the leat (brought to light during the recent warm controversy respecting Drake and the water question), the names of several streets occur; but these are simply the main thoroughfares, none of the smaller streets being marked.

Q

The earliest map of the town known to me, which gives the names of the principal streets, is that attached to Donn's *Survey of Devon*, published in 1765. The main streets are well defined, and most of the smaller thoroughfares are marked, whilst the chief buildings are shown, and also the conduits and other places of public usefulness. Another map, that of Crowl (1778), also contains the street names of the period. Many more maps and plans and charts of the town, harbour, and surroundings might be mentioned were it necessary. Donn's map above all is interesting, as showing not only the aspect of the town in the middle of the last century, but placing upon permanent

Wolster Street is where y^e May^{rs} feast is kept. the Vintry is y^e backside y^e old mitre w^{re}. gubs ho is.

Nut Street is along by old conduit.

Paddock, Lynam, and Ladders y^e 3 lanes.

St. Catherine lane is y^e Workhouse street.

foundwell Street where Mr. Elford lives.

black fryers french meeting ho now part y^e Cooper.

fryers lane Sandaford house on way to y^e fort.

Pins lane is were y^e 4 post are.

Stoaks lane were Mr. Pentyr lives.

rag street from y^e back street of Mr. Jno. Allen ho to y^e old mills.

loves lane is Corpus. cristi houses.

ham street above new Church alms houses.

Wimple Street is y^e fish market.

Treville street.

"Old Town," says Mr. Worth, "appears to be the most ancient of the existing street



PALACE COURT, PLYMOUTH, WHERE KATHERINE OF ARRAGON LODGED, A.D. 1501.

record the names of streets and places now passed into oblivion.

One of the earliest lists of Plymouth street names extant is that entered in the rental-book of 1706-7, for a copy of which I am indebted to Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S. It is as follows :—

Gasken Street is *Northgate* Street.

Whitecross Street is north y^e great tree.

Green Street is where Wannels ho is.

ham Street is where Mr. Harding's meeting is.

bilbery street is *broad* street.

buckwell Street is *higher broad* street.

Loo lane is *crane* street.

New street is *how's* lane.

Cat Street begins from pomeroy conduit to Mr.

Cowries.

Stilman street is where Mr. Roope lives,

names; then comes St. Andrew's Street, mentioned in a deed of 1386; Briton-side dates from the commencement of the fifteenth century; and in the Act of Incorporation we find the names of 'Byllebury Strete, Note Strete, and Stillman Strete.' The following is a description of Plymouth in 1669, by an Italian who visited the town in the train of Cosmo de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany :—

"The city cannot be seen from the sea, and is almost shut up by a gorge of the mountains, on the lower skirt of which it is situated. Its extent is not very considerable" (yet elsewhere the writer remarks that it may be reckoned one of the best cities in

England). "The buildings are antique, according to the English fashion, lofty and narrow, with painted roofs, and the fronts may be seen through, owing to the magnitude of the windows of glass in each of the different storeys. They are occupied from top to bottom The life of the city is navigation. Hence it is that in Plymouth only women and children are to be seen, the greater part of the men living at sea; and hence also the town is exceedingly well supplied, all the necessaries of life being found there, and many other articles that administer to luxury and pleasure; and silversmiths, watchmakers, jewellers, and other artists of this description are not wanting."

Sir William Davenant, poet-laureate, 1638-1668, amongst other plays, has left one entitled *Newes from Plimouth*, in which occurs the following passage, as part of a conversation between some sea-captains who are relating their experiences of a trip ashore:—

"CABLE. This town is dearer than *Jerusalem*
After a year's siege; they would make us pay
For day-light, if they knew to measure
The sun-beams by the yard. Nay, sell the very
Aire too, if they could serve it out in fine
China-Bottels. If you walk but three turnes
In the High-Street, they will ask for mony
For wearing out the Pebles."

This play was published with *The Siege of Rhodes*, and others, in 1672.

Again, we have the following whimsical description, written about the middle of the seventeenth century, by the Rev. William Strode, of Newnham. It is given by Mr. Worth in his *West Country Garland* (1875), and purports to be a description of Plymouth in 1625:—

Thou n'ere woot riddle, neighbour John,
Where ich of late have bin-a;
Why ich have bin to Plimoth, man,
The like was yet nere zeene-a:
Zich streets, zich men, zich hugeous zeas,
Zich things and guns there rumbling,
Thyself, like me, wood'st blesse to zee
Zich bomination grumbling.
The streets be pight of shingle-stone,
Doe glissen like the sky-a,
The zhops ston ope, and all y^e yeere long
I'se think a faire there bee-a.
And many a gallant here goeth
I' goold, that zaw the King-a;
The King zome zware himself was there,
A man or zome zich thing-a.

Thou voole, that never water zaw'st,
But think-a in the Moor-a,
To zee the zea, wood'st be a'gast,
It doth zoo rage and roar-a:
It tast's zoo salt thy tonge wood thinke
The vire were in y^e water;
And, 'tis zoo wide, noe lond is spide,
Look nere zoo long there-ater.

The water from the element
Noe man can zee chi-vore;
'Twas zoo low, yet all consent
'Twas higher than the Moor.
'Tis strange how looking down a cliffe,
Men do looke upward rather,
If there mine eyne had not it zeene,
'Chood scarce believe my vather.



OLD SIGN, FROM LOOE STREET, PLYMOUTH.

Amidst the water wooden birds,
And flying houses zwim-a;
All full of things as ich ha' heard,
And goods up to y^e brim-a;
They goe unto another world,
Desiring to conquer-a,
Vor w^{ch} those guns, voule develish ones,
Do dunder and spett vire-a.

Good neighbor John, how var is this?
This place vore I will zee-a;
'Ch'll moape no longer heere, that's flat,
To watch a zheepe on zheere-a;
Though it zoo var as London bee,
W^{ch} ten miles ich imagin,
'Ch'll thither hye, for this place I
Do take in great induggin.*

In the year 1759, a graphic description of Plymouth emanated from Mr. Payne, a native

* Mr. Worth says this poem is the earliest example of the Devonshire dialect on record. The visit of the King alluded to was in 1625.

of the place. This description was, however, supplemented by the following particulars, from the pen of Andrew Brice, of Exeter, which I venture here to reproduce. It reveals the writer's partiality for his own city, and manifests a desire to foster a rivalry between the two places, a feeling which, unhappily is not dead even in the present day.

"Plymouth," he says, "is the largest town in Devonshire—perhaps in the West of England—and populous enough; but that it contains near so many souls as the City of Exeter, as has been said, we can't readily admit, unless it be in its most flourishing wicked time of what we call a good red-hot war with France, when indeed 'tis too much overstocked with inhabitants. Men come from Ireland, Cornwall, and other parts, and gathered stock of females charitably inclined to solace money'd sailors in distress; and that they may do it honestly and with a good conscience marry them *ex tempore*, possibly half-a-dozen successively in as many months, their unfortunate former husbands dying almost as soon as out of the Sound (in a double meaning). The true Plymouthians themselves are in the main allowed to be as polite, genteel, religious, and worthy a people as those enjoyed by any other place, and the regulations and government excellent. But in the times aforesaid, through the vast resort of the necessitous, the rapacious, and the lewd by land, and the half-mad Jack Addles from the sea, the same are alter'd very much, and very grievous to the natives. This is (tho' but in common with other seaport towns) too much introduced sharpening, tricking, debauchery, pride, insolence, prophane-ness, impurity with impudence, and this in spite of the strenuous endeavours of the magistrates and their officers to prevent it. But I say such corruption (which defaces the town's right and natural appearance) is of foreign birth, and brought by the concourse from abroad. In times of peace there scarce ever appeared to me in Plymouth so much as two-thirds of that frequency of people as is in Exeter (suburbs and all), which has, now its port is opened, the hope, moreover, of daily increase of useful numbers."

In this connection I am reminded of another graphic picture of Plymouth, by no means flattering to its inhabitants. Despite

the disadvantages attending the war-times, and their concomitant circumstances, there is no doubt whatever that they helped to make Plymouth in one way, even if they afterwards contributed their share to mar it. The war preparations and the necessary increase in the national armaments unquestionably created the dockyard, that great appendage to the town, which in its turn has thrown out offshoots, consisting of the thriving and populous suburbs of Dock (now Devonport), Morice Town, Ford, Stoke, and Torpoint. In 1801 the population of Plymouth was but 19,040, while that of Plymouth Dock was set down at 23,747.

I have before me as I write a copy of a play, entitled *Plymouth in an Uproar*; | a | *Musical Farce*, | as it is performed at the | *Theatre - Royal in Covent Garden*. | *The Music composed by Mr. Dibdin*. | *The Third Edition*. | London: | Printed for G. Kearsley, No. 46 | Fleet Street | MDCCLXXIX. | Entered at Stationers' Hall. |

It contains many ludicrous passages, and is of course freely interlarded with naval slang and freedom of speech. Some of the ballads are good, both the sea-songs and the love-ditties; but it is in the dialogue that we get the special local allusions to the stirring scenes which were enacted in and around Plymouth during that period, when there was a daily expectation of the landing of the French. The most amusing portion of the play, from this point of view, is that which represents the terror of the inhabitants, when it was reported that the French fleet had actually been seen off the coast.

ACT II.

The Scene opening, discovers the Inn Yard, a crowd loading a cart, some with Trunks, Portmanteaus, Boxes, Bundles, and some half-dressed, others in different Plights indicating Fear, some with Pokers, Broom-sticks, etc.

[Perhaps the following quotations, though fragmentary, may be of interest; and though they burlesque the situation, they doubtless represent in some degree the consternation that took place when the news of the approach of the French fleet was first brought into the town.]

3RD TRAVELLER. Are you from Maker Tower,* Sir?

* Maker Tower was used as a signal-station at that period.

4TH TRAVELLER. Yes, Sir. You, Ostler, where is this scoundrel?

3RD TRAVELLER. And what news, Sir, how many sail are in sight?

4TH TRAVELLER. No less than seventy sail of the line. You, Ostler.

OSTLER. Here, Sir.

3RD TRAVELLER. Seventy sail of the line, mercy upon me, have you any kind of carriage left, Sir?

* * * * *

Enter a spruce TAYLOR.

TAYLOR. Ostler! Landlord! Ostler! What is to become of me?

5TH TRAVELLER. What's the matter, Sir? What news from the Tower? How many sail?

TAYLOR. A hundred sail of the line, Sir, and two thousand transports, the whole beach covered with French troops as thick as fleas; a bridge of boats begun that's to reach from Plymo' to France, and we

have been great to inspire play-writers thus to burlesque the doings of the old town on the boards of Covent Garden Theatre.

In the *Picture of Plymouth* (1812) we find some very interesting details of the appearance and condition of the streets of the town in the early part of the present century. The writer speaks with authority and accurate knowledge of his subject, and as he did much to restore some of the ancient names to our streets, and in other ways brought about much-needed reforms, we venture to set down his opinions here as well worthy of attention:—

"The streets of this town are in general ill-constructed, narrow, irregular, and some



OLD PLYMOUTH HOUSES, TEMP. ELIZABETH.

are all to be killed in less than an hour. (*Seeing the OSTLER.*) Pray, Mr. Ostler, can you stuff me into a boot or a basket? I shan't take up much room. I am but a Taylor.

OSTLER. Stand out of the way, and make use of your feet.

TAYLOR. I can't, I've got the palsy all over me. O dear, here come the French! O no, it's only Jack Buckram and his people.

This was followed by a waiter coming in with the information that three thousand Frenchmen were coming up into the garden, killing all that they met. So great was the consternation which ensued.

Further quotations are needless. I only give the above to show that the streets of Plymouth and the old inns were in those days the scenes of much excitement, and that the influence upon those times must

of them steep; many of the by-streets are particularly filthy, especially those through which the water of the town is permitted to flow, from a mistaken notion of its contributing to the cleanliness of them; but the effects produced by it are diametrically opposite, for the lower order of inhabitants, trusting to this stream of waters removing all annoyances, are in the habit of throwing into the street every description of offensive matter, where it very often remains, not only offensive to the nose, but the sight of passengers. Most of the streets are paved, but the work is in general badly executed. Some of the principal streets, in the skirts of the town, still remain unpaved, which gives them a mean appearance, and renders them vastly inconvenient, being full of mud in the

winter, and dust in the summer. The streets are lighted only from Michaelmas to Lady Day, and then very imperfectly; but previous and subsequent to these days, during those hours that persons are necessarily moving about, they are highly inconvenient, not to say dangerous. The town has of late years had a more perfect night-watch established than formerly, and the watchmen are now stationed in boxes in different parts of the town. The constables, who revisit the different posts during the night, are at other times stationed at the watch-house in the Guildhall, where persons wishing to give any public alarm from the occurrence of fire, robbery, or housebreaking, should instantly resort; and with respect to the latter cases, instant information should be given to the magistrates, who will direct immediate inquiry to be made by the town serjeants and other police officers; for the means of detection are often lost by the least delay. The watch, as officers of the police, are not sufficiently numerous, nor do they take their stations as early as they ought to do; for great tumult and disorder often prevails early in the evening, before the troops retire to their barracks, and disorderly women are walking the streets, exciting and promoting riots; but after ten o'clock the streets are as quiet as any country town. . . . We cannot quit this subject without noticing the present injudicious application of the wealth of the inhabitants, who are so full of their projected improvements, that you cannot be in company with one of them for half an hour, but he begins telling you what is in contemplation. A stranger who has felt the inconvenience and danger of narrow streets, the badness of the pavement of some and total want of it in others, the dirt of the streets, the want of lights during part of the year, and the insufficiency of them during the other part, and the want of a sufficient and able watch, will be sorry to learn that none of these objects are intended to be amended; but that thousands are to be spent in the erection of an hotel, a theatre, and a ball-room, objects, we admit, desirable in such a town, but not of essential importance to all the inhabitants, as the points we have alluded to, and which ought, in our estimation, to have preceded any such designs. The

gentlemen with whom these improvements originated seem to have been dazzled by the splendour of their projects, and in the glare they produced, to have forgotten the useful improvements to which we have taken the liberty of calling their attention. . . . The style of the buildings in this town is exceedingly bad, and appears to have been getting worse, instead of improving, of late years; for some of the old houses are built with more taste than most of the modern ones. A stranger is much struck in going through the town with the apparent want of dwelling-houses for the more opulent inhabitants; for excepting about the part of the town called Frankfort Place, there are none visible. There are many good houses, but they are so concealed in by-streets and lanes, or situated in the gardens of the proprietors, as not to be easily discoverable; and are likewise scattered about in different parts of the town. There is no uniformity preserved in the buildings in any of the streets, except a few houses in Frankfort Place, Frankfort Row, and George Street; in other parts you may be assured that no two houses will resemble each other: indeed, in this respect the inhabitants resemble other places, for no regard is paid, when a house is to be rebuilt, to the houses adjoining; unless it be to observe cautiously that it shall in no instance bear any affinity to its neighbour. If a house is built of brick, the adjoining one will, of course, be built of stone; if the one has a parapet wall, the other will have none; if the door is in the middle of one house, it must be in the side of the other; the windows must be of different patterns, the stories of different heights, and the roofs to be by no means parallel; and finally, the woodwork, if painted white in the one, is sure to be of different colour in the next. These observations, though applicable to other towns, are most strictly just with respect to Plymouth."

He then goes on to speak of the scarcity of accommodation for the poor—what exorbitant rents were charged for single rooms; the rack-rent system having evidently been in full vigour, and the proprietors driving a roaring trade. These things, as might have been expected, were inimical to the health of the people, as well as to their morals. Many streets had recently been built, but princi-

pally for superior persons, in which single rooms were not to be had.

Appended is a list of streets and places erected between 1793 and 1812; they were: Tavistock Street, Portland Place, Orchard Place, Park Street, Drake Street, Cornwall Street, New Town, Richmond Street, Barrack Street, Willow Street, Arch Street, New Market Alley, Hampton Buildings, Exeter Street, Jubilee Street, Brunswick Terrace, Lady Well Buildings, Lambhay Street, and others, containing nearly three hundred houses; and besides these many single houses, and rows of houses built in courts and previously vacant places in the town, made up the number of additions to nearly five hundred.

Perhaps few towns in England have made greater progress during sixty years than Plymouth. About the year 1820 its population was less than a fourth of what it is now, and the extension of its buildings has been commensurate with the increase in the number of its inhabitants. Sites, now quite within the town, were then regarded as rural, and thousands of houses have been built on land then green fields. As examples, the space in front of Tavistock Place, now occupied by several streets, was then called Gibbon's Field, and formed a very convenient play-ground for the young Plymouth of that day. Park Street and Clarence Street (then Orchard Place) were not thoroughfares, but were blocked at the eastern end by a wall which bounded a field. It was in Clarence Street that the very successful school, conducted by the sisters Eddy, was carried on. It may be remembered by some old Plymouthians. A few little boys were privileged to be received into this school, and Rebecca Eddy (one of the sisters) was after heard to speak with pride of the fact that the great Brunel was for a short time her pupil.

North of Tavistock Place, one immediately passed into the country; from North Hill, path-fields extended westward as far as the walls of the Royal Naval Hospital, and northward, almost uninterruptedly, to Compton. An association was formed for the purpose of preserving some of these paths to the public, but the march of the builder could not be checked. On the

eastern side there were few houses beyond Gasking Street and Brunswick Terrace. On the west, too, the change is no less remarkable. Union Street, which connects the Three Towns (by which name the towns of Plymouth, Stonehouse, and Devonport are locally known), was in great part a marsh, and often overflowed by the sea at high tides.

In the memory of persons now living, snipe have been shot there, and one informant remembers having gone fishing there for small fry. On the north side were a few good private houses, and on the south side few beyond Union Terrace. Now, this is the great artery of the town, full of life and bustle, with an uninterrupted range of houses on either hand of more than a mile in extent. In this locality were the Nurseries of Pontey and Rendle, as well as the fields of the Barley Estate, now all crowded with streets.

If the extensions of the town have been thus far remarkable, not less noteworthy have been the improvements in some of the central streets; perhaps, in certain cases, at the cost of others less favourably situated. At the date referred to, High Street (then called Market Street, but now restored to its older title) was an important and respectable thoroughfare, some of the most lucrative businesses being carried on therein. Looe Street, then called Pike Street, was not too mean to afford a residence for one of Plymouth's first physicians. Buckwell Street, then Higher Broad Street, was probably the best business street in the town; it is far from being so now. Whimble Street, in which three successive Guildhalls have stood, was one half of its present width, the south side having been entirely rebuilt. This is also the case with Treville Street, the south side of which was also rebuilt about the year 1825, previous to which date it was only half its present width, and rejoined in the not very euphonious title—Butcher's Lane. It now retains, as do several others mentioned above, the older, and possibly the oldest name; but of that more anon.

Lower Broad Street, afterwards called Bilbury Street (its older appellation), is now merged, with Briton-side, into Treville Street.

In these streets, as improved, many

successful businesses have been carried on; but these in course of time have been supplanted by others nearer the west end of the town. A great part of Bedford Street consisted wholly of private houses. This was also the case with Frankfort Street and George Street, where each house had its garden and grass-plot in front. It is to be regretted that the opportunity was lost of making the latter street an ornament to the town by increasing its width, and insisting on greater uniformity in the buildings. It is now the busiest street in the town, and full of incongruities.

ago might be indefinitely extended, by referring to the improvements made on and around the Hoe, and at Millbay; but this scarcely comes within the scope of our paper. We shall have occasion to mention these localities again when dealing with the street names, as well as with the associations connected with some of these old streets. For the present, we wish to confine ourselves to the appearance and condition of the streets at various periods previous to the wonderful improvements effected during the third quarter of the century. Amongst other descriptions of the streets of Plymouth, we



"THE ABBEY," PLYMOUTH.

At the eastern end of Bedford Street, one of the greatest possible improvements was made by the removal of the churchyard wall, and substituting a low railing, adding at the same time several feet to the width of the street; and more recently by the removal of the square block known as the "Island House," formerly the "New Tree Inn," Bedford Street has become one of the best thoroughfares in the town. In the same locality, the picturesque but dilapidated Workhouse, the Alms-houses, Grammar School, and other adjuncts of a miserable character, have given place to the palatial pile of buildings erected in 1874, for the governing purposes of the municipality. The sketch of the Plymouth of sixty years

have the following from the pen of Dr. Kitto, the Plymouth workhouse boy who became a D.D. and an Oriental traveller and Biblical writer of considerable repute. He says:—

"Excepting an occasional painting in the window of the sole picture-frame maker, and a few smirking portraits in the windows of the portrait and miniature painters, my sole resource was in the prints, plain and coloured, and in the book-plates displayed in the windows of the stationers and book-sellers. These were seldom changed, and often not until by frequent inspection I had learned every print in every window by heart: so that it was quite a relief to see one of the windows cleared out for a scouring or

a fresh coat of paint In my own town the windows of the shops lay within such narrow limits, that it was easy to devour them all at one operation."

But one of the most graphic and faithful portraiture of the state of Plymouth streets was given by Mr. Rawlinson, Government Sanitary Inspector, in 1853:

"Many of the old back streets of Plymouth are narrow, crooked, and steep, with wide-jointed, rough pavement, and a dirty surface-channel down the centre. The old houses are very irregularly built, both as regards their elevation and style of architecture. Originally, many houses, now in ruins, were erected as residences for the nobility and gentry of the town; but from being the abodes of those possessing wealth, they now give partial shelter to the improvident, the vagrant, the vicious, and the unfor-

of air is impeded, and an atmosphere, usually very damp, is made more so. In the same street houses may be found which were erected in Queen Elizabeth's reign, with others of more modern date; the walls are of hewn stone, of granite or limestone rubble, or of brick. Some have been plastered over, and others have been covered with slate; some are plain, vertical fronts, and others project at each story. Out of these streets covered passages lead into still narrower, dirtier, and more crowded courts. In many instances the ground rises abruptly, and slippery, half-worn limestone steps lead to houses more ruinous and more crowded than those fronting the street. One privy serves a whole crowd, and this is usually filthy; the cesspool full, overflowing, and the foetid refuse stagnant over the surface. An external stand-pipe, the water on only for one



CARVINGS FROM GASKING STREET, PLYMOUTH.

tunate. The quaint carving on the stonework looks out of place; the walls are half in ruins, the gables are shattered, and foul weather-stains of damp blotch the surface. Within, matters are even worse; the rooms are now divided and subdivided on every floor; the staircase is darkened, its massive hand-rail and carved balusters are crippled and broken; the once firm stairs are now rickety and dangerous; the stucco-finished plastering is blackened and in holes, the dusty and rotten laths being in many places bare; the landing windows, where the space is open, have neither frame nor glass, so that the rain drives in right and left; make-shift doors lead into small spaces let off as separate tenements. The narrow space of street betwixt the houses is further contracted by rude-looking poles rigged out of windows on either side, story above story, on which clothes are hung to dry. Thus a full flow

hour in twenty-four, supplies water to an entire court with many tenants; tubs, mugs, pots, pans, and troughs being placed in the yard, on the stairs, landings, or in the filthy rooms, to absorb all the deleterious gases of the place. Within, the furniture accords with the premises: it is old, rotten, broken, and ruinous. One room serves for a family of father, mother, and children—not unfrequently grown-up sons and daughters. Dogs and fowl inhabit the same apartment, and, in some instances, ten human beings."

Such is an accurate "Picture of Plymouth," little more than thirty years ago, and these details can be verified by the writer of the present paper from personal knowledge and observation. Happily the old order of things has passed away; the sanitary state of the town is thoroughly satisfactory, the water supply is full and constant, and the tumble-down rookeries have in many cases

been replaced by blocks of workmen's dwellings, with handsome exteriors and well-appointed interiors. Thoroughfares have been



BRACKET FROM PALACE-COURT.

widened, open spaces provided, and the town is now as well served in all respects as any in the kingdom.



Notes on the History of Crown Lands.

By S. R. BIRD, F.S.A.

PART IV.

THE first of the religious foundations to undergo the process of confiscation, to which they were all eventually doomed, was that of the Knights Templars; but their possessions were merely transferred on the suppression of that order to the rival order of St. John of Jerusalem. The possessions of the alien priories, or offshoots of foreign religious houses, the revenues of which had been always temporarily seized on the outbreak of hostilities with the state to which the parent house belonged, were, on the final suppression of those houses by Henry V., confiscated to the King's use, but were almost entirely devoted by that sovereign and his successor to the foundation and endowment of colleges—amongst which may be mentioned that of All Souls in Oxford, and Eton College and King's College, Cambridge.

It was not till the final dissolution of the religious houses by Henry VIII. that any great benefit accrued therefrom to the royal Exchequer. By the first of the Acts passed for that purpose, however, in the twenty-seventh year of that sovereign's reign, about 380 houses were dissolved, from which a revenue of not less than £30,000 per annum was derived, besides the acquisition of plate and jewels worth about £100,000.

This Act, however, affected the lesser

monasteries only, that is to say, those of which the incomes were less than £200 a year; the loose and vicious lives of the monks and nuns in these houses being alleged as the reason for breaking them up, and transferring their occupants to the greater and better regulated monasteries: their revenues being forthwith applied to the King's use. The suppression of these houses led to serious rebellions in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, in the latter of which, called the "Pilgrimage of Grace," many important families were involved, by whose subsequent attainders the Crown largely profited. As soon as this outbreak had been quelled, the King resolved on the suppression of the rest of the monasteries, and a new visitation thereof was ordered in 1537. In consequence of this the greater abbeys, many of which had been implicated in the late rebellion, were surrendered apace, and in the thirty-first year of Henry VIII. another Act was passed confirming all such religious houses as, since the passing of the former Act, had been suppressed, forfeited, or given up, or which should be hereafter surrendered, to the King and his successors, with all their rents, profits, and revenues.

The next year, a Bill was brought in for suppressing the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and thus the revenues of all the greater houses passed into the hands of the King, amounting to above £100,000 per annum, including a large sum in plate and jewels.

From these revenues pensions were, however, assigned to the religious persons dispossessed, either for life or till they could be provided with some other preferment, the amount of which was very considerable, and out of the remainder the King founded six new bishoprics, besides colleges and professorships in both Universities, and laid out large sums of money on various fortifications. By far the greater part of the estates thus acquired were in fact alienated during the same reign, and at the accession of Edward VI. the revenues of the Crown were found, notwithstanding these extensive confiscations, to have reached a very low ebb indeed. The onslaught on the lands of the Church, commenced by his predecessor, was continued during the reign of the boy-monarch by the seizure of the possessions of the colleges,

chantries, hospitals, free chapels, etc., to the number of 2,374; but the ministers of the Crown are supposed to have profited more than the King himself by this wholesale appropriation.

Notwithstanding the frugal disposition of Queen Elizabeth, and the general economy which then prevailed in the public expenditure, the landed property of the Crown was seriously diminished by her, large portions of her possessions being sold in order to avoid the unpopularity of demanding supplies from her subjects. A much greater reduction, however, took place during the following reign in consequence of the unbounded profusion of James I. to his favourites, although great attention was bestowed by that monarch on the management and improvement of the Crown lands whilst they remained in his possession.

According to Sir R. Cotton, at the accession of James I., all the Crown lands, besides the royal residences, parks, and forests, did not exceed in annual value £32,000; but, being "largely estated out," or, in other words, let for long terms at insufficient rentals, they might if passed in fee-farm be immediately advanced to a treble rental.

A Bill was brought into Parliament in the early part of this reign to prevent the future alienation of the Crown lands, but, although agreed to by the Lords, it was thrown out by the Commons. This measure is referred to in a document entitled the "Instrument of Annexation," by which the King affected to entail on the Crown of England for ever a certain part of its landed property, indicating at the same time other portions which it was his intention to dispose of, whilst reserving to himself the power to alienate any of them.

This power was soon afterwards very liberally exercised, lands to the amount of no less than £775,000 being disposed of during his reign.

A copy of the above-mentioned instrument is preserved amongst the *Domestic State Papers*, together with a "Book of all the King's mansion houses, castles, parks, forests, and chaces; and likewise of sundry honors, manors, and other hereditaments within the Survey of the Exchequer and the Duchy of Lancaster," which were thereby annexed for ever to the Crown. (*State Papers, Dom.*,

James I., vol. xlvi.) An account of the yearly value of the above manors, lands, etc., also amongst the *State Papers*, states it to be £56,870 3s. 3½d., exclusive of 26 mansion houses, 83 castles and forts, 117 parks, 68 forests, and 19 chaces which were not valued. A schedule dated 2nd July, 1609, stated to be in the Surveyor-General's Office, contains the names and values of all the manors, lands and tenements "taken out of the Intail, to be disposed of at his Majesty's pleasure," the total amount being £5,717 18s.

Charles I., in his endeavour to support the expenses of his Government without the aid of Parliament, sold many of the estates of the Crown. In order to carry on a war with Scotland he borrowed at one time £320,000 from the City of London on the security of the Crown lands, extensive grants of which were subsequently made in the fourth year of his reign to Edward Ditchfield and others as trustees for the City. These grants occupy three entire patent rolls, each roll consisting of three parts.

A method of raising money which was frequently practised during the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles I., was by the discovery, or pretended discovery, of "concealed lands;" that is to say, of lands which should be in the possession of the Crown, but which by purchase or otherwise had come into the hands of persons whose titles thereto were assumed to be altogether defective. To such persons re-grants were offered on their compounding for the same with the Commissioners who were from time to time appointed to inquire concerning such lands, this process, the abuse of which was only too easy and frequent, generally producing a nice little addition to the royal income.

Almost all the Crown lands, together with the fee-farm rents reserved upon such of them as had already been alienated, were sold during the period of the Commonwealth, trustees being appointed for that purpose, by whose direction elaborate and careful surveys of all the Crown possessions were taken, which form the well-known collection generally referred to as "Parliamentary Surveys." According to a statement by Sir John Sinclair, in his "History of the Public Revenue," the yearly value of the estates of the Crown at that time was £120,000, and being sold at ten years' purchase they yielded £1,200,000;

certain forests and royal residences being sold for a further sum of £656,000.

Immediately after the Restoration all the sales made during the Commonwealth were made void, and the King was declared to be restored to the possession of all his honours, lands, rents and hereditaments. The revenue is, however, supposed to have suffered largely by "concealments" and by forbearance or favour to *bonâ-fide* purchasers, and to such as had assisted to promote the Restoration.

The nation having become sensible from the fatal events of the preceding reign that some different provision for the support of the Government was necessary, many alterations with respect to the revenue were made, with, in some points, very beneficial effects. The profits of Military Tenures, with the lucrative prerogatives of Wardship, Marriage, Livery of Seisin, etc., which had frequently been the source of great oppression, were abolished, and certain duties, computed to be of the value of £100,000 per annum, were settled on the Crown in lieu thereof.

A permanent revenue of £1,200,000 a year was settled on the King, of which the royal demesnes, though much reduced in value, formed a part. These were in 1663 estimated at £100,000 per annum, besides the Forest of Dean, which was valued at £5,000, and the other forests, parks and chaces, not computing such lands and rents as had already been alienated by letters patent. It was also proposed by a committee appointed to consider the state of the King's revenue, that an Act should be passed for the resumption of all grants made since the 29th May, 1660; but although a Bill was brought in for that purpose, and read a first and second time, it was afterwards rejected.

The huge income settled on the King, in addition to all that he had received by his extensive sales of the Crown lands, being still found unequal to his expenses, further Acts were passed to enable him to dispose of the fee-farm rents, which to a considerable value still remained the property of the Crown; and these rents were accordingly vested in Lord Hawley and others as trustees for that purpose. No exact account of these alienations was, however, kept, many rents appearing to have been granted away without any sufficient consideration, and the sum

thus raised cannot therefore easily be estimated. These sales of fee-farm rents continued, with few intermissions, to the reign of Queen Anne. Little change took place with regard to the landed property of the Crown during the reign of James II., but the rewards bestowed by William III. on those who had aided in the Revolution diminished it as effectually as the prodigality of Charles II. A Bill was again brought in, and read a first and second time, for the resumption of all grants of land and other revenues made since 1684; and from accounts annexed to the Twelfth Report of the Commissioners who were appointed in the year 1792 to inquire into the state and condition of the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, from which report many of the foregoing details are taken, it appears that the rents of the estates in England which at that time remained in the possession of the Crown, amounted to no more than £482 16s. 7½d.

The death of the King happening whilst this subject was under discussion, a compromise appears to have taken place between the ministers, who opposed these measures, and the party by whom they were supported, the measure of restraining the Crown from making grants in fee being agreed to, whilst the Bill for resuming former grants was dropped. It may in fact be remarked that although prior to the sixteenth century—when the Crown lands might have reasonably been expected to afford a fund sufficient for the expenses of the Government—Acts of Resumption were common, since that period, though occasionally proposed, no such measure has ever been actually passed.

In the beginning of the following reign the Civil List Act was passed, with which a new era in the history of the Land Revenue commences.



Will of a Village Tailor, temp. 1663.



HE wills of nobles and gentry often find their way into print, those of the lower orders not so frequently. I think your readers may be interested in the following will of a village

tailor I transcribed in the Lincoln Registry many years ago. The Colonel Lillingston mentioned therein is Henry Lillingston of Bottesford, of whom something may be seen in *The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme* (Surtees Society), p. 75. It is probable, though by no means certain, that Richard Fox, the testator, was a near connection of my own ancestress, Rebecca Fox, who married, at Scotter, 28th May, 1665, Thomas Peacock of that place. Scotter is the adjoining parish to Messingham.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

Bottesford Manor, Brigg,
March 25, 1886.

Fox.

In the name of gd Amen. I Richard ffox of Messingha in the County of Lincoln Taylor seke in body but of good & pfect memory & in a disposing mind (praised be god) doe this twelfth day of ffebruary 1662 make & ordain this my last will and testament in manner & forme following

Impr I bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty god my most mercifull father, maker and redeemer & my body to be buried in the Church yard of Messingham

Itm. I give & bequeath to my brother Willm ffox yt my half pte of the barley wch we bought betwixt vs of Colonell Lillingston & my half pte of the paire (sic) oxen bought of Amon Bedford & my halfe pte of the sheepe to wit two gimmers, two hogs, & one ewe which we haue betwixt vs & my pte or interest in the waine & waingeere, plow and plowgeere & two Coats I wear euery day, a pair of black breetches & my holy-day hatt, wch I bought at brigge.

It. I giue to my brother Thomas ffox all my right & interest in my two acres of meadow with the apptences (which my said brother Thomas & I purchased iointly of Tho Tomlinson) to him his heires & assignes for eu.

It. I giue to my said brother Thomas a blacke paceing (sic) two yeare old Colt, my best hatt which I bought of Wm Brougha a blacke dublit a paire of breeches & a paire of leather Linings.

Itm. I giue to my sister Isabell's daughter Anne good tenne shillings.

Itm. I giue nepheues Anthony drax & Richard Drax to each of them ffive shillings.

It. all the rest of my goods vngien & vndisposed of I do giue & bequeath vnto my deare mother Margaret ffox & my sister Margaret ffox whom I make ioint exetrixes of this my last will & testamnt they seeing my debts and legacies paid & discharged & me xtianlike intered.

In witnes whereof I haue hereunto sett my hand the day & yeare aboue written to wit on the 12th of ffebruary 1662

Richard P ffox
his P marke

Wm Parkinson cur

Isabell A drax
her A marke

Proved 3 June 1663.



Beatrice Cenci.

BY RICHARD DAVEY

PART IV.



RESUMING our account of the evidence given at the trial, we now come to the depositions of Martio Catalano, who, on February 3rd, 1599, gave his evidence in full. It affords us the most complete account of the murder, and is confirmed in every particular by the other prisoners.

MARTIO: "I will tell you all if you do not torture me. The death of the Signor Francesco happened in this manner: She then began to talk about the matter to Olimpio Calvetti, and took advice of him as to how it was to be done. Olimpio lived in the Castle with his wife, and their rooms were close to those of Beatrice. The said Olimpio, Beatrice, and Paul (a young son of the Signor Francesco), were always together talking and plotting as to how they were to kill the said Signor Francesco. This was when Paul and Bernardo were both in the Castle; but Olimpio

managed to help them to escape. One day the said Beatrice, as I was passing in the Square near the Castle, called to me through a slit in the wall. I, hearing her voice, went up close to whence it issued, and she told me that she knew very well that Olimpio had spoken to me, in her name, about the ways and means of killing her father, as she was determined not to continue leading such a miserable life. She promised to divide between me and Olimpio what money her father had about him. Some time after Olimpio showed me a poison he had bought in Rome—a kind of red root—and said he was going to give it to the Signor Francesco. He also said he had a small phial of opium that the Signor Giacomo had given him to give the Lady Beatrice. I know that opium was given to Signor Francesco on the Monday before he was murdered. Olimpio was, as I have said, always talking with Beatrice, and he used to go up to her room at night and chat with her. The said Beatrice once said to me of her father: 'It is of no use trying to poison him, for he insists upon our tasting everything he eats and drinks before touching it himself.' So she and Olimpio thought it was wiser to find out some other method of killing him. The night before the murder, Signora Beatrice said to me: 'To-morrow I'll put some opium in his wine, and when he is profoundly sleeping you can kill him in such a manner that it will appear that it was done by accident; and we will tumble him over the terrace into the orchard and rabbit-warren below, and then people will think he has fallen there by mischance.' Having said this, the Signora Beatrice gave me a tallow candle which she held in her hand lighted, but without a candlestick. This was in the antechamber. We all went out with lights in our hands—that is, Beatrice, Olimpio, and myself. We passed through several rooms, and at last reached the place into which we had first been introduced when we entered the Castle. (Both Olimpio and Martio were in the Castle unknown to old Cenci.) Olimpio and I waited some time, wondering what was going to happen, when the said Beatrice opened the secret door of a small, dark room, and told me to go in. I did so, and she said I was to sleep there; and so I made up a bed on two tables put together.

Olimpio went up to Signora Beatrice's own room, where he spent the night. He told me this in the morning, and I saw him come out of her chamber very early. This was on the Monday, and he (Olimpio) told me he had slept by the fire. Olimpio brought me a cover out of Beatrice's room, for it was chilly. Both Olimpio and myself spent the day in the said room, out of the way of Signor Francesco, who did not know we were in the house. At noon Beatrice brought us our dinner on a plate hidden by a napkin. She returned to her own room, but locked us up before leaving. At about three in the afternoon she returned and talked with Olimpio, and said she had given her father the opium, having put it in his wine. He only sipped it, remarking that it was bitter, and asked her to taste it also, which she did. She told him that the wine had turned sour. The opium had taken effect, but not greatly, and she asked us, 'What shall we do?' Olimpio answered, 'Well, let us kill him to-night, at all costs.' Beatrice seemed pleased, and ascended to her own room. Very soon Olimpio also went up to her, and shortly afterwards left the Castle. He did this so that the people in the village might see him as usual, and not suspect anything. Beatrice told him at what time he ought to return. At night, after some deliberation, we concluded that it was best to wait until the Tuesday. (Possibly in deference to the wishes of Lucrezia, who piously objected to a murder on the Feast of the Nativity.) The next day passed like the first; only the opium had such an effect this time on the Signor Francesco that he stayed in bed all day with a bad headache. I slept in the same room as before, but Olimpio was always in Beatrice's chamber. At dawn on the Tuesday Olimpio called me and gave me a skewer, and, taking a hammer himself, preceded by Beatrice, we went up to the room where her father slept. Near the door we met the Signora Lucrezia, who came to meet us; for she would not remain in bed by her husband's side whilst we were killing him, being afraid he might wake up. She whispered something to Olimpio, which I could not hear, and we all followed her to the kitchen. Here Lucrezia said she was against her husband's being killed. She was terribly afraid and trembling,

and Beatrice tried to give her courage, but this time without success; and so we gave up the business for that day again. Beatrice said, however, that although he might live through the morrow, he should die on the following day. Our dinner was brought us as usual by Beatrice, only this time Olimpio slept with me. At noon the following morning we agreed to end the matter, and both went up together to the Signora Beatrice's room, where we found her alone. Olimpio was now seized with a terrible fit of coughing, which made Beatrice very angry; for she said he had it on purpose, and that he was a coward, and was not going to do her bidding. Olimpio began to turn to swearing and blaspheming, and said to her: 'If you want me to go to hell and tell me to go, for your sake I'll go.' We, however, did nothing that day, but returned to our homes together, so as to avoid giving suspicion. The next day was Wednesday. I was called by Olimpio, who came very early to my room in my own house, and whilst I was sleeping by my wife. He awakened me, and told me to rise and follow him, which I did. We got back into the Castle by the same way as before. We found Beatrice waiting for us in her bedroom, with the aforesaid hammer and skewer in her hand. I took the skewer, and Olimpio the hammer. We stayed a few moments for Lucrezia to leave her husband's chamber. As she came out we went in. Beatrice opened the window to let in a little daylight. It was dawn, and very fine. Signor Francesco was sleeping soundly, on his side. Olimpio struck him a blow on the temple and on the chest without waking him. I gave him two skewer-wounds—one above the eye, and the other behind the ear. He made a great deal of blood. Half an hour after we took him up between us, dressed him, and threw him over the terrace in such a manner that he banged himself in falling against the big mulberry-tree. Olimpio broke down some of the masonry, and it looked exactly as if he had fallen accidentally, as we had intended. This done, we left the house and went to our homes. The Signora Beatrice did not see us kill her father, for as soon as she had opened the window to let in light she quitted the room. I returned afterwards to the Castle, to get what she had promised me for

my share in the deed. She (Beatrice) gave me a dress for my wife, and some money done up in a piece of cloth . . . saying that when she got to Rome she would give me more, and that was all the money then in the house. When I got home I counted the money, and there were only twenty pieces in silver (*scudi*). Seeing this, I spoke about it to Olimpio, and said I would take them back to Beatrice, as it was not enough, and he gave me ten crowns more of his own, and swore that in Rome Beatrice would pay me fully and in gold; but neither she nor Giacomo ever gave me another penny. As I said, the Signora Lucrezia said to me, 'I think it is a pity this deed has ever been done, for it will stink' (*puzzerà*). I replied: 'I was brought here to do it, and I am sorry now I ever interfered in the matter.'—Yes, Sir Judge, we dressed the body of the said Signor Francesco, and both Beatrice and Lucrezia saw us do it. They spoilt the bed (*guastarono il letto*), changed the sheets and mattresses, and, helped by Olimpio, made things straight in the room."

It certainly would be difficult to imagine anything more horribly cold-blooded than this strange confession.

During my recent visit to Rome, the late Mr. Shakespear Wood proved to me that this *skewer* was a macaroni spike. Shades of the poets who have immortalized Beatrice Cenci. Even the instrument of death was vulgar.

FROM THE CONFESSION OF GIACOMO CENCI.

Die 7, mensis Augusti, nix elevatus in tortura dixit.

"Let me down (*et depositus*). This is the truth. (Narrates the arrival of Olimpio in Rome, and how he was received with open arms by his brothers, Paul and Bernardo.)

"Olimpio said to me that he intended getting rid of my father to vindicate his wife's honour. I told him he might do as he liked, and the said Bernardo and Paul both agreed that Olimpio was a devil of a man (*uomo del diavolo*), and quite capable of committing any kind of crime. He told me that my father kept Beatrice, my sister, shut up in the house, and would not let her go about as she liked. Bernardo also told me that Olimpio

used to go up to my sister's room and talk with her by the hour. I think Beatrice was to blame for this intimacy with Olimpio, and it vexed my father; and I believe the said Beatrice was the cause of the ruin of my family. She never ceased urging Olimpio to kill my father (*tempestando che s' ammassare mio padre*). After the murder, and when we were all of us in Rome together, I wanted to get this man, Olimpio, out of the house, and I stormed and raged about his being so familiar with my sister, but it was of no use. At that time I was unaware that he had killed my father. The said Beatrice passed whole days with him, and used to say 'We cannot do too much for him, because if we do not flatter him he will ruin us;' and then one day she frankly told me that he knew everything, and had killed our father. It is true that I told Olimpio, that if the others wished for my father's death, I did so also. I promised him a dower for his daughter, and also to take her into our house as a servant. Lucrezia, my stepmother, also wished to get rid of my father, and was, with Beatrice, the second principal personage in the matter. My brothers told me that Beatrice played the devil, and wanted my father's death. When I went to Petrella with Cesare Cenci and Oratio Pomella to bring my sister and mother back to Rome after my father's death, I asked how it had happened, and they both told me he had tumbled down off the terrace by accident. When we got back to Rome, I perceived how intimate Beatrice was with Olimpio, and was very angry. They were always talking together in private. I thought it was against my sister's reputation to be so familiar with such a man, and I resolved to get rid of him. I begged Beatrice to be careful, for people would talk, as we were now in Rome, and not at Petrella. Then Beatrice and Lucrezia told me that he had killed my father. I then begged Camillo Rosati to come and assist me in getting rid of the said Olimpio, and really I did this because I feared something would be found out against my sister's honour."

DONNA LUCREZIA again sworn for a retraction of a previous statement: "I told Giacomo and Bernardo each separately about their father's death when I got back to Rome. Giacomo said, 'Don't be afraid; it

will all be right in the end. I am sure I was always very sorry about it all. I did not want it done.' Yes, Sirs, it is true Signor Francesco did hit me with his spurs. This is how that happened. He was standing in the hall at Petrella, ready to go horseback, holding his spurs in his hand to put in the heels of his boots. My son—I mean my son by my first husband—Curtius had come from Rome to see me on affairs, and Signor Francesco saw him talking to me. I was telling him to get himself a horse out of the stable to ride back on, as it is too far to walk. At this Signor Francesco cries out, 'What are you talking about? Complaining, as usual, I suppose?' I said, 'No. All I was saying was that Curtius should get a horse, and ride home.' My husband at this was furious, and struck me in the face with his stirrups, and the place bled a little. He also knocked me down twice with a log of fire-wood."

BEATRICE now admits the story of the stirrups, by declaring that her stepmother showed her the wound made in her cheek, and adds: "My stepmother, Signora Lucrezia, took Olimpio and Martio their dinners once, when they were locked up before the murder." This was a piece of utterly unnecessary evidence, and evidently given to inculpate Lucrezia, the only member of the family worthy of the least sympathy.

CAMILLO ROSATI, being interrogated on August 7th, said: "A little time after the inundations I went to Naples, and on my return I was asked to go and see Signor Giacomo Cenci, who wanted me to help him rid himself of Olimpio, because the said Olimpio was too familiar with his sister Beatrice. I told Signor Giacomo that I was going up to Lombardy, and promised to take Olimpio with me."

FRIAR PETER CALVETTI (Olimpio's brother): I was informed that Olimpio had killed Signor Cenci at Petrella, very soon after the murder. In fact, my brother told me he had killed him. He showed me a diamond ring which Beatrice had given him. She had begged him, he said, not to wear it until after she herself was married. He added that he had wished to commit the deed unassisted; but Lucrezia and Beatrice had both insisted upon his having some one to help him, because

the Signor Francesco was a very powerful man, and he, Olimpio, might not be able to kill him at once, and therefore he might show fight, and do them all great harm. He had as companion in this crime a certain Martio, but Beatrice was against this arrangement; for when in Rome an astrologer she had consulted, she said, had told her that *March* was to be dreaded." (Evidently a pun on the name Martio.)

CAMILLO ROSATI: "After receiving money from Signor Giacomo to get Olimpio out of the States of the Church, I and Olimpio went our way into the kingdom of Naples. I found him to be a communicative sort of man, and one day he said to me, 'It was I, you know, Camillo, who killed old Cenci, the father of Beatrice.' Both Lucrezia her step-mother, and Bernardo her brother, knew all about it. (Tells the story of the murder exactly as did Martio.) Olimpio repented bitterly that he had murdered the old man; but Beatrice, whenever he said he was sorry for it to her, laughed at him, and told him that if he talked thus she would hate him, and he should never enjoy her company more. When I betrayed Olimpio to the police, and had him put in prison at Novellara, he was wearing a ring with a diamond in it, and told me Beatrice had given it to him."

It may be well here to say that Olimpio was murdered by order of Giacomo Cenci, and in this dark deed Mario Guerra figures, as well as several other persons closely connected with the Cencis. The trial for the murder of this wretch occurred at Naples in May 1600.

I have already shown that Camillo Rosati was bribed to get Olimpio out of Rome, and that he betrayed him to the police. It seems that he managed to escape, and that all over the country, in the kingdom of Naples, rewards were offered for "him alive or dead." The Count Olivares, Viceroy of Naples, issued a decree to this effect on December 10th, 1598; and in May, Marco Tullio Barsoli, Cesare and Pacifico of Terani, announce officially that they killed the said Olimpio—"a public criminal, outlaw, brigand, and highwayman"—near an inn at Cantalice.

PACIFICO, aged twenty-two, shall tell the story: "On the morning of May 17th, aided by my brother-in-law, Barsoli, I killed

Olimpio Cavaletti, a noted outlawed criminal. I knew him in Rome, because I was in the service of Signor Giacomo Cenci six months. I had also been in the service of Signors Rocco and Cristoforo Cenci, both now dead. I was thus intimate with the said Olimpio. He wanted my brother-in-law and a certain Cesare, a man once employed by the Cencis, to form a band and scour the country and even burn the barns of Martio Colonna, at Petrella, for the said Martio had, he said, betrayed him. We agreed, and just as we were leaving the inn at Cantalice, Barsoli struck Olimpio a blow on the head and knocked him off his horse. Barsoli and I then cut his head off, and galloped with it to the Signor Marchese di Celenza at Appruzzo, to get our reward." "We have been much tormented of the Roman Government, for in the Roman States there was no price set on his head, as here." Possibly the Roman Government wanted to catch Olimpio in the flesh, in order to obtain a few facts from him concerning the Cenci assassination.

I will now, at this point, give some brief account of the various documents used in the compilation of this extraordinary story. The popular notion is that the Pope and priests had every scrap of paper concerning the Cencis carefully stowed away in the most secret archives of the Vatican. Even this was not quite certain, since it was by no means improbable that they had made an *auto da fé* of the whole shortly after the deaths of the Cencis, so as to avoid the scandal which would arise should the said papers ever be published. When in 1875 I first began to think of writing the true story of this family, I asked Monsignore Nardi to afford me his assistance. He kindly sent me a copy of the "Nefandissima Vita" MSS.—of which, by the way, I have just seen a contemporary version in the British Museum, which is nearly identical even to the handwriting with that preserved in the Minerva Library, Rome. Monsignor also sent me a copy of a summary of the original trial, preserved in the Vatican, and which will be found bound up with a variety of other papers. The volume is No. 6,533, Vatican MSS. It was written at the time of the trial and served the advocates, Farinacci and Coronati, in the compilation of their defence. Signor Bartoletti has seen it,

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and has made great use of it. It contains the confessions of Beatrice, Lucrezia, and Bernardo, as well as of the brigands Olympio and Martio. Signor Dalbono has in his possession in Naples another summary of the trial equally authentic, and giving a great part of what we should call the "cross-examination" of Bernardo. Doubtless after a diligent search a number of other copies of these papers will be found. They were possibly distributed amongst the various lawyers and clerks at the time of the trial. As to the complete version of the trial itself, it has perhaps been destroyed, or is still hidden away in some of the numerous private collections of Rome. The summary, however, is sufficient for any reasonable purpose, and it is a highly interesting and curious document. It covers thirty-eight closely written pages. The correspondences of the various ambassadors to the Italian Courts from Rome have been found to contain a great deal of information concerning the Cenci trial. Notably interesting are those to Venice and Florence. But after a minute examination of the archives of Milan, Turin, Genoa, and Mantua, very little has been discovered of great importance, thereby proving that the trial made much less sensation at the time than is usually imagined. I have searched carefully at the British Museum for some fresh information; but not even the State Papers, which contain so many intercepted letters from Roman Catholics in Rome at the period of the tragedy, possess anything of the least importance; in point of fact, the name of Cenci is not even mentioned. All I have discovered of any interest was this, that on the day previous to the execution of the Cencis—that is, September 10, 1599—an Englishman named Marsh was burnt alive in Piazza Venezia, for having thrown down the Holy Sacrament in the Church of St. Agata de' Goti. The French Ambassador, who inhabited a palace in this Piazza, wrote to the Governor of Rome, petitioning that no more heretics should be burnt before his doors; not because he objected to the execution of heretics—on the contrary—but "the smell was unpleasant to his family and self." Perhaps among the large collection of letters preserved at Stonyhurst College, written by Jesuit Fathers at this time to friends in Eng-

land, some passing accounts of the event may be found by anyone who takes the trouble to search.

The MSS. versions of the tragedy are very numerous. There is scarcely an Italian library of any importance without a copy. The original is possibly the one in the Minerva already alluded to. They all begin alike by "*La Nefandissima Vita*." The copy in the British Museum distinctly says that Beatrice "was twenty years of age." So far as the trial goes, they are as inaccurate as possible, but I should think the minute details of the execution are quite correct, being probably supplied by eyewitnesses. The transactions of the Courts of Justice at this period were conducted with the greatest secrecy, and therefore not even the most influential persons were able to know more than what was "town talk," or what was related by the judges and lawyers and clerks to their families and friends. As can be proved beyond question, the Cencis, by means of their friends, during the time of their imprisonment spread abroad the most curious and sensational stories concerning themselves and their misfortunes, with a view, doubtless, of creating sympathy; and these reports, remaining after their deaths uncontradicted, have in the course of time been accepted as accurate. What transpired publicly was seen by thousands, and this portion of the MS. is most interesting and without doubt quite correct.

In every large town there are still to be found firms of notaries and lawyers which have existed for centuries; and in their offices are masses of papers, tied up and labelled, rarely, perhaps, opened, but which often contain records of lawsuits and trials which transpired centuries ago. Indeed, it is amazing, when one wants to ferret out something concerning some family or other, however apparently obscure, to find how much remains concerning them and their affairs. It was amongst the papers possessed by the well-known Roman firm of notaries, Signori Gentili Belgio and Stella, that the most curious evidence concerning the Cenci family has been found. The archives of the Arch-Confraternity of St. John Baptist likewise proved fruitful; and the very curious document, giving the bill of fare provided for the prisoners

when confined in Castel St. Angelo, was accidentally saved by Signor Bertolotti from destruction. It had been marked to be thrown away as useless, although it bore the title: "Book in which is written the daily expenses of the Cenci, made by order of Signor Ulisse."



Quaint Conceits in Pottery.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F.S.A., ETC.

V.—MAMMIFORM LIQUOR-HOLDING VESSELS.

IT is not matter for surprise that the mediæval workers in clay—so ready as they were to take advantage of every object that presented itself, and of any idea that entered the mind, turn it to good account, and adapt it to their

example itself, by my old and gifted friend Mr. F. C. Lukis, F.S.A., whose researches into the antiquities of the Channel Islands and of our own country were unwearied, and led to important results. It is what may aptly be called gourd-shaped, and has one side flat for lying upon when laid down, and the other fully developed into a beautifully and delicately-formed female breast. The surface on this example was so carefully finished that in feel to the touch it approached very closely to the skin-smoothness of nature. The nipple, too, was delicately and unobtrusively modelled. This highly interesting example, as will be at once understood from the engraving, has handles for suspension, and by these, in the same manner as the old-fashioned "leather bottles," would be slung over the shoulder in carrying. Between these handles is the neck by which the vessel would be filled with liquor, and from which also its contents would be quaffed.

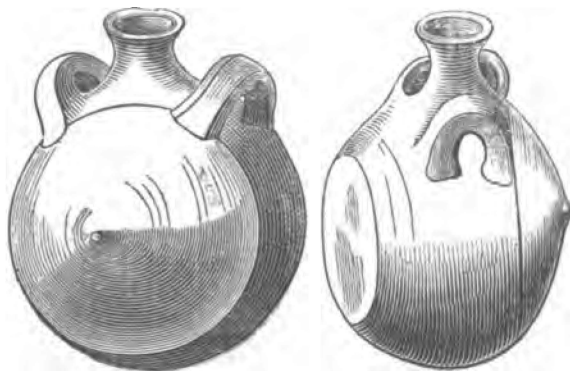


FIG. 1.

requirements—should, for some of their liquor-holding vessels, have seized upon the exquisite form and nourishment-giving purpose of the female breast, and have adopted it in a more or less prominent manner either as the form itself, or the main point of ornamentation of such vessels. Accordingly, we find, not only in our own country but among works of potters of other nations, mammiform drinking-vessels, and know these vessels to have been in use at all events for a century or two back.

An excellent and very characteristic example is the one I here engrave (Fig. 1) from a drawing specially made for me from the

The next two engravings (Fig. 2) represent a couple of "costrils," or "Pilgrim's bottles," which bear so close a resemblance to the mammiform example as to leave no room for doubt that their origin is derived from the same source—the female breast. On both of these costrils the nipple is represented, and one has the breast outlined. They both have, as usual, the central neck, and the two handles for slinging. Neither of them can stand, having no flat bottom or side. Sometimes these vessels were, more or less rudely, ornamented in "slip," or otherwise, and now and then a quaint couplet or an inscribed word or two were introduced, as, for instance:

P—2

WITH LOVE IN Y^E BREAST
MAY ALL BE POSSEST;

OR,

THIS IS GOOD LIQUOR—TASTE
BUT DO NOT WASTE.

The next example I bring forward is a mammiform vessel of somewhat different

bottels" of olden days, one of which, for the sake of comparison, I here engrave (Fig. 4).* Some of these leather bottles are of very decided mammiform character—one example that I remember having one of its ends bulged outwards, with a projecting central nipple, and some others having impressed or

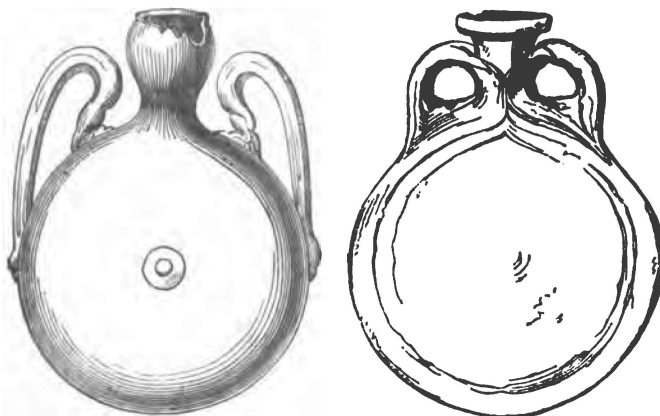


FIG. 2.

shape, being so made, with one flat end, as to be able to stand upright. On the engraving it is represented in both positions (Fig. 3). It may be described as somewhat barrel-shaped, one end being flat for standing, and the other carefully and cleverly moulded in form of a woman's breast. It is not so delicately modelled as the one previously engraved, but

incised on the side a series of lines or marks indicating the circle of the breast, and its central nipple.

An example of mammiform vessels, now before me, is of dark, almost black clay, and has its two handles and central neck, and on the side the female breast is shown fully developed—rays, an actual aureole in fact,

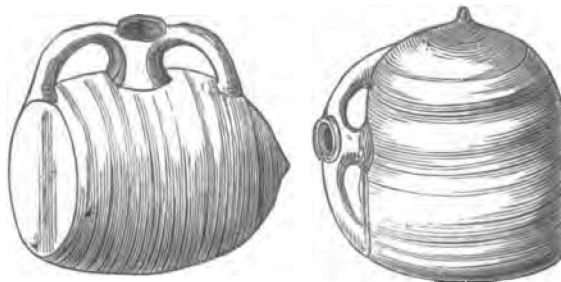


FIG. 3.

well and carefully formed; the nipple is more fully developed and the surroundings indicated.

It has the central neck with two side-handles, as usual; but in this case they are all closely connected—the handles for slinging actually forming a part of the central neck itself. There is a general resemblance to the "leather

radiating on all sides from the fully developed nipple.

These will be sufficient examples to bring forward for my present purpose, and will, I

* For an exhaustive and elaborately illustrated series of papers on "Black Jacks," "Leather Bottels," "Bombards," and the like, see the *Reliquary*, vol. xxv.



FIG. 4.

trust, have proved of somewhat more than passing interest to my readers, and will lead

attention to some Romano-British *tetina*, not by any means as showing any quaint conceits on the part of the old potters, but simply (as the connection is not very far to seek between breast-formed vessels and baby's feeding-bottles!) to show that these useful little matters claim a high antiquity of use in our own country. The two examples I have engraved (Fig. 5) are of Romano-British date, and were found at Wilderspool, the supposed site of *Condate*, where, indeed, they had actually been made. They are formed of fine clay, as is usual with the Wilderspool ware, and have each been furnished with handle and tubular spouts. Another example, found at Carnarvon, is of fine red clay, surface coloured black, and ornamented with a row



FIG. 5.

on to my probably saying a few words before long upon caudle and other cups. I am tempted, in closing these few lines, to call

of round spots in white slip. It is devoid of handle, but has the tubular spout projecting straight from the side.

On the Scandinavian Elements in the English Race.

By J. FREDERICK HODGETTS.

PART II.

SIR SAMUEL MEYRICK, in his gorgeous work on ancient arms and armour, lays it down that chain armour was not introduced into England before the end of the thirteenth

century. There is, however, positive proof in the poem of Beowulf alone, that the "brynne" or "byrnie" of the Anglo-Saxons, the "bronya" of the Slavonic tribes, and the "panza" of the Teutons, was a garment formed of linked rings, riveted together so as to form a perfect network of iron. It is called the "smith's net," the "iron-ring shirt," the "web of war, hard, hand-locked," the "net of linked rings." We are told that "the men drew off their sarks of woven rings," not to

mention many passages where the Skald tells us how the *smith* hammers the war-net, and weaves the rings.

The legs of the warriors were either undefended altogether, or swathed in cloth, over which bands were wound, somewhat in the mode now used by the Russian peasantry, and which was preserved in England as late as the seventeenth century, when we hear of the custom of "cross-gartering."

We can now form a pretty tolerable idea of the appearance of our Saxon ancestor in grim-helm, byrnie, and shield, armed with an awe-inspiring blade, a couple of gores, or javelins, slung in a belt behind him, and a tremendous spear, with its ashen shaft, in his right hand. Most artists delight to paint him like a North-American Indian medicine-man, or "Crow" chief, at best. But the refinement of chain mail, the use of the ring-bound helmet and the well-contrived shield, all combine to show that he was very far indeed from being the savage he is generally supposed to have been. The helmet with the eagle wings, one on each side, it is true, have rather a savage look; but when we see death's-heads and cross-bones on the shakoes of hussars, to say nothing of bearskin caps, and some other military headdresses of the present day, we have no very great right to boast of the improvement that it has taken twenty centuries to effect in our warlike adornments.

The external covering of the whole armed warrior was a mantle or cloak of blue cloth. In the depth of winter cloaks lined with fur were used in travelling about on sledges, and as the cold involved the use of such heavy and cumbrous garments, impeding the free use of the limbs, war was not engaged in until the spring, winter being spent in festivities of various kinds, and in listening to the Skaldic lays of the minstrels, who were persons of high honour and importance among all the Germanic tribes, especially the Scandinavians.

The ancient Scandinavian name for a warrior was "*kæmpe*," pronounced "*chempè*," whence the English word "*champion*," and the German "*kämpfer*." Latinists have endeavoured to deduce this word from the Latin "*campus*," with which it has, however, no relation, the old verb "*kæmpa*," to fight,

(pronounced "*chempa*"), having the root "*kamb*" or "*kamp*," a comb, from the blood-red comb worn on the leathern cap or helmet, thence called "*camb-on-hættan*," or "*combed hat*" worn by the warriors. The "*k*" becomes "*ch*" before "*æ*," hence our "*champion*." The Romans themselves called a tribe of Scandinavians, who were pre-eminently warlike, the "*Kimbri*," where the "*p*" has become "*b*." The Romans were accustomed to generalize in this way, for example, applying the expression Teuton to the Northern tribes on account of their worship of Tiu, Tius, or Tyr, the Mars of the North, whose name lives on in our Tuesday. Again, like the Russians of the present day, the Romans were unable to pronounce the guttural "*h*" of English, German, and the Scandinavian dialects. Hence, when a Teutonic warrior, belonging, of course, to the *heer*, or army, was spoken of by another as a "*heer-man*," or soldier, the Roman of the time of Marius would pronounce the word "*ger-man*" (with the "*g*" as in *get*), and apply the expression to the whole nation. We have an instance in modern English where this word "*heer*" is employed to denote an army, host, or multitude, in the name of the herring, so called because the fish in question comes in shoals.

Another name for the fighting man was "*wer*," *not* the Latin "*vir*," but cognate with the German "*wehr*," arm, or defence. The Romans found the harsh sound of "*w*" (which in the earliest Scandinavian was always aspirated) quite unpronounceable; but in Christian times a neo-Latinism rendered words commencing with an aspirated "*w*" by "*gu*," hence, in modern French we have our "*war*" represented by "*guerre*," William (Hwilhelm) by Guillaume, etc. This "*wer*" remained with us long after our settlement in England, and was subsequently applied to any kind of man indiscriminately. Man and woman were distinguished as *wer-man* and *wif-man*. "*Wergeld*" was the money paid as a fine for killing a man, and this was regulated by a sliding-scale of charges, which would be invaluable to a London magistrate in deciding the amount of punishment to be inflicted in accordance with the rank or position of the injured party.

Although armour of a highly elaborate kind

was worn by the leaders, chiefs, and distinguished warriors, the youthful soldiers were trained to fight nearly naked, and with sharp, short swords. Tiu, or Tyr, the type and patron of the youthful hero, was armed, like Frey, with a short sword, showing that, in the adolescent stage, the distinction of the grand war-blade would be premature. The terrible "awe-inspirer" was peculiar to Odin, who is the type and patron of mature manhood in middle life; hence the Scandinavian week culminated in Odin's day, and then begins to decline.

A parallel has been drawn between the Scandinavians and the Spartans, and it would be natural to expect similarity between two races of simple manners, regarding courage as the chief virtue, and despising cowardice as the basest vice.

Accordingly, we find them both enthusiastic in their veneration of the shield. To lose the shield was to a Scandinavian irreparable dishonour, unless it had been cleft in twain by the foe, or thrown aside to attack him with both hands free; in which case the foeman's shield replaced with honour the one cast away; and a person so disgraced was likely to be slain by the hands of the women in the camp on his return from defeat. "*Aut hoc, aut in hoc*" is given by the Roman writer as the speech of a Lacedæmonian mother to her son when presenting him with his shield previous to his going into action, and they are explained to mean, "*Aut refer hoc scutum domum, aut ipse in scuto referre.*" The Spartan contempt of death certainly could not exceed that cherished by the Scandinavians, who loved battle for the hope it gave of immediate reception by Odin, and participation in the eternal joys of which he was the distributor. A sect of the most daring Odinic worshippers was termed "Berserkers." Fame accords them the power of slaying a bear single-handed, opposing to his claws and sinews nothing but their own undefended bodies and unarmed strength; they were filled with a holy fury which led them to fling away their arms, and even that most precious treasure, the shield, to rush unarmed, and almost unclad, upon their foes, whose shields they would seize between their teeth, while with their bare hands they fairly throttled the enemy upon the field. This

done, they bore off the arms and shields of the slain as not inglorious trophies.

The Scandinavians were extremely sensitive on points of honour. To be called *Niding* was an insult that could only be wiped out by the death of the offender, and this expression lived on in our island long after the death of the last of the Saxon kings, as *Nothing*, meaning a person *below* all considerations of honour. In Scandinavia it was customary to set up a stake or "stang" on which the runes standing for the name of the person so to be insulted were carved. On the top of the pole the head of a horse was placed, turned in the direction of his dwelling. But any kind of stick would do without such elaborate preparation, nor could this ceremony be resorted to unless the insulted man had declined to accept a challenge to mortal combat, or had been proved guilty of falsehood. This is evidently the prototype of our "*posting* a man as a coward." Duels were of very common occurrence among our Pagan ancestors, and a quarrel was often taken up by the family of the slain, giving rise to the system called the "*fehde*," known in England, in after-times, as the "*feud*."

With such predilections it is no matter for wonder that the armies of Scandinavian tribes were so numerous. All men from fifteen to sixty were supposed to be ready for war. The occupations of the merchant and the agriculturist were regarded as quite beneath the notice of a free man. Nor was it only the nobles who shared these feelings; they seem to have been adopted by all classes, so that when a military expedition was determined on, the whole of the male population was not only compelled to take part in it, but would naturally, of their own free will and inclination, feel disposed to do so. Consequently none but the aged and infirm remained behind, the very women accompanying the host to excite the fury of the soldiers by their presence and exhortations, and, in case of a reverse, to slay their husbands, lovers, brothers, or friends, rather than see them survive the ignominy of defeat, after which they would kill their children, and then lay violent hands on themselves, so that slavery should not be their fate.

The fact of all the males being soldiers, explains the circumstance of the large armies

sent forth by comparatively insignificant tribes, a circumstance which the Romans attributed to their becoming too populous to remain at home. The fact is that they left, practically speaking, none of their number behind, often carrying even the aged and infirm with them to settle in some new neighbourhood, so that the actual number of emigrants on such occasions was the whole population of a country or district. Such was, in all probability, the case with the Angles who came over under Hengst and Horsa, and who were prepared to settle in the island, but not to return to Scandinavia.

The discipline among the Scandinavians was excellent: and this would be natural enough in a really warlike nation, which could not fail to recognise the value of disciplined action. They were accustomed to form in a wedge-like phalanx, having the apex directed to the enemy; the two sides, on joining battle, would gradually move forward on the centre as a pivot, so as to form a line which could be strengthened at any weak point by the reserve which had been the base of the wedge or triangle. When attacked by superior numbers this wedge closed in more densely, gaps in the front and sides being filled up from within. A shower of arrows was met by a formation similar to the Roman *Tesdudo*, to effect which the shields of the whole phalanx were locked together in an impenetrable wall partially roofed with shields, from the centre of which showers of javelins and stones were poured upon the enemy. The stones were flung from slings attached to staves, which admitted of their receiving greater impetus. To prevent the possibility of their line being broken, the individual soldiers were sometimes chained together—a circumstance which on one occasion gave Marius a great advantage. They adopted the same plan in naval warfare, chaining the ships together so that they should not separate. Here, too, the shield played an important part, being often hung round the ship's sides, so as to form a very imposing bulwark against arrows and javelins; and here we see the earliest form of the idea now expressed in armour-plating for ships. Both afloat and ashore the terrible battle-axe was wielded with fearful effect. This formidable weapon existed in two forms, one having a handle or

pole six feet long, the other being half that length. The longer weapon was called *hillebarde* or *hallebarde*—probably from “*hilla*” or “*hilda*,” war, and “*bard*” an axe. The Drabants, or Life Guards, of the Scandinavian kings were armed with this weapon, as our yeomen of the guard carry halberds at the present day. Some writers deduce the word from “*halle*,” a hall, and “*bard*,” an axe, because this weapon was emphatically the weapon of the hall. This seems too hypothetical, and carries little weight in face of the evidence that exists in favour of the long-handled axe having been used in war. On the other hand, the halberds of the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were only used for show by imperial, papal, and royal guards. In the eighteenth century it was one of the insignia of the rank of sergeant in the army.

The word *Trabant*, written also *Drabant*, was only applied to the chosen guard of Scandinavian kings. The guard of honour attendant upon Charles XII. of Sweden were deemed worthy of the appellation, and it was extremely difficult to obtain admission into this chosen band of devoted champions. They were (in the time of Charles) either seven or nine in number.

Of martial music there seems little evidence in the early Scandinavian times. The horn, it is true, is frequently mentioned, but only as a means of giving notice of the approach of a foe, and also as a signal for attack; but as a means of animating the warriors on the march, instrumental music does not appear to have been resorted to; the habit of chanting the praises of the heroes of their race supplied the Scandinavians with a ready mode of exciting their emulation of departed worthies, whom they were so anxious to join in *Valhalla*. They marched to battle, therefore, like the *Kossacks* of Russia, to the sound of their own voices “singing a sounding *Skaldic* song;” and when great emphasis was required, as on the words alliterating with each other, an emphasis given in time of peace by the twang of the sounding harp, in war the marching host “struck with their swords upon sounding shields, so that it thundered through the wide welkin up to *Valfater*, *Valhalla*’s king.” It is hardly possible to conceive a better mode of inspiring military ardour than

allowing each man to take a prominent part in the music, and the simple but highly effective device of marking emphasized words by alliterative initials afforded a system very readily acquired by the least musical ear. Such measured tones shouted by thousands of deep full voices, all in the same time and cadence, and emphasized by the simultaneous clash of weapons, was already too much for the trained troops of Rome, accustomed to march either in solemn silence, or to the regular sound of instruments played by skilled musicians. They were defeated before a blow was struck. Nor did the terrible appearance of the gigantic sons of the North, clad in "grim-helm" with the eagle's wings waving over it, and defended by chain armour, tend much to reassure the legions, who never could be brought to stand against the "barbarians," until Marius hit upon the plan of encamping his men behind earthworks, and so accustoming them to these horrid sights and sounds. This scheme of the Roman General cut two ways; not only did his soldiers overcome their terror at the sight of the Gothic warrior, and the still more appalling sound of this pre-Wagnerian German music, but the Goths grew tired of waiting, and after taunting the tired troops of Rome with cowardice as "Nithings," after setting up innumerable posts with horses' heads on them, many of the Northern warriors left their camp in disgust, and the others, unaccustomed to sustain the high pitch of their martial rage without due excitement, were not in the best fighting order when Marius really attacked them, and so afforded him an easy victory.

According to northern etiquette, those who fled from the field were slain by the women, who then killed all the children, and finally, preferring death to captivity or dishonour, fell by their own hands; thus the whole tribe would have been stamped out but for those to whom the inaction before the Roman works had proved so tedious as to send them home prior to the catastrophe.

○ To the obstinacy of these champions we may trace the peculiar stubborn disposition of the English soldier and sailor of the present day. The same haughty contempt of "foreigners," coupled with unflinching confidence in their own prowess, equally enables

our fighting-men to show themselves no unworthy descendants of their Scandinavian progenitors. The feelings and principles which have led up to such results have been the consequence of very peculiar teaching and training, and what is no less noteworthy, many of the customs of the later middle ages are to be traced directly to a Scandinavian origin, though often regarded as Romance institutions. The chanting of the Normans before the battle of Hastings, and the death-song of Talliefer, lead us directly back to the war-songs that struck such terror into the hearts of the iron-clad legions of Rome.

(To be continued.)



Notes on Common-Field Names.

BY THE REV. J. C. ATKINSON.

CLASS I., SECTION I.

Names depending for one or both of their Constituent Parts, or Elements, on some Natural Object or Feature.



FOR convenience of reference, and because the terminal element of, or suffix in, the name affords the best means of classification, it has been thought best to adhere to the alphabetical arrangement of such elements presented above. But it must be remarked at the outset, that almost more than the usual amount of laxity—if not carelessness—in the matter of orthography on the part of the first transcriber of the original documents, somewhat obtrusively suggests itself in the various and unforeseen forms some of these names are made to assume. Under the circumstances, perhaps, much of this is to be expected in the case of old word or name forms, part, or the whole of which may be old enough to have been already, when copied, on the verge of becoming obsolete. And yet again, the copy from which the list is compiled is not in all cases to be entirely depended upon. Still, in the majority of instances, probable, if not (as occasionally) ascertained, emendations may be supplied, and, in every case where uncer-

tainty prevails as to the actual form of the name given, it will be so stated.

1. *-berg*, sometimes *-burg* :

<i>Greneberg.</i>	<i>Othenberg.</i>
<i>Langberg.</i>	<i>Traneberg.</i>

The *Domesday* form of the second of these is *Langeberge*, and the name is in modern days spelt *Langbargh*, *Langbaurgh*, *Langbarugh*, etc., and is sounded *Langbarff*, just as the true Cleveland pronunciation of *plough*, *bough*, *slaughter*, *daughter*, *through*, etc., is *pleeáf*, *beeáf*, *sláfter*, *dáfter*, *thruff* (*u* as in *but*). The name is descriptive of the long, straight-backed hill which is one of the most prominent features of the district. *Othenberg* has a history, and a remarkable one. It is the invariable mediæval name, in some one or other of its multiplied forms, of what is now, and has been for over two centuries, known as Roseberry Topping. In the charters touching Hutton Locros, it occurs in the forms *Utheneberg*, *Othenburg*, *Onesberg*, *Othenesburg*. Other forms, ranging in date between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century, are *Otneberch*, *Ohtneberg*, *Othenbruche*, *Othenbrugh*, *Othenesberyge*, *Ornbach*, *Onesbergh*, *Ounesbergh*, *Ounesberry*, *Hensberg*, *Hogtenburg*, and even *Theuerbrugh* and *Theuerbrught*. In the North Riding Quarter Session Records, for the interval between 1605 and 1630, the forms *Ormesburghe*, *Ormsbury*, *Oram*, and others, are met with. In the North Riding Bridge Accounts Book, in a memorandum touching the beacons of the district, dating about 1585, the form *Oseburye Toppyne* occurs, the earliest instance of the addition of the latter word I am acquainted with. *Roseberrye Toppinge* is found in one of the Cott. MSS. which belongs probably to about the year 1640. Thoresby mentions *Rosebury Topping* in 1680, and the odd corruption of *Rosemary Torp* is found in 1720. I am inclined to think that *Oseburye* may be simply a corruption—one more, over and above the singular variety of earlier ones just enumerated—of *Onesbergh*, *Ounesberry*, and that the initial *R* in the name, as it stood some fifty years later, may be due simply to the popular instinct or feeling that there was some meaning in *Roseberry*, but none in *Oseberry*. *Traneberg* is of interest, as having the same prefix as in *Tranmire* (in Newton

Mulgrave), and *Traneholm*, now *Trenholm*, near Ingleby Arncliffe; and it is worth noticing that *Kok*, in his *Folk-speech of South Jutland*, besides citing *Trane*, a crane, as furnishing the prefix in, and giving two instances of, places named *Tranekar* (our *carr*), and one of *Trankilde* (our *keld*), actually quotes three Scandinavian instances of the name *Traneberg*, or *Tranebjerg*. One of the *Tranebergs* in question is not far from Aarhus. Our *Traneberg* is in Ormesby, which place is but a couple or three miles from Ayresome, formerly Arusum, or Arhusum, the locative of Arhus, or Arus.

2. *-brec*, *-brek* :

<i>Blakestayne-brek</i> (otherwise written <i>Bakestaynebrek</i>).
<i>Elvescarebrec.</i> <i>Endebrec.*</i>

"*Brekka*. [Sw. and English *brink*], a slope; *brekka-brun*, the edge of a slope: frequent in local names in Iceland" (Vigfusson's *Icelandic Dictionary*). It is the name also of a subdivision of Whitby district, spelt *Breccha* in the "Memorial of Benefactions" to the Abbey, and elsewhere *Brekka*, *Brecca*, the latter being the *Domesday* spelling. Probably the reading *Blakestaynebrek* is to be preferred, as *blake* occurs elsewhere, and frequently: *bake* not so. *Blake* in O.E. is pale, wan in colour, "*Bleyke* of colour, *Pallidus*, *sub-albus*." Pr. Pm.; and the Scandinavian forms are O.N. *bleikr*, Dan. *bleg*, Sw. *blek*, etc. A slope, characterized by its proximity to a pale-coloured mass of stone or rock, would thus be the meaning of the name. In the next name, *Elvescarebrec*, it is the slope above (it can hardly be beneath) a *scar* or *scaur*, that is, a precipitous face of rock. But it is the prefix which gives it its peculiar interest. Down to almost the present half of the present century, a belief in the existence and the powers of the elf-race has in Cleveland endured. The writer has had many a talk with an old woman who had, as she told him, heard the fairy washings going on, had seen the fairy butter, had known of a fairy bairn being raked over in the hayfield. Her belief in the fairy or elf-race was profound, and when one day her husband tried to ridicule her faith by asking her, in my presence, where they "bode" or lived, she "shut him

* *Melbrek* is a like name quoted from a Furness charter in a note near the end of these papers.

up" by replying, "Under t' grund, to be seear. Whar do t' mowdiwarps (moles) live?" The Cleveland words *awf*, *awfish* or *awvish*, *awf-shot* or *awf-shotten*, still in current use, sufficiently attest the once prevalent belief in the being and the power of the elf. And in the name before us—if its local habitation could be identified—we have a site where the overthrow in question was localized. *Endebrec* needs no comment.

3. *-clif*, *-clive* :

So common and so easily explained, as to require little notice. *Clif* or *clive*, and *Routhclive*, now *Rockcliff*, both in Guisborough; *Roudclive*, now *Raucliff*, in Skelton; and many others, if necessary, might be specified.

4. *-dale*, *-dales* :

<i>Briggedale.</i>	<i>Mordales, Moredales, Mordayles.</i>
<i>Crosbi-, Crossebi-dale.</i>	<i>Rivelingdale.</i>
<i>Goldale.</i>	<i>Scortedale.</i>
<i>Hanggedale.</i>	<i>Scugdale.</i>
<i>Hundredale.</i>	<i>Tinghow-, Tingolve-dale.</i>
<i>Middeldale.</i>	<i>Thoresdale.</i>

Brig or *Brigge* is not unusual as a prefix, and is not without a certain significance from—what may be called—a chronological point of view. It will be found below prefixed to *-wath*. Over the Esk, which runs through East Cleveland from its source to its destination in Whitby harbour, there were five mediæval bridges still standing in the earlier part of the present century. Side by side with each of them was a *wath*, or ford. The earliest stone bridge over the stream in question was in Eskdale parish, close to the existing Sleights Station. This bridge dated from 1286, or within a year or so of that period. The *wath*, by the side of which it was erected, was thence called, and the hamlet close to it is still called, *Brigswath*, or in the local speech *Briggiswath*, where the dissyllabic prefix is not without its significance.* But the main point is that the building of the bridge occasioned the name of the ford, and thence that of the hamlet.

* I am not certain how far this should be qualified : for I have this morning, several weeks after the above was written, come on the form Brighthouse Wath, dating April, 1638. This may suggest another derivation for Brigs wath, but it would be rather roundabout, as the "house" must certainly have derived its name from the bridge before the compound word so formed could be applied to designate the ford. On the whole, I prefer the explanation given in the text.

So, too, would it be with *Briggedale*, and *Briggewath* in Guisborough township. An analogous kind of significance, no doubt, attaches also to the prefix in the next name on the list. A cross was not the characteristic of a *by* to begin with. The erection or the presence of a cross in a hamlet sufficiently ancient to be termed a *by* at all, would be a distinguishing mark or character beyond all doubt. In *Goldale* we enter on a new field of inquiry, and older far, it may be, than the associations connected with names involving such trackmarks of history as *brek*, *by*, *thwaite*, etc. In a later section we shall come to *Gulacre*. In *Domesday* we have *Golton*, now Goulton. In charters connected with Guisborough Priory, from the end of the twelfth century, and others not ecclesiastical, onwards to the fourteenth, the name *Golstandale* often turns up, sometimes varying into *Colstandale*, *Golthstandale*, etc. Passing by, with the merest mention, the fact that this name, by stress of wear and corruption, has come to be modern *Commondale*, it may be remarked that *staindale* reveals its own origin plainly enough; but the significance of the prefix *gol* or *gul* to *dale*, *acre*, *ton*, *staindale* is by no means equally apparent. There is one quality possessed in common by *Goulton* and *Golstandale*. No one who has walked through either, no one who has gone along the line between Whitby and Stockton, and noticed the part between *Commondale* and *Kildale* Stations, can fail to conceive a lively idea of what the condition of either place must have been in days anterior to practical drainage. Fen, morass, bog, marsh—drained subsequently, in the one instance, by a long, deep stell, and in the other by the construction of a railway through a stratum of peat of great thickness. Dr. Isaac Taylor has remarked to me that "*gul* appears largely in local names in Germany and the Netherlands. In M.P.D. we have *gulle*, a marsh; in E. Frisian *gul* means soft, boggy; while in High German dialects *gülle* is given as equivalent to *pfütze*, a slough or puddle. Names in *gul* are common in Hesse also." Kok derives a place-name *Gulmade* from the Danish word *gul*, yellow, and supposes the mead or ing so qualified must have pro-

duced an unusual number of yellow flowers ; but is so dissatisfied with his own derivation, that he appends a note of question to it. As he explains *made* by the word *ing* (Dan. *eng*), there can be no doubt what the quality of the land in question was, or what *gul* really implied. See *Gulacre* under the heading *-acre* below.

With regard to the four following names only surmises can be given. All the dales here mentioned are minor and subsidiary valleys, and *Hanggedale* may have been characterized by the presence of sloping declivities on one or either side (compare *hyngandenge* from the Whitby Chartulary), while the other three may suggest their own explanation. *Rivelingdale* is uncertain ; *Scortedale* is Shortdale ; *Scugdale* occurs once and again in Cleveland, and may probably be collated with Norwegian *Skougdale*, S. Jutland *Skoudal*, *Skovdal*, in which case its dependency is upon O.N. *Skogr*, a forest, Swed. *Skog*, Dan. *Skov*, a word which is met with in many ancient place-names in Cleveland, as *Hinderscog*, *Skelderscough*, etc. *Tinghou-dale*, with its alternative spelling, *Tingolve-dale*, is worth note. There can be little doubt that *Tinghou* is the correct reading—although *Ulvedale*, *Ulfdale* is also an old name in the same district, worn and corrupted now into *Woodhill*, *Woodal*, from *Woo'dale*—for *Tinghöi* (= our *Tinghow*) occurs again and again in Scandinavia, while *Tingbjerg*, or some other compound with *Ting* as the first element, is met with perhaps eight or ten times in the self-same region ; and then the ancient *Thingwala* near Whitby brings the prefix almost into the position of a household word in the old Cleveland district. *Thoresdale* needs no comment.

5. *-eng, -enge, -enges* :

<i>Hole-enges.</i>	<i>Munkeng.</i>	<i>Sletenges.</i>
<i>Langenges.</i>	<i>Neuengge.</i>	<i>Westenges.</i>

I do not know that I can do better than quote a definition or two written five and twenty to thirty years ago : "*Ing*. Pasture or meadow lands, low and moist. Often a distinctive name for some field or other in a farm which originally was a low-lying, wet or marshy meadow, although now it may have been long drained and become arable. O.N. *engi*, *eingi* ; Dan. *eng* ; S.W. *ång* ; O. Germ. *anger*. Dan. *eng* is used in a sense

antithetical to *ager*, or arable land ; and the prominent idea is that of low-lying land too moist for ordinary tillage" (*Cleval. Glossary*). It is also worth noting that the spelling is almost always *enge*, not *inge*, in all the earlier deeds ; as, for instance, besides the instances given above, *Hyngandenges*, *Neuenge*, *Schalmenge*, etc., in the Whitby Chartulary. After the Dissolution, the form *yng*, *eyng* prevails. As to *Hole-enges*, *houl* or *howl* is "a depression in the surface of the ground, of no great lateral extent or length ; scarcely amounting to a valley, and not rugged or precipitous like a *gill*. Frequent in local names, as *Houlsyke*, *Howldyke*, both in Danby parish" (*Ibid.*). *Munk-eng* belonged to the monks of Whitby ; and of the other four names, *Sletenges* is the only one that calls for special notice. What used to be known as the chapelry of Eskdale-side is now more commonly known as the parish of Sleights—in the old spelling, *Slechtes*, *Slectes*, *Sleghts*, *Sleghtes*, *Sleytes*, etc. And the same word is met with, in one or other of these forms, in divers places in Yorkshire, as well as in the more modern form of *Sleights*, as for instance in *Barnby-Sleights*. I think the Cleveland dialect word *slight*, smooth, sleek (O.N. *sléttr*, Sw. *slät*, Dan. *slet*, Germ. *schlicht*, *schlecht*, Dutch *slecht*, with the general meaning plain, smooth, level) gives the explanation required, and I am inclined to think also that the places characterized by this prefix in the old writings contained in the Chartularies aforesaid, were so named—at least, described—as being naturally smooth or plain, rather than as having been made so by man's hand. A cleared space of sufficient dimensions to be cultivated, in all this district, was a *ridding* : a smaller like space, big enough for building purposes however, was a *toft*. But both the *ridding* and the *toft* imply human agency. Quite possibly it was otherwise with *Slechtes*, *Slegtes*, *Sleights*. As a last remark, *Sletholm*, *Slethom*, also occurs not infrequently, as well as *Sletenges*.

6. *-grene* :

Bouland-grene in Marton is met with in the Gisbrough charters, and *le Grene de Ugylbardby* in those of Whitby, not to cite other cases of so common a term. What *bouland* means may perhaps be assumed from the Scottish *bowland*, curved, crooked,

or turning with a curve. Jamieson quotes the word as a participle used in Douglas's *Virgil*, while the Pr. Pm. (belonging to the earlier half of the fifteenth century) "*bowlyn*, to play wythe bowlys," might be supposed by some to suggest a simpler explanation. But a curved or curvilinear green is the more likely of the two.*

7. -grif:

Instances of names in -grif are common enough in old deeds, and not a few are met with in *Domesday*—e.g., *Grif*, now Mulgrave, *Wallesgrif*, now Falsgrave, etc. *Grif*, *Griffe* also is one of the local names of the earliest and most frequent occurrence in the Rievaulx charters. The Gisbrough charters mention a *Snelnesgrif*, in the township of Gisbrough itself, where the *n* is intrusive, *Snelesgrif* and *Sneglesgrif* being truer forms. The present name is Snailsgrave or Snailsgrif. *Skinnegrive*, *Scinregreffe*, etc., now Skinningrove, is another local instance of the same kind, where the element -grif means "a deep narrow glen, a ravine on a smaller or gentler scale."

8. -heved, -hevede:

A very frequent constituent of mediæval local names, and in its modern form of continual use. Thus in this parish only, there are *Danby Head*, *Fryup Head* (*Great and Little*), *Ainthorpe Head*, *Wheatlands* or *Wedlands-head* (formerly *hvede landes heved*, *whaytelandes heved*, etc., two localities so named), *Cock-heads*, *Head-house*, etc. The word itself bears two meanings. The *head* of the dale, as in *Danby Head*, *Fryup Head*, *Glaisdale Head*, is just the upper end of the dale or valley, where the rift that opens out into the valley lower down takes its rise or origin. The other meaning seems to be limited to the upper mid-part of a ridge, either detached, or ascending still towards a generally higher level. *Miderigheved*, in Marton, thus admits of easy explanation. For *rig* and *wheatlands* see below under the several sections, *landes* and *rig*.

(To be continued.)

* But it ought not to be overlooked that in Landnamabok, among other Iceland place-names, *Buland* occurs twice, *Bulandshöfði* as often, and *Bulandsnas* once, and that *Buland* is no more out of place in Gisburgh townships than is *borg* in the original form of that name itself.

Medieval Bell Dedications.



AN idea has for some years existed with respect to the dedication of church bells in pre-Reformation times. It has never been adopted as an article of faith, but seems rather to be what one may call a pious opinion.

The idea, or theory, is this—that one bell of each "ring" or "peal," and that one most frequently the tenor or largest bell, was always dedicated to the patron saint of the church.

I do not know who started the idea, but it is alluded to by the late Mr. L'Estrange in his *Church Bells of Norfolk*, and I have no doubt it is to be found in other works on the subject.

Of course, the originator of the theory had what he thought sufficient reason for it. But a large quantity of information bearing upon the point has been accumulated during the last few years, and I think it may be as well to see how the new evidence affects the case. I propose, then, in this paper to adduce all the evidence I can find in the matter, and see what conclusion is to be drawn therefrom.

We have now complete records of the bell inscriptions in fifteen English counties—Beds, Cambs, Cornwall, Devon, Gloster, Herts, Kent, Leicester, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northants, Rutland, Somerset, Surrey, and Sussex. For the purpose of this inquiry, I can add partial records from Essex and Cumberland. Other counties—ten or eleven, I think—are now under investigation, but the results are not in my possession; and I am unaware how far the present condition of any mediæval rings in them has been collated with the "church goods" inventories of the reign of Edward VI.—consequently, they are at present unavailable.

From the seventeen counties, however, I am able to produce 133 instances of complete *untouched* mediæval rings. I use the word "untouched" to signify that the bells forming the ring are actually those which were there in (say) 1552; or else that, having been in part re-cast, we have satisfactory evidence as to how the bells then in existence were dedicated. I have chosen them very

carefully, as being unexceptional in their evidence. There are many other cases of complete rings of pre-Reformation bells; but in default of evidence as to their being *untouched*, I have felt bound to exclude them. For instance, the Church of the Holy Cross at High Hampton, Devon, has three medieval bells; but in 1552 it had four, and so I have rejected it.

The instances selected range from twenty-three examples in Norfolk to one in each of Herts and Surrey. Rutland, curiously enough, although its percentage of "ancient" bells is high, has not a single example of an untouched medieval peal.

Of my 133 examples, however, seven are unavailable, the dedications of the churches being unknown to me. As some reader of the *Antiquary* may be better posted than myself, I give a list of them in hope of the necessary information being supplied. They are:

Loxbeare	...	...	Devon.
Alphamstone	...	...	Essex.
Lindsell	...	...	"
Wickford	...	...	"
Brentingby	...	...	Leicester.
Clapham	...	...	Sussex.
Kingston-by-Lewes	...	...	"

Of the 126 remaining examples, the following are those which make in favour of the theory. I have tabulated them so as to show which bell in the ring bears the same dedication as the church:

TENOR BELL.

Cambs	... Bartlow	...	St. Mary.
Cumberland	... Edenhall	...	St. Cuthbert.
Devon	... Woolborough	...	St. Mary.
Gloster	... Oldbury-on-the-Hill	...	St. Arild. ¹
Kent	... Denton	...	St. Mary Magdalene.
Leicester	... Caldwell	...	St. Mary.
"	... Wyfordby	...	St. Mary. ²
Lincoln	... Bratoft	...	SS. Peter and Paul. ³
"	... Holton-le-Clay	...	St. Peter.
"	... Manby	...	St. Mary. ³
"	... Rowston	...	St. Clement.
"	... Trusthorpe	...	St. Peter.
Norfolk	... Hales	...	St. Margaret.
"	... Rockland Tofts	...	All Saints.
"	... Strumpshaw	...	St. Peter. ¹

¹ Saint's name on bell spelled "U-uel." Doubtless the patron saint was meant.

² Both tenor and treble dedicated to St. Mary.

³ Tenor dedicated to St. Peter only.

Northants	... Barton Seagrave	...	St. John. ⁴
Somerset	... Great Elm	...	St. Mary.
Surrey	... Chaldon	...	SS. Peter and Paul. ⁵
Sussex	... Madehurst	...	St. Mary Magdalene.

TREBLE BELL.

Cumberland	... Threlkeld	...	St. Mary.
"	... Burgh-by-Sands	...	St. Michael.
"	... Aikton	...	St. Andrew.
Devon	... Colaton Raleigh	...	St. John Baptist.
"	... Whimble	...	St. Mary. ⁶
"	... Stockleigh Pome-roy	...	St. Mary. ⁶
Lincoln	... South Somercotes	...	St. Mary.
"	... Canwick	...	All Saints.
Norfolk	... Haveringland	...	St. Peter.
"	... Wretton	...	All Saints.
Norwich	... St. George Tombland	...	St. George.
Northants	... Radstone	...	St. Lawrence.
Sussex	... Appledram	...	St. Mary.

OTHER BELLS.

Cumberland	Greystoke, 3rd of 4,	St. Andrew.
Devon	Brushford, 2nd of 4,	St. Mary (? Magdalene).
Essex	Margaretting, 2nd of 4,	St. Margaret.
Essex	Aythorp Roding, 2nd of 3,	B. V. M.
Leicester	Wanlip, 2nd of 3,	St. Nicholas.
Lincoln	Waith, 2nd of 3,	St. Martin.
Norfolk	Keninghall, B. V. M.	

At this last church there were four bells in 1552. In Blomefield's time there were five—all "ancients." Clearly, one has been brought from elsewhere, but it is not known which. The "patron saint" bell is the present No. 4.

Summarised, these examples show in favour of the theory:

Tenor Bells	...	...	...	19
Treble "	...	...	...	13
Other "	...	...	...	7

or a total of 39 out of 126—not quite 31 per cent.

It is only right to notice here, with regard to the seven churches above referred to, that four of them—viz., Loxbeare, Alphamstone, Brentingby, and Kingston—each contain a bell, or bells, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Now that dedication is absolutely, I believe, the commonest for churches. Hence it is quite probable that some, if not all, of the four may be really evidence "in favour."

⁴ Dedication of church doubtful—St. John, or St. Botolph.

⁵ Sole remaining bell dedicated to St. Paul.

⁶ Treble and 2nd bells both dedicated to St. Mary

But this would but very slightly alter the proportion, which, in order of counties, I now give :

	In favour.	Contra.
Bedford	0	2
Cambridge	1	1
Cornwall	0	3
Cumberland	5	1
Devon	5	12
Essex	2	4
Gloucester	1	4
Herts	0	1
Kent	1	6
Leicester	4	2
Lincoln	7	13
Norfolk	7	16
Northants	2	5
Somerset	1	15
Surrey	1	0
Sussex	2	2
	39	87

Cumberland and Somerset contrast very strangely. I wish I could have got further evidence from the North. It would be curious if it should turn out that North and South generally presented contradictory views—it would seem like it at present.

What conclusion, then, can we come to? Only to this I think—that as regards the North of England, no conclusion can be come to at present. But that as regards the Southern counties, the weight of evidence is against the theory, and that the proportion of more than two to one proves that the supposed custom was nothing like so universal as had been supposed.

There is yet another theory which I have seen mentioned respecting medieval bell dedications—viz., that they were largely influenced by the dedications of the local guilds or fraternities. I do not hope to throw much light on the question, but my City investigations have furnished me with a small piece of evidence, which bears, I think, on the question, and I should like to mention it. So little is known about the thousands of guilds and fraternities that must have existed in medieval times (I doubt if there was a church without at least one) that the question is one that is practically indeterminable.

It is a well-known fact to campanists that more bells are dedicated to the Blessed Virgin than to any other saint. This is easily to be accounted for. Firstly, by the "patron saint" theory, which, as we have seen above, is correct to a certain extent.

Secondly, and I am of opinion very much more, by the supposition that many of the bells so dedicated were those used for ringing the morning and evening "Ave" peals. These were rung respectively at daylight and at eight p.m., the latter being also known as the Curfew or Ignitegium.

Now, after the Blessed Virgin, which was the most popular saint for bell dedications? To answer this question categorically, it would be necessary to spend more time in investigation than I have to spare. But most certainly one of the most popular was St. Katharine—especially with bells cast in London in the earlier half of the fifteenth century. Why was this?

In or about the year 1420, there existed in London a "Guild of the Belle Makers." We know the fact, but nothing more.

In 1418, a wealthy London bell-founder, hight Robert Burford, by his last will bequeathed to the building of the new aisle* of St. Katharine, in the Church of St. Botolph, Aldgate, the sum of £40 (a very large sum in those days); and he further directed that the expense of the roof of the said aisle, *or chapel*, was to be defrayed out of his estate by his executors.

St. Botolph without Aldgate was, as I have shown in *Surrey Bells and London Bell-Founders*, pre-eminently the Bell-Founders' Church. I think, then, we may fairly presume that the Guild of the Bell-Makers, founded probably by Robert Burford, was attached to this church, and that this aisle or chapel was intended for their religious observances, the guild as well as the chapel being dedicated to St. Katharine. The connection of both saint and bell with a wheel may suggest a reason for this.

But from all this there flows a further idea in my mind—that the dedication of bells was largely left to the founder, and that he, in London, and at this period at all events, consequently inscribed them to the patron saint of the guild peculiar to his trade.

The well-known fact of many medieval bell-founders having favourite inscriptions points also very strongly in the same direction.

J. C. L. STAHLSCHMIDT.

* The canine Latin of the will renders this "nove insule."

Notes on our Popular Antiquities.

BY W. CAREW HAZLITT.

FAIRY MYTHOLOGY.

FAIRY RINGS.—Mr. Herbert Spencer has now shown that fairy rings are nothing more than the seeds shed by a particular kind of *fungus*, which, as Wollaston had previously observed, impoverishes the ground in which it grows to such an extent as to prevent the procreation of a new root in the second year. Thus the old fungus sheds its seed in a circular form, and perishes, leaving only the ring formed round it.

Robin Goodfellow.—The earliest allusion to him by name which has occurred to me is in one of the *Paston Papers*, under date of 1489, where the Northern Rebels' proclamation is said to be "in the name of Mayster Hobbe Hyrste, Robyn Godfelaws brodyr he is, as I trow."

Brownie.—The early Scottish poet, Dunbar, who died about 1515, in his *Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins*, speaks of two spirits called *Black-Belly* and *Bawsy-Brown*. Warton thought it not unlikely that the latter might be identical with *Brownie*.

SORCERY OR WITCHCRAFT.

In the *Tale of the Basyn*,* where the priest rises in the night and lays hold of the enchanted basin, the latter remains immovably attached to his hands:

"His handys fro the basyn myzt he not twyn.
Alas, seid Sir John, how shall I now begynne?
Here is sum wychcrafte.
Faste the basyn con he holde,
And all his body tremeld for colde;
Leuer then a c. ponde he wolde
That hit were him rafte."

But the spell is eventually dissolved by the parson of the parish, who arrives on the spot with the husband; the basin fell from them; and they all fled for shame. The inference from the presentment of the priest and the parson as the bad and good genius of the piece perhaps is, that the story in its existing form was composed about the epoch of the Reformation.

* Hazlitt's *Popular Poetry*, iii. 50.

A very curious case, illustrative of this branch of our subject, occurred in Scotland in the earlier part of the reign of James VI. The parties to an intended murder first tested their probable success by shooting with arrows of flint at images of their proposed victims, made of *butter*.*

Some country people still slit the ears of their pigs to prevent them from being bewitched.

GHOSTS OR APPARITIONS.

White Lady.—In the family of Gould of Law-Trenchard, in Devonshire, was a White Lady, who is described as flitting at full moon through the long avenue, "sparkling like the spray of a waterfall, as she passes from shadow into light."

The Kelpie.—Mr. Campbell † says very little about this spectre, and what he does say, I confess that I do not perfectly follow. But in Mr. George Macdonald's *Ronald Bannerman's Boyhood*, 1871, there is a curious and rather thrilling account, which seems worth copying hither. It occurs in one of the tales which Kirsty, the female farm-servant, used to relate to the children—not, one hopes, towards bedtime, if they partook of the same character as this. The kelpie is described as an awful aquatic creature, emerging from its native element only to pursue human prey. One afternoon it appears that a shepherd's daughter, remarkable for her beauty, went to the glen to meet her lover, and after staying with him till it was dark, returned home, passing on the way the kelpie's lair. He had seen her, and because she was so fair, he desired to eat her.

"She heard a great *whish* of water behind her. That was the water tumbling off the beast's back as he came up from the bottom. If she ran before, she flew now. And the worst of it was that she could not hear him behind her, so as to tell whereabouts he was. He might be just opening his mouth to take her every moment. At last she reached the door, which her father, who had gone out to look for her, had set wide open that she might run in at once; but all the breath was out of her body, and she fell down flat just as she got inside.

* *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. 203.

† *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, 1860, ii. 293.

"Here Allister jumped up from his seat, clapping his hands, and crying, 'Then the kelpie didn't eat her!—Kirsty! Kirsty!'

"No; but as she fell, one foot was left outside the threshold, so that the rowan branch [which the shepherd kept over the door to prevent the kelpie from ever entering] would not take care of it. And the beast laid hold of the foot with his great mouth, to drag her out of the cottage and eat her at his leisure.'

"Here Allister's face was a picture to behold! His hair was almost standing on end, his mouth was open, and his face as white as my paper.

"Make haste, Kirsty,' said Turkey, 'or Allister will go in a fit.'

"But her shoe came off in his mouth, and she drew in her foot, and was safe.'

But the more natural solution of the difficulty may be that the kelpie was a creature supposed or alleged to lurk among the kelp or sea-weed, which in some coasts not only grows to an incredible height and size, but disposes itself in all sorts of fantastic and weird forms.

What the origin of the word Kelpie may be, I do not pretend to know, and I am almost afraid to guess. It seems barely possible that it may have been a corruption of *Cyclops*, because superstition made the Scottish spirit one-eyed, as an imperfectly authorized tradition makes Polyphemus and his countrymen, or rather Polyphemus, for of the rest no description is given in the *Odyssey*. Mr. Campbell says the Cyclops was a water-spirit, as well as the kelpie, for no better reason apparently than because he was sometimes fabled to be the son of Neptune. There is surely no hint of such an idea in Homer. There is a good deal of uncertainty and confusion about the Cyclopes, which it might be both practicable and profitable to remove. But the connection between them and the kelpie, if any, was probably linked to the popular notion that Polyphemus had only a single eye, and that *Cyclops* necessarily meant that.

Corpses.—The prejudice that the presence of a dead body upon shipboard is fatal to the vessel, we find noticed in Twyne's *Pattern of Painful Adventures*, first printed about

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1576*: "Howbeit in the hottest of the sorowe the gouernour of the ship came vnto Apollonius, saying: My lord, pluck vp your heart, and be of good cheere, and consider I pray you that the ship may not abide to carrie the dead carkas, and therefore command it to be cast into the sea. . ."

GIPSIES.

In Dekker's *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, 1608, sign. G 2, the Gipsies are called *Moone-men*, and a section is devoted to an account of "a strange wild people, very dangerous to townes and country villages," as they are called; and Dekker draws a picture of them, which closely corresponds with our experience of their modern descendants or representatives. I am sorry that his account is too long for transfer hither.

My friend Dr. Diamond, of Twickenham, tells me that when he was a boy, a gipsy chief died in his neighbourhood, and over the place of interment his followers laid a black coffin-shaped stone of peculiar appearance; and it was their practice every year to come and sit in a circle round the stone, as a mark of homage to the departed.

CHARMS.

Among the *Paston Letters* is one from Margaret Paston to her husband, who was ill in London, dated from Oxnead, 28th September, 1443, from which I shall quote the following passage, as it illustrates a very curious superstition of the time: "My moder," says the writer, "be hestyd a nodyr ymmage of wax of the weytte of yow to oyer Lady of Walsyngham, and sche sent iiij. nobelys to the iiij. Orderys of Frerys at Norweche to pray for yow, and I have be hestyd to gou on pylgreymmys to Walsyngham, and to Sent Levenardys for yow. . . ."

Some charms for curing the toothache are printed in the first volume of *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, 1841.

In a letter to Lord Cromwell from Dr. Leighton, about 1537, occurs this passage, which more properly belongs elsewhere: "I send you also Our Ladys Girdle of Bruton red silke, a solemne relike, sent to women in travail."

Pepys seems to have believed in the virtues

* Undated edit., sign. E 4, recto.

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of a hare's foot as a preservative against the colic; but he did not at first apply it properly; for in the *Diary*, January 20, 1664-5, there is this odd entry: "Homeward, in my way buying a hare, and taking it home, which arose upon my discourse to-day with Mr. Batten, in Westminster Hall, who showed me my mistake, that my hare's foot hath not the joynt to it, and assures me he never had his cholique since he carried it about him; and it is a strange thing how fancy works, for I no sooner handled his foot, but I became very well, and so continue."

In Killigrew's *Parson's Wedding*, 1664 (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xiv. 500), Wanton asks Wild to let her *shake her smock over him*, before he goes into the widow's chamber, for luck's sake.

RURAL CHARMS.

Dock and Nettle.—This remedy is mentioned by Fraunce in the *Third Part of the Countess of Pembrokes Yuychurch*, 1592.

POPULAR ERRORS.

It is, no doubt, erroneous to suppose that elephants are terrified by the grunting of pigs, a superstition noticed by Charles Gibbon in his *Order of Equality*, 1604, sign. A 3.

Mandrakes.—This is mentioned as a plant in some of the early lists, but without any reference to its miraculous properties or double gender. In 1741 appeared *An Historical Account of Mandrakes, both Male and Female. With a particular Account of those which Rachel long'd for*. It is an anonymous tract tracing back the mandrake to the earliest period of Biblical history, and exhibits the opinions of all or most of the ancient naturalists on the subject.

The Barguest.—"The great cavern of Tangrogo," notices Mr. Williams,* "was formerly believed to be enchanted, and to contain hidden treasures, guarded by a great dog of a supernatural species, kept there by the Three Fairy Sisters, whose footmarks were always to be seen in the mud of a small lodgment of water within the mouth of the cavern." This cavern is in the commote of Isdulas in Denbighshire.

In Rowley's *Woman never Vext*, 1632, mine host says of his disorderly guests:

* *Denbigh and its Lordship*, 1860, p. 224.

"The bull-beggar comes when I show my head."

Old Cole.—See Allie's *Antiquities of Worcestershire*, 1856, p. 452. But for a reason which will be, perhaps, made apparent by a reference to the 2nd edition of my *Proverbs*, 1882, pp. 315-16, I do not place much reliance, or any at all, on the theory propounded in Allie's.

In the comedy of *Look About You*, 1600, there is an allusion to *Old Cole*, where it appears to be used as a sort of common nickname or by-word:

Rob. Ah, old Cole, now look about: you are catcht.

And in the Stationers' Registers, under date of January 25, 1636-7, occurs *The History of Old Cole of Reading*, as if it were some well-known popular tale or legend.

Now, does it not appear very probable that this Old Cole was the same as the famous hero of romance, Thomas Cole, of Reading, whose real or supposed history and eventual murder at Colebrook by the host and hostess of the Crane Inn, Master and Mistress Jarman—of whom the latter might have supplied Shakespear with a hint for Lady Macbeth—are so entertainingly related by Deloney? A book which became extremely popular, and of which indeed the earliest impressions have perished, would naturally have diffused itself far beyond the topographical limits which the writer has assigned to it; nor can we be quite assured that the employment of the term "Old Cole" in a tract of 1592, as I have mentioned in my *Proverbs*, 1882, p. 315, did not originate in the same person, whose reputation was of course the ground for making him the subject of a book.

MISCELLANIES.

The Royal Signet.—In *Adam Bel*, 1536, where Cloudesly is in Carlisle, about to be executed, his two comrades, Bel and Clym, knock at the town gate; and when the porter comes, they show him what they pretend to be *the king's seal*, which procures their admission:

"The porter had ween'd it had been so,
And lightly did off his look:
'Welcome be my lord's seal,' said he;
'For that shall ye come in.'"

Fox, in his *Book of Martyrs*, who is followed by the writer of the fifth act of

Henry VIII., relates how, in view of the summons of Cranmer before the Council, Henry sent for him, and in case the Council would not listen to him, delivered him his signet, which he was to exhibit as a token to them that they were discharged from their deliberation upon his matter. It is a graphic and affecting passage—more so in the prose book than in the drama; and again in the ballad-poem of *Robin Hood and Queen Katherine*, the royal page sent to the outlaw by the queen, says to Robin:

"She bids you post to fair London court,
Not fearing any thing;
For there shall be a little sport,
And she hath sent you her ring."

The effect of which delivery is to satisfy the bold archer that he may go in safety with such a passport.

So, in the *Blind Beggar of Bednal Green*, by John Day, 1659, Old Strowd, desiring that £100 should be sent him, forwards his ring to the holder of the money as a token.

Neck-verse.—A story, which appears to be alluded to in the play of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, written about 1566, is told in *Pasquil's Jests*, 1604, relevant to this old practice. It is of a man condemned to death at the Oxford Assizes, and being prompted by "a scholar" to the neck-verse, as the man himself could not read, at a certain place the scholar whispered him to take away his thumb, which prevented him from seeing the print, and the convict, misapprehending, repeated, "Take away thy thumb," upon which the judge ordered his removal. But when he was on the ladder, and just ready to be hanged, he cried, "Have at you daisy yonder!" and leapt off the cart.

Glastonbury Thorn.—Dr. Leighton, writing to Cromwell about 1537, says: "Pleesith it your worship to understand that yester night we came from Glastonbury to Bristow? I here send you for relics two flowers wrapped up in black sarcenet, that on Christmas even will spring and burgen, and bear flowers."

Manningham, in his *Diary*, May 2, 1602, records, apparently as something of which he had heard, that "At Glastenbury there are certaine bushes which beare May flowers at Christmas and in January."

"This tree," says Worlidge,* "flourished

* *Systema Horticultura*, 1677, p. 88.

many years in Wilton Garden near Salisbury, and, I suppose, is there yet; but is not altogether so exact to a day as its original from whence it came was reported to be; it's probable the faith of our ancestors might contribute much towards its certainty of time. For imagination doth operate on inanimate things, as some have observed."

Will o' the Wisp.—Lady Bradshaigh, writing to Richardson, the novelist, in relation to their meeting in the Park, when he did not recognise her, remarks: "I . . . had an opportunity of surveying you unobserved, your eyes being engaged amongst the multitude, looking, as I knew, for a certain *gill o' the wisp*, who, I have a notion, escaped being known by you."

He and She Holly.—"Mary," says Gascoigne, in the *Pleasures at Kenilworth*, 1576, "there are two kinds of *Holly*, that is to say, he *Holly* and she *Holly*. Nowe some will say that the she *Holly* hath no prickles, but thereof I entermeddle not."†

Clameur de Haro.—I presume that the *Ara* mentioned in Walford's *Fairs, Past and Present*, 1883, p. 9, is another form of *Haro*, being the cry when the settling-time arrived at a certain stage in the operations.

The following remarks appeared in the *Daily News* for June 1, 1882: "Several learned members of the French Académie des Sciences have come to the conclusion that the old-fashioned 'Clameur de Haro' might be revived to advantage in civil procedure, as a means of enabling small landed proprietors and other humble owners of house property to fight their more wealthy opponents on better terms than they can under the existing laws. It is scarcely probable that the French Parliament will legislate in the sense suggested, but in the course of the discussion which has been going on, M. Glasson, who read a long essay on the subject, gave some very interesting information as to the origin of the word. According to M. Glasson the 'Clameur de Haro' is identical with the 'Legatro' of the Bavarians and the Thuringians, and the first trace of it in France is to be found in the 'Grand Coutumier de Normandie.' The 'Clameur de Haro,' or cry for justice, only resorted to in criminal cases at first, is referred to under the name of 'Clamor

† *Poems*, by Hazlitt, ii. 129.

Violentiæ' in the Saxon laws. It may be assumed, therefore, that when William the Conqueror came to England, he found the equivalent of the 'Clameur de Haro' in existence, and the changes which he made in the application of it tended to bring the English mode of procedure into closer conformity of detail with that which prevailed in Normandy. In course of time the 'Clameur de Haro' was made applicable to civil as well as to criminal affairs, and long after it had fallen into disuse for the latter—its utility becoming less and less as the organization of society grew more perfect—it was retained in use throughout the north-west provinces of France for cases of disputed possession, and was not actually repealed until the close of the last century. It still exists in the neighbouring Channel Islands, and the owners of property attach great value to it. A very striking instance of this was afforded in Jersey the other day, the owner of some property through which a railway was to be cut raising the 'Clameur de Haro.' He was so stout that he had great difficulty in fulfilling the indispensable formality of falling on his knees and getting up again with the cry in old French—'Haro! Haro! A l'aide, mon Prince, on me fait tort.' It is not stated whether he gained his point, but there can be no doubt as to the attachment of the Channel Islanders to this survival of the Middle Ages."

In the *Encyclopædia* of Chambers, 1874, v., 699 *back*, there is an implied suggestion, which is probably of no weight whatever, that *Haro* is a corruption or abbreviated form of *Ha! Rollo!* the appeal of the party having been originally to Duke Rollo.

Reviews.

Limbus Patrium Morgania et Glamorgania: being the Genealogies of the older families of the Lordships of Morgan and Glamorgan. By GEORGE T. CLARK, F.S.A. (London: Wyman and Sons, 1886.) Royal 8vo., pp. vi-620.

IN a handsomely bound and printed volume, Mr. Clark has given us a series of succinct genealogies of the principal families of South Wales. Some of these originally appeared in the *Merthyr Guardian* many years ago. They have now been rescued from oblivion, and additions made to them from the MSS. in the

possession of Mr. Octavius Morgan; and from Sir Thomas Phillipp's *Glamorganshire Pedigrees*: the style and arrangement of the latter having been followed in the present volume.

The mass of genealogical material contained in the 600 pages of the book before us is overwhelming. That it represents years of industrious labour is evident; and its issue is a matter of congratulation for both author and publishers. It is impossible to criticize such a work; and we have but few means of testing its accuracy, without which every work of this nature is worse than useless.

We naturally turn to the family which derives its name from the Lordship, viz., that of Morgan; and this will serve to illustrate the nature of the work.

Family histories are, as a rule, limited in interest to the scions of the "Houses" whose fortunes or vicissitudes they illustrate; and to those who by intermarriage come within the pale of relationship with them and share in the glory of their ancestors. But in every family there is usually some one whose character and actions have given a lasting renown to his name, investing it and all concerning him with a public and general interest, apart from the length and interest of his pedigree. Nor are we at a loss for such interest in the Morgan family. There are at least two members of this family who have rendered themselves conspicuous in their generation by their martial bravery; the one by land, and the other by sea. Of these, Sir Thomas Morgan, a Parliamentary general, and Monk's "right-hand," is well known to those students who draw their history from original sources. The other, Sir Henry Morgan, called "the Buccaneer," is familiar to lighter readers from his adventures, which have furnished incidents for thrilling stories of sea-fights, hair-breadth escapes, and piratical adventures. From our childhood he has been familiar to us, figuring in juvenile literature as a most lawless piratical chieftain, exciting alike our awe and admiration. Under the titles of *Sir Henry Morgan the Buccaneer*, and *The Knight of the Black Flag*, he has been made to undergo numerous adventures at the hands of the sensational novelist. His life and actions are portrayed as black as the flag which bore his ensign—the "skull and crossbones." He is represented as everything that is heartless, as burning cities to the ground, and massacring the inhabitants; committing infamous atrocities on defenceless women; and finally dying an awful death, crying out in his last moments for "more human food," and surrounded by demons. The illustration on the covers of these volumes is quite in keeping with their contents. In these highly coloured cartoons Sir Henry is pictured as a most terrible-looking villain, with the conventional broadsword, and the usual complement of "scalpers" and "six-shooters" in his belt.

It has been to no purpose that his character was completely vindicated half a century ago, when he was proved to have been as peaceful and law-abiding an Admiral on the high seas in those days as one could wish for. In addition to this, on his return to London he was received at Whitehall with every honour by Charles II., and Evelyn paid him many attentions.

The parentage of Sir Thomas and Sir Henry Morgan has long been a *crux* to genealogists. It has frequently been discussed in *Notes and Queries* and

elsewhere, but without any satisfactory result. Many of our readers, who might not otherwise be interested in Mr. Clark's work, will refer to it to see how he disposes of the vexed question; but we regret to say they will be much disappointed.

On turning to page 15 of the volume before us, we find that Sir Henry is stated to have died in 1684. This is incorrect, as he died in 1688. We should, however, be inclined to regard this merely as a typographical error, were it not that more serious discrepancies confront us on the same page.

On examining the genealogies given, we find a deliberate "tacking on" of generations entirely fictitious, in which three persons are made to stand in the relationship of father, son, and brother respectively, when it is evident upon the face of it that no such relationship could ever have existed between them.

We are told that Robert Morgan was living in London in 1676. That he was the father of (1) Sir Henry Morgan, "the Buccaneer," born 1635, died 1684(8); and (2) Sir Thomas Morgan, died 1670, aged 73, thus born in 1597. From these statements it appears that Sir Thomas Morgan, the *younger* brother, was born thirty-eight years before Sir Henry, his *elder* brother; that his father survived him, and, living in 1676, would be over one hundred years of age. There is what old commentators would have called a *hiatus valde deplorabilis* between these statements. Nor has it been caused by any "slip" in dates, but is in our opinion wholly inexcusable. Whether this most erroneous information has been obtained from the MSS. in the possession of Mr. O. Morgan—which seem to have been Mr. Clark's principal source of information—or not, we cannot tell; but whatever its source, it should at once be expunged.

On the same page (15) no mention is made of the baronetcy of Sir Thomas Morgan, although his son receives the accolade at the hands of the author. On page 327, William Morgan, of Pencarne, is stated to have died in 1540, and to have married in 1546; and on page 323 the second Sir Edward Morgan, of Llantarnam, is entirely omitted. The third Sir Edward is misrepresented as being the son of the first baronet, and as the brother of Sir James Morgan, the fourth baronet. We have referred to Courthope, Burke, and other authorities, who all agree in recognising the existence of the second baronet.

An "errata" to the volume would probably dispose of many accidental errors; our discoveries, such as they are, have been made when glancing through the work.

In addition to the Morgan genealogy, similar information is given regarding the Herbert, Lewis, and many other families; and the key pedigrees are not the least useful feature of the work. At the same time, it must not be supposed that the volume furnishes exhaustive genealogies of the different families. It has, however, succeeded in its design of giving a synopsis of each generation.

An interesting portion of the volume is devoted to the "Advenæ," or those "strangers" who settled in the lordship after the Norman invasion. These were for the most part the followers of Fitz Hamon, and amongst them appear the families of Awbrey, Basset,

Le Fleming, Vann, Turberville, Stradling, Kemeys, and others.

It is curious to observe how the majority—in some cases the whole—of the branches of the great families recorded in this work have become entirely extinct. Of the once innumerable branches of the Morgan family alone, not a single male descendant is known to be living in the county at the present day, Lord Tredegar representing it by the distaff only. There are, of course, many Morgans now resident there; but none who can prove their connection with the original stock, the descendants of Cadivor the Great; and even if they were able to do so, it would probably be through the "bend sinister" only.

It would be an interesting study for the physiologist to determine the cause of the decay and extinction of these once numerous and powerful families. It is remarkable that their marriages were always confined to families living within a certain radius of them. Whether in process of time the consanguinity thus engendered by violating the laws of Nature—together with the frequent intermarriage of cousins—tended to produce this extinction, or whether it was occasioned by natural exhaustion, can only be matter for curious conjecture. But however this may be, it is certain that in the majority of cases all the branches of these families have gradually died out and become extinct.

It will be for the genealogist of the future to determine the place of Mr. Clark's work compared with books of its class. This cannot be done until it has been continually referred to, and its merits and demerits brought to light. But whatever the verdict eventually may be, we feel sure that to the remotest time both English and Welsh genealogists will feel grateful to Mr. Clark for his laborious volume.

The Western Antiquary. Edited by W. H. K. WRIGHT. (London, Plymouth, and Exeter: Elliot Stock, March, 1886.) 4to.

This part contains a portrait of the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, F.S.A., who died last year, besides a sketch of a wayside directing cross. Among the notes we may mention "The Shapleighs of Devonshire," by W. M. Sargent; "Vineyards in Somersetshire"; and an account of "A Curious Cornish Custom," by Mr. J. A. Porter. Dr. Brushfield continues his valuable "Raleigh Bibliography," a feature of this journal which is of more than local interest.

The Parish Church of Stratford S. Mary, Suffolk. By the Rev. J. G. BREWSTER. (Colchester: Mattacks.) 8vo., pp. 16.

This pamphlet records the restoration (by the munificence of the late rector) of the exceedingly interesting church of St. Mary, at Stratford, near Dedham, in the pleasant valley of the Stour. Among the many striking churches of which Suffolk can boast, the subject of this pamphlet may claim a worthy place. The most remarkable feature is a series of inscriptions (including, curiously enough, the alphabet itself), "in large bold characters of stone lined with flint," on the outer walls of the church. These are mainly commemorative of a family of wealthy clothiers,

by whom large additions were made to the fabric about the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The restoration would seem to have been carried out in a most reverential and satisfactory manner.

Mythical Monsters. By CHARLES GOULD. (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1886.) 8vo. pp. i-407.

Mr. Gould declares, in no uncertain voice, that he belongs to the new school of folk-lorists—to those

man on reindeer antlers (Figs. 1 and 2); and thirdly, he invades the territory of the zoologist to point out how the facts of nature are more marvellous than the imaginations of man, when, as in the case of Swift's wonderful conceptions of men and animals in Brobdignag and Lilliput, "the peculiar and essential similarities of the story are quite equalled, or even surpassed, by creatures which are, or have been, found in nature." We must go on with this quotation, it is so interesting: 'The imaginative diminutive cows which Gulliver brought back from Lilliput, and



FIG. 1.—DRAWING BY PALÆOLITHIC MAN.

who think Mr. Andrew Lang's view of comparative folk-lore is a much more rational view than that of Professor Max Müller. We gladly welcome Mr. Gould among the increasing band of scientific folk-lorists, and we can unhesitatingly say that his book entitles him to take rank among the foremost of the scholars who are now paying so much attention to this subject.

The view Mr. Gould takes of mythical monsters is,

placed in the meadows at Dulwich, are not one bit more remarkable, in respect to relative size, than the pigmy elephant whose remains have been found in the cave deposits of Malta, associated with those of pigmy hippopotami, and which was only two feet six inches high; or the still existing *Hippopotamus liberiensis*, which M. Milne Edwards figures as little more than two feet in height."

From such vantage-ground as these researches in

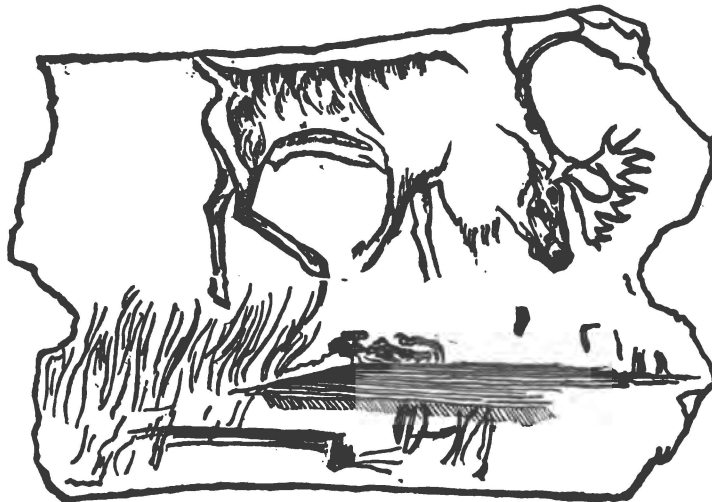


FIG. 2.—DRAWING BY PALÆOLITHIC MAN.

what they are the reflex of real monsters. To prove his case he applies first of all to geology and its magnificent scientific results. The skeleton of the mammoth, of the iguanodon, the remains of other great monsters which have been found from time to time in the various strata of geological formation, are first of all grouped together to get at some idea of what kind of animals primitive man beheld during his early wanderings on the globe. Then Mr. Gould takes a few specimens of man's rude drawings of these animals, such, for instance, as the engravings of palæolithic

the realms of scientific fact give him, Mr. Gould passes on to the realms of scientific tradition. "It is easier," says Mr. Gould, and we endorse his opinion, "to suppose that the palsy of time has enfeebled the utterances of those oft-told tales, until their original appearance is almost unrecognisable, than that uncultured savages should possess power of imagination and poetical invention far beyond those enjoyed by the most instructed nations of the present day; less hard to believe that those wonderful stories of gods and demi-gods, of giants and dwarfs, of dragons and

monsters of all descriptions, are transformations, than to believe them to be inventions." This is the keynote of Mr. Gould's researches. He discusses the various traditions which have clustered round dragons, the sea-serpent, the unicorn, and the Chinese phoenix, and he pronounces in favour of believing all

yield up some of the lost chapters of man's long and eventful history on earth.

Folk-lore is not what it was ten years ago, nay even five years ago; and the book which Mr. Gould has placed before students is well calculated to stimulate research and study into this fascinating subject.

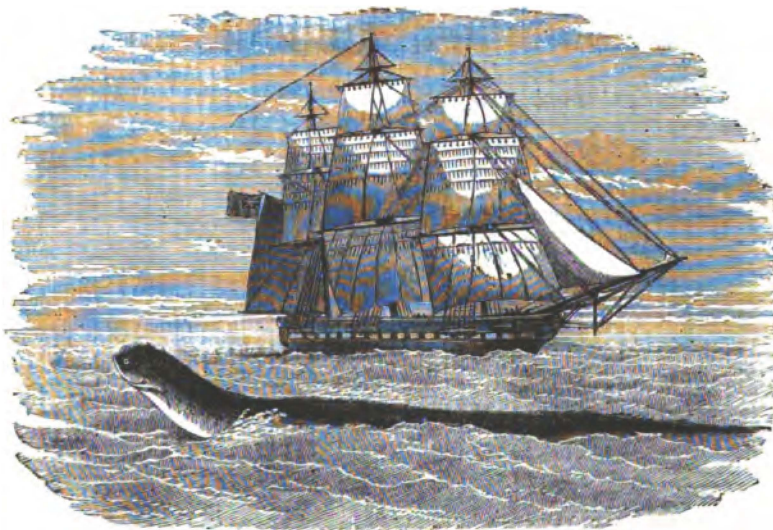


FIG. 3.—SEA-SERPENT SEEN BY THE CREW OF H.M.S. "DÆDALUS" IN 1848.

these creatures of tradition to have been once creatures of nature, ably and clearly pointing out that man has at all times observed, and feared, and fought against, and conquered, the animals who have come across his path; and it is the fossilized records of these doings which have now become a science amongst modern thinkers—a science that is asked to

There are few works, indeed, which we can so confidently recommend to our readers as this one. The valuable text and useful notes are greatly improved by the many illustrations of curious and fantastic creatures, of tradition and of nature; and we must thank the publishers for allowing us to give some specimens to illustrate this review.

Popular County Histories:—A History of Norfolk. By WALTER RYE. *A History of Devonshire, with a Sketch of its Leading Worthies.* By R. N. WORTH. (London: Elliot Stock, 1886.) 8vo.

Certainly Mr. Stock must be congratulated upon one fact in connection with this important series of books, namely, that he appears to have got the best writers to take up the two volumes already issued. No one will dispute with Mr. Rye the position of first amongst Norfolk antiquaries; and Mr. Worth has been so long and well known as an assiduous and successful researcher into Devonshire antiquities, that he seems to be singled out as one who should have been asked to undertake the present volume.

We do not quite know that the plan of either volume thoroughly comes up to the standard of local history which is to be expected in the present day; but be this as it may, the books give a very able and careful summary of a subject which covers a very extensive area of inquiry. It is not easy to give a comprehensive view of a county history in a small compass, and we recognise to the full the ability displayed in these two volumes, in giving in a clear and lucid manner

the main features of the local history involved. Mr. Rye's volume deals with aspects of Norfolk life which will be found to emanate from special research of a very important kind; and when we pass from the chapters on Norfolk before the Normans, the Norman Conquest, the results of the Conquest, the Norfolk of Elizabeth and the later history, to those later chapters on the old peasant life, the gentler life, the town life, and other forms of social history, we feel we are in the hands of an authority who is dealing with his subject upon lines he has chalked out for himself. Similarly, though in a different fashion, Mr. Worth has facts and phases of Devonshire history to bring out, which are the results of his own individual research. He divides his book somewhat differently, and, if we may say so, not so scientifically as Mr. Rye. He takes the towns and districts as his guide, Mr. Rye the facts and events. Mr. Worth is more local, Mr. Rye more general. Both are excellent, and each illustrates his particular plan of procedure well and ably; but we venture to hope that future writers in the series will follow Mr. Rye's plan rather than Mr. Worth's.

We cannot do more than thus indicate the general

features of these excellent handmaids to national history, and we must conclude by saying that our readers will find plenty in these well-printed and handsomely bound volumes to repay them for study. Both volumes are full of local colour and local knowledge of a special kind.

Mellifont Abbey in the County of Louth, its Rise and Downfall. By K. F. B. (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1885.) 12mo., pp. 45.

Romsey Abbey, or a History of the Benedictine Nunnery founded in the tenth century at Romsey in Hampshire. By A. LITTLEHALES. (Romsey: Chignell, 1886.) 8vo., pp. vi-52.

These two little pamphlets have reached us about the same time, and we cannot help wishing that local antiquaries would set to work to produce similar histories of the ecclesiastical foundations in all parts of the country. Such a series would be of great help to the archæologist and historian. Both these histories seem to have been written with care and ability, and they are useful additions to ecclesiastical archæology.

A Glossary of the Dorset Dialect, with a Grammar of Word-shapening and Wording. By WILLIAM BARNES, B.D. (Dorchester and London: Trübner, 1886.) 8vo., pp. viii-125.

The venerable author of this important addition to dialect literature is the one man who could produce such a work with the greatest amount of local information at his command, and we rejoice to think that he has not allowed his advanced years to interfere with his project. We could not well do without a Dorsetshire dialect glossary. The county is redolent with words of almost unique value and interest, and Mr. Barnes's knowledge of the various phases of dialect studies enables him to rescue and record words and peculiar formations which, in less able hands, might have been overlooked. Of course there are words which are to be found in other counties, but we do not grudge their appearance in this glossary. There are words, too, which have a history attached to them of some considerable importance, such, for instance, as the names of local offices, the names of birds and insects and local agricultural terms, which we are glad to see are included; and another feature of this glossary which strikes us as of value is the interesting scraps of folk-lore which are recorded in illustration of certain words or expressions.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Society of Antiquaries.—March 11.—The President in the chair.—The Rev. H. M. Scarth sent for exhibition some photographs of a Roman altar discovered at Bath, about 30 inches in height by 17. —Rev. Brymer Belcher exhibited two pieces of em-

broidery, representing the Virgin and Child, and St. Giles, worked in silk and gold thread, and the hands and faces painted. They were apparently of the sixteenth century.—Mr. Milman gave an account of a grant by Henry VI. of the waste water flowing from the Palace of Westminster to the inhabitants, which was found in St. Margaret's Church.—Mr. Peacock exhibited two mediæval seals, the property of Lady Fitzhardinge, one of which represented a cat devouring a mouse, with the motto, "Gret wel gibbe our cat."—Mr. E. St. F. Moore exhibited a few Roman and other antiquities found in Suffolk.

March 18.—The President in the chair.—A paper written by M. Gaillard was read describing a manufactory of flint implements found at Beg-er-Goalennec, on the Bay of Quiberon. The flints used were not found in the immediate neighbourhood, but had been conveyed thither from distant parts. The skeleton of the manufacturer was found on the spot.—Mr. Brooking Rowe exhibited a silver caudle-cup ornamented with a lion and unicorn, and a metal boss, or badge, with the letters P. M., and the words "Nul aultre."—Mr. Hilton exhibited and presented two tiles from Chichester Cathedral, of the fourteenth century, ornamented with a fleur-de-lis and a quaterfoil.—Mr. Maw exhibited a dark glass bottle found built into the wall of Wenlock Abbey, the shape being one common in the seventeenth century; and also a grey Sicilian water-jug, with an ornamental strainer to keep out insects.—Archdeacon Pownall exhibited a medal of Pope Paul III., containing his arms and those of the University of Dillingen—a pelican in her piety.

March 25.—The President in the chair.—Mr. J. G. Waller exhibited a wooden coffer covered with brass plates with flowers in *repoussé* work, purchased from a hawker in Suffolk a few months ago.—Mr. G. M. Arnold, by permission of the Bishop of Southwark, exhibited a number of examples of ancient needlework, chiefly chasubles and orphreys, formerly the property of Canon Rock.—Mr. A. W. Franks exhibited an Italian embroidery with figures of Our Lady and the Holy Child, evidently a copy of a Byzantine painting.—The vicar and churchwardens of St. Petrock's, Exeter, exhibited an ancient pall of counterfeit bawdekyn with a cross and border formed of old cope orphreys.—Mr. T. F. Kirby read a paper "On the Alien Priory of Hamble."

Anthropological Institute.—March 9.—Mr. John Evans, V.P., in the chair.—Mr. A. J. Evans read a paper on "The Flint-Knapper's Art in Albania." During a recent journey, Mr. Evans was so fortunate as to observe, in a street of Joannina, an old Albanian flint-knapper practising his art. The place where he obtained his flints was about two hours' journey from Joannina. The flints were mostly of tabular shape, scattered in profusion about the summit of a limestone plateau; but Mr. Evans was unable to discover any signs of their having been used for manufacture in ancient times.—The following communications were read by the secretary: "A few Stone Implements found in South Africa," by Mr. W. H. Penning; and "Some Prehistoric Finds in India," by Mr. Bruce Foote.

March 23.—Mr. Hyde Clarke, V.P., in the chair.—Capt. C. R. Conder read a paper "On the Present Condition of the Native Tribes in Bechuanaland."

Historical.—March 18.—Mr. Hyde Clarke, V.P., in the chair.—Mr. O. Browning read a paper "On the Flight of Louis XVI. to Varennes: a Criticism on Carlyle."—A discussion followed.

Numismatic.—March 18.—Dr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. H. Montagu exhibited an Anglo-Saxon penny of Athelstan, reading *ÆTHELSTAN REX SAXORVM*, reverse *ELE. MONTA* [*sic*] *LVND. CIVIT.*, showing that pennies with the king's title so expressed were coined at London as well as at the hitherto recorded Mercian towns of Derby, Nottingham, Oxford, and Tamworth.—Mr. A. J. Evans exhibited a specimen of the extremely rare tetradrachm of Gela, in Sicily, of the fifth century B.C., having on the reverse the legend *ΘΕΙΗΘΑΙΕ* accompanying the type of a goddess, perhaps Persephone, placing a wreath upon the head of the river-god Gelas, represented as a bull with human head.—Mr. T. Jones communicated a paper on the rare didrachm with the owl on the obverse and incuse square diagonally divided on the reverse, which was attributed by Beulé to Athens, but which the writer preferred to assign to Chalcis, in Euboea.—Mr. Head read a paper on the coins discovered on the site of Naucratis during the recent excavations conducted there by Mr. F. Petrie. He also exhibited to the meeting specimens of the coins found, ranging in date from the time of Amasis, B.C. 530, down to that of the Emperor Commodus, A.D. 190.—Mr. R. W. Cochran Patrick communicated a paper on some unpublished varieties of Scottish coins of David I., Malcolm IV., Alexander III., and David II.

Hellenic Society.—March 11.—Professor C. T. Newton, V.P., in the chair.—Mr. A. S. Murray read a paper on "Antiquities from the Island of Lipara."—Mr. A. J. Evans read a paper on "Recent Discoveries of Tarentine Terra-cottas." First sketching the topography and remains of the ancient Hellenic city, and showing what light had been thrown upon them in the course of the recent harbour-works, and by the researches of Prof. Luigi Viola, Mr. Evans proceeded to refer in detail to the finds of terra-cottas which have been specially important. Among them were three extensive deposits of *ex votis* connected respectively with three local sanctuaries, one of Apollo, and the other two of Chthonic deities, besides a highly interesting series from tombs. Specimens of these, acquired by Mr. Evans during repeated visits to the spot, were shown to the meeting, and will eventually be deposited in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Royal Asiatic Society.—March 15.—Col. Yule, President, in the chair.—After an introductory notice by the President, a letter was read from Capt. the Hon. M. G. Talbot, on a recent visit he paid to the rock-cut caves of Bamian in Northern Afghanistan.

New Shakspeare.—March 12.—Dr. F. J. Furnivall in the chair.—The Rev. W. A. Harrison read the conclusion of his paper "On William Herbert and Mary Fitton in connection with Shakspeare's Sonnets."—Mr. J. S. Stuart-Glennie read a paper "On Shakspeare and the Welcombe Enclosures," and the conclusion was drawn from the entry in Greene's MS. diary, "W. Shakspeare telling J. Greene that I was not able to beare the enclosynge of Welcombe."

Geological.—March 10.—Prof. J. W. Judd, President, in the chair.—The following communications

were read: "On the Alteration of Coarsely Spherulitic Rocks," by Mr. G. A. J. Cole, and "Account of a Well-sinking made by the Great Western Railway Company at Swindon," by Mr. H. B. Woodward.

British Archaeological Association.—March 17.—Mr. G. R. Wright in the chair.—The discovery of a remarkable prehistoric monument at Langley Burrell was announced.—Mr. M. North exhibited a drawing of the curious red-brick arches found during some excavation works on the site of the Duke of Suffolk's palace in the Borough, Southwark.—Mr. E. Way described some recent discoveries at St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark.—Dr. Woodhouse exhibited a fine series of London medals illustrative of many buildings which have passed away.—Mr. Loftus Brock described a collection of the gun-money coins of James II. struck prior to the battle of the Boyne, showing some singular reductions in size as the King's Exchequer declined.—Col. Adams described a visit to the statues found at Clapham.—A paper was read by Mr. de Gray Birch "On the Legendary History of St. Nicholas of Myra."

Archæological Institute.—March 4.—Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, V.P., in the chair.—Mr. W. T. Watkin communicated a paper "On Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1885."—Mr. Wardle read a paper "On the Ancient Buildings of the Charterhouse."—Mr. J. Bain read a paper "On the Grahams, or Græmes, of the Debateable Land, the oblong stretch of wild country lying on the Scottish side of the waters of Esk and Liddel."—Among the objects exhibited were copies of plans serving to illustrate the history of the Charterhouse.

Philological Society.—March 19.—Prof. Skeat, President, in the chair.—Mr. Whitley Stokes read a paper on "The Old-Breton Glosses at Orleans." These glosses were discovered in 1877 by the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw (whose learning and generosity Mr. Stokes warmly acknowledged) in a Latin MS. of the tenth or eleventh century, preserved in the library of Orleans, and numbered 193. The chief contents of this codex are the three collections of Irish canons published by Wasserschleben in his *Die irische Kanonensammlung* (Leipzig: 1885).

Geographical.—March 22.—The Marquis of Lorne, President, in the chair.—The paper read was "Burma, the Country and People," by Mr. J. A. Bryce.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—March 15.—The Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., President, in the chair.—Mr. W. M. Fawcett gave the following account of his visit to a chained library at Zutphen: "On arriving at Zutphen, we went to the cathedral, which we found to be a large church, somewhat dismal, like most other Dutch churches; but it has two things worthy of note: one is a beautiful brazen font and cover, and the other a large library of chained books. The library occupies the south aisle of the choir, and is continued partly round the apse: the desks are set at right angles to the walls, as in most libraries: they are 9 feet 2½ inches long, and between each desk there is a seat. Ten of these desks are fairly finished with carved ends, but they are only 1½ inches thick. The quaint dolphin terminations with a pine-apple between each are effective, and there is a subject on each. The eight others were plain and had no carving. The

books were chained by a light chain—each link $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches long, and quite narrow, and made of $\frac{1}{8}$ " metal. The chain was attached at the top of the last cover of the book, and the upper end slid on a rod; this rod passed simply through the wall-standard, and finished at the outer standard with a hasp, which fitted on a lock-plate, and held the rod when locked, so that it could not be drawn forward. It seems now to be nailed, so that the books cannot be taken away at all; but there was evidently a system of locking originally, so that books could be removed with special leave. There are in all 316 books chained in this manner. Those I looked at were seventeenth-century books, and well bound, but in lamentable condition. I rubbed several of the bindings and exhibit them. The whole place is damp and utterly uncared for, and I fear that there will not be many books left in a few years, unless more care is taken of them. The desks are not dissimilar to those in the library at Trinity Hall, but *there* the rod is below the shelf, and the chain was attached to the book at the side-edge of the book. None of the old chaining remains at Trinity Hall; but the arrangement by which it was done is quite clear, and one or two books have been chained as examples."—Mr. Fawcett proceeded to give some extracts from a journal of a tour made by Mr. Essex in Flanders in 1773.

Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field-Club.—March 10.—The first paper read was from Mr. Horace B. Woodward, on the "Geology of Brent-Knoll." Owing to the absence of sections, the structure of that remarkable hill, rising some 400 feet from the alluvial flats of the Burnham level, has always been somewhat doubtful, especially as regards its lower portion. Hitherto the sequence of the beds has been, Inferior Oolite on the top, Midford Sands next, then Upper Lias, followed by Middle Lias and Lower Lias at the base. From recent discoveries made by Mr. Woodward in 1885, he has now found out from fossil evidence that the Lower Lias has no existence at the base of the hill, but that the basal portion consists of Middle Lias clays. His paper then went on to show the bearing of this thickness of the Lias upon the coal question to the south of the Mendips, and concluded with a description of the agencies at work in the formation of such outlying conical hills as Glastonbury Tor, and the one in question.—Canon Ellacombe then read a short paper on "Place-Names derived from Plants (in the neighbourhood of Bath)," stating that the process of naming places by our early ancestors was a very simple one, for like all uncivilized people they chose out their settlements in the places best fitted for their requirements, where the necessities of life, water, wood and shelter, could be most easily procured; and naming their places from some distinctive natural feature, those of trees and plants would readily present themselves for the purpose of place-names. It was then his endeavour to show that trees and plants enter largely into place-names, and that the latter also tell us something about plants. Taking forest-trees first, how many places derive their name from the British oak, ash, elm, beech, birch, alder, box, etc.! He knew of no places near Bath, however, derived from flowers or fruit; but from more humble plants, *e.g.*, the nettle, several instances were given. Claverton,

near Bath, was supposed by a high authority to have derived its name from the lily, and was originally written Clât-ford-tun, or the town at the ford of the *clote* or lily. This derivation, though extremely pretty, he thought was incorrect, for *clote* he considered to be the water-bur, ditch-bur, or reed-bur, and not the water-lily. This view as regards Claverton was not acceptable to Mr. Skrine, who contended earnestly for the more flowery and poetical derivation, and had not failed to fortify himself with a letter from Professor Earle, who maintained the correctness of his former view of the connection of Claverton and water-lily by reference to some learned authorities. Notwithstanding this letter, Mr. Ellacombe, in reply, said that his opinion had not been in the least shaken, and he thought that the absence of the water-lily from old writers, and the fact that it was unknown in England till within the last 100 years, were strong arguments in his favour.—The Rev. S. Shaw exhibited a plaster cast of an inscription found on the N.E. buttress of the tower during the recent alterations at Twerton. The tower's date was about the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and the inscription was probably not earlier than the fifteenth. The inscription was a complete puzzle to antiquaries, and he sought a solution from those present.

Clifton Shakspeare Society.—Feb. 27.—Mr. J. H. Tucker in the chair.—*Richard II.* was the play for consideration. Mr. John Williams read a paper on "The Various Plays issued under the Title of 'Richard II.," pointing out the differences between the Quartos, and coming to the conclusion that the additions in the later ones had been written at the same time as the other portions, but that they were not printed till after the death of Elizabeth.—Mr. John Taylor read "Historical Notes on 'Richard II.," comparing the play with many passages from the old historians.—Dr. J. N. Langley read "Stray Thoughts on the Character of Richard II."—Miss Louisa Mary Davies wrote on "The Biblical and Religious Allusions in 'Richard II.,"

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—March 31.—The Rev. E. H. Adamson presiding.—The secretary, Mr. R. Blair, read a paper by the Rev. G. Rome Hall, giving an account of a British axe-hammer, and of a Roman denarius recently discovered near Barrasford. Mr. Blair also read a paper by Mr. James Clephan on "The Bigg Market Execution of 1640." The thanks of the society were presented to Sir Charles Trevelyan for the gift to the antiquaries of a portrait of Sir Walter Trevelyan.

Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural Association.—April 5.—Annual Meeting. Mr. W. H. Thorp presided. Mr. Bulmer (hon. secretary) read the annual report, which stated that during the last year the onward march of the association had been steadily pursued in nearly every department of its undertakings. The society's museum had attained a more stable position than last year, in consequence of its incorporation last November.

Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.—March 27.—The first excursion of the season of this society was made to Kirkstall Hall and Park. The weather was not favourable, but a good number assembled at the gates, and were conducted by Mr. Rogerson, architect, through the Park to Robin

Hood's grave, when Mr. Joseph Chadwick, of Dewsbury, and some others of the visitors expressed their views and beliefs as to the genuineness of the site. The grave of the prioress was next visited, and then Mr. Chadwick gave some particulars of the position of the church, the nunnery, and the surrounding buildings. The Gate House and Robin Hood's chamber, from which he shot his last arrow, were next viewed; and thence the party went to Kirklees Hall, and were shown the handsome wainscoted dining-room, some beautiful panels in which were only lately discovered, having previously been concealed by a coat of plaster.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Then and Now, at Maidencastle, Dorchester.

Chieftains of Maidun, see ye now your town
Only by sheep o'erwander'd? not a trace
Of all its huts and altars, or the race
That cried your war-cry on this wind-swept down—
Not one trace visible, save that still do frown
The ramparts three circling the well-known space;
And all the neighbouring land has changed its face,
Save that your barrows still the hill-tops crown.
To think how ye recall it!—all uplit
With fiery swords in passionate array
And loud with scorn of leaguings enemies,
Of time and fate defiant. See ye it
Now, chieftains, in its silence and decay,
Your whilome triumphs all mere phantasies?

JOHN W. HALES.

Removal of the Remains of William Rufus on the 27th of August, 1868.—We have recently recorded the removal of the tomb of William Rufus in Winchester Cathedral, and our readers will no doubt like to have before them an account of the first removal in 1868. We are indebted to Mr. W. H. Jacob for the following: The position of the tomb was felt to be practically inconvenient, and as there was a desire to enlarge the existing space for the accommodation of the increased number of scholars of the College, and an opinion existing also that it was possible that the tomb did not contain the remains of the "Red King," or if it did it was not in its original site, the authorities therefore decided to obtain the fullest information respecting the sarcophagus. Accordingly on the day above mentioned the tomb was opened by removing the upper covering in the presence of the Archdeacon of Winchester (Canon Jacob), who was also the Vice-Dean and Canon in residence; Mr. Charles Mayo, senior surgeon of the County Hospital; Dr. F. W. Richards; Mr. May, M.C.S.; Mr. Langdon, M.C.S.; Mr. J. Colson, the architect of the cathedral; the Town Clerk; Mr. H. Moody, the curator of the museum; and some of the leading citizens of Winchester. The coffin presented a cavity of the usual form, with a hollow towards the west to receive the head. At the bottom lay a number of bones, embedded in dust. That the bones were those of a human skeleton a glance sufficed to show. They lay in disorder, the two heel-bones, for example,

being in the centre. After a careful survey the bones were all picked out, one by one, and put in order on the adjoining pavement. A nearly perfect male skeleton resulted. The skull was broken into many pieces, the harder portions—the temporal bones and lower jaw, which was in two unequal fragments—escaping the best. The long bones were injured about their extremities, the shafts being, as a rule, remarkably perfect; but it was notable that the broken-off pieces were there, and fitted to their proper bones. Thus it was plain that when the tomb was rifled, the bones were taken out and subjected to wilful violence and injury; that they were scattered in disorder, and some of them lost. The condition of the bones showed that the date of the sacrilege was long after the body was buried, when the flesh had all crumbled to dust, and only bones remained; and it was therefore certain that the injuries were not inflicted by the fall of the tower, shortly after Rufus's death, or at any removal of the tomb consequent thereon. The arm and leg bones corresponded in length with those of a gentleman present at the opening, 5 feet 8 inches in height. Rufus is described as "of stature not so tall as the common sort of men" (Hollinshed), "of astonishing strength, though not very tall" (William of Malmesbury), and the massive character of the bones agreed well with this. Besides the skeleton were found fragments of a lead coffin, cloth of gold, red cloth, seven gold braids of Norman patterns, three kinds of muslin, remains of cloth lining to the lead coffin, other fabrics resembling serges, etc., a turquoise, an ivory griffin's head, fragments of small wands, some flat pieces of cork, some broken nutshells, small twigs, some pieces of bark, and the remains of a weapon. On the pieces of wood, which were of a close glistening fibre, showing a flattened oval section, being placed together they formed nearly a yard of a stout rod or staff. They varied little in size, each being from 2 to 3 inches long. Some showed an end cleanly cut, the most parts were half cut, half broken through. Some fragments were plainly missing, but a tapering of the staff towards one end was plain. Two pieces of iron were found—one solid, the size of a forefinger, and bluntly pointed; the other, larger and broken lengthways, showed a conical cavity, in which a piece of wood was firmly set, corresponding in size and texture with the smaller end of the wooden staff. The iron was partially corroded, and its surface eaten. The two clearly formed an iron head to the staff described. "What," says Dr. Richards, "was this weapon? It seemed too large for an arrow, too small for a spear. We may well ask how came such a weapon in a royal tomb? It was impossible for it to have got in by chance. It was unlike any military weapon that a Roundhead would have thrown in. Everything points to its having belonged to the original burial, and, if so, what could it have been but the fatal bolt?" Sir Richard Baker, in his *Chronicle*, published in 1696, says that on the fatal day an artificer came to the "Red King," and brought him six cross-bow arrows, being strong and sharp, whereof four he kept himself, and the other two he gave to Sir Walter Tyrrel, his bow-bearer, and so after dinner out he rode into the New Forest, where Sir Walter Tyrrel shooting at a deer, the arrow glanced against a tree or against the

back of the deer, and, flying forward, hit the king in the breast, with which he instantly fell down dead. "Can this," says Dr. Richards, "solve the riddle of the bolt 'so strong and sharp;' have our eyes gazed on, and our fingers handled, the arrow of which every English child during these seven hundred years has heard—the most noted arrow that death has ever sped?" "An Old Chronicler," writing to the *Daily Telegraph* of the 31st of August, 1868, bears out this theory, stating that the arrow-head of Tyrrel was buried in the monarch's stiffened side when he was laid in the Cathedral choir. On the 15th of September, 1868, the sarcophagus was moved from its place in the choir to its late position between the chantries of Cardinal Beaufort and Bishop Waynflete.

Book Auction in 1698.—Dr. King, in his satire called *Sorbière's Journey to London*, 1698, says: "I was at an auction of books at Tom's coffee-house, near Ludgate, where were above fifty people. Books were sold with a great deal of trifling and delay, as with us, but very cheap. Those excellent authors, Mounsieur Maimbourg, Mounsieur Varillas, and Mounsieur le Grand, tho' they were all guilt on the back, and would have made a very considerable figure in a gentleman's study, yet, after much tediousness, were sold for such trifling sums that I am ashamed to name 'em."

Criminal Law in May, 1786.—Only one hundred years have passed since the following horrible record formed a part of the news of the day: "Saturday, May 6.—The sessions at the Old Baily, which began on Wednesday, April 26, ended, when the Recorder proceeded to pass sentence on the nine capital convicts, viz., Hannah, alias Hanna Mullins, for taking a false oath, with intent to obtain probate of a seaman's will; William Smith, alias Storer, for coining halfpence (this being Smith's second conviction, he is ousted of his clergy); Edward Griffiths and Daniel Keith, for highway robberies; Jonathan Harwood, a soldier, for extorting money from a gentleman, under threats of a false accusation; James May and William Watts, for burglaries; George Woodward (the son of a gentleman of fortune), for horse-stealing; and Phebe Harris, for high treason, in coining silver. The prisoners appeared more affected than usual on receiving sentence, and each kneeled down when first brought to the bar; but the agitation and cries of the two women were too shocking for description, particularly of her who is to be burnt."



Obituary.

EDWARD SOLLY, F.R.S., F.S.A.

By the sudden death, from heart disease, of Mr. Edward Solly, on Friday, 2nd April, the *Antiquary* loses one of its best friends. Mr. Solly was born in London on October 11, 1819, and was educated at Berlin. He was elected a member of the Society of Arts in 1838, and in the same year he was appointed Chemist of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1841, he was Lecturer on Chemistry at the Royal Institute, and Hon. Member of the Royal Agricultural Society

in 1842; in 1843, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1845, he was appointed Professor of Chemistry in the East India Company's Military College at Addiscombe; and in the following year Hon. Professor of Chemistry to the Horticultural Society. His work on *Rural Economy*, first published in 1843, was issued in a third edition in 1850. The Royal Society's catalogue of scientific papers contains the titles of a series of twenty-two papers on subjects connected with chemistry, physics, and agriculture, written by Mr. Solly from 1836 to 1849. His first paper on the "Conducting Power of Iodine, Bromine, and Chlorine for Electricity" was published in the *Philosophical Magazine*, in 1836, and was translated into German. He delivered in 1852 one of the lectures on the results of the Great Exhibition. On June 9, 1852, Mr. Solly was appointed secretary of the Society of Arts, which he resigned the following year. Since that time Mr. Solly's studies were more especially devoted to English literature, and he became one of the greatest authorities on questions respecting the period of Pope and Swift. He was a frequent contributor to *Notes and Queries*, the *Bibliographer*, *Antiquary*, etc., and was one of the founders of the Index Society, for which Society he compiled a valuable *Index of Hereditary Titles*. Mr. Solly was also one of the founders of the Folk-lore Society, and an active member of the council until his death. Probably the last letter he ever wrote was one to Mr. Gomme, on a Folk-lore subject, which bears date 31st March. Mr. Solly was a well-known collector of books relating to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to those who, like the writer of this memoir, occasionally had the delight of visiting him in his magnificent library his loss is very great. In his letter to Mr. Gomme he has the following passage:—"I have just been able to crawl down into my favourite book-room;" and it is impossible not to consider this as perhaps a record of his last visit there. His widow and five daughters have at all events treasured memories to look back upon.



Antiquarian News.

Of the earliest directory of Birmingham, which was published in 1770, only two copies are known. Mr. R. B. Prosser has taken the trouble to dissect the trade list of inhabitants, and to arrange them under the headings of streets, and the list is to be printed with a preface by Mr. Samuel Timmins.

MM. Gaidoz and Sébillot, to whose joint labours all students of folk-lore are already so much indebted, have just published (Paris: Maisonneuve) a *Bibliographie des Traditions et de la Littérature Populaire des Frances d'Outre Mer*.

It is proposed to hold next year in London an international congress of all persons interested in shorthand in commemoration of its tercentenary, "which may fairly be said to have originated with Dr. Timothy Bright's *Characterie* about the year 1587."

H. W. writes from Naples to the Athenæum, under the date of March 24th, that some masons working

in the Piazza del Municipio, in front of the Teatro Fenice, came upon a large mass of coins. They were so corroded by time and humidity, and were of such a diminutive size, that the inscriptions were undecipherable. The collection has a greater value than was at first believed. None of the coins is in the Naples Museum, where they will be received as great rarities. Up to the present time the investigations of De Petra have led him to suppose that the coins belong almost entirely to the Latin principedoms which arose in the Greek peninsula after the Second Crusade. The coins indicate, in fact, the Princes of Achaia and the Dukes of Athens. Amongst the Princes of Achaia the interpreter has given the names of Guglielmo Villehardouin, Carlo d'Angio, Fiorenzo di Villehardouin, Hainaut di Villehardouin, Isabella di Villehardouin. Amongst the Dukes of Athens the name of Guido della Rocca has been met with.

At a book-sale in Edinburgh recently two commonplace books, containing MSS. of Burns, attracted a keen competition. One of the volumes brought 310 guineas, and the other 270 guineas. A Kilmarnock edition of Burns's poems, dated 1786, sold for 80 guineas, and another copy of the poet's works, of which only fifty had been originally printed, realized 47 guineas. This last-mentioned work included the original manuscript of "The Calf."

An enclosed and forgotten fragment of Wren's handiwork has lately been exposed to view. An extensive range of new buildings is in course of construction along the western side of Warwick Lane. The ground to be covered lies between Warwick Square and the back of Newgate Street. Between this ground and Newgate Prison stand the foundries and show-rooms of Messrs. J. Tylor and Sons. Their principal block of workshops is conspicuous for its high tower, which soars above the prison shaft and the Holborn Valley below. Immediately northwards of this block are the show-rooms and offices, embodying, in parts, all that is now left of the old College of Physicians. The eastern façade of this remaining fragment will soon be again lost to sight. The Royal College of Physicians derive their foundation from certain meetings which were held at his residence in Knight-riding Street by Dr. Linacre, physician to Kings Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and the friend of Erasmus, Latimer, and Sir Thomas More. The members subsequently migrated from Linacre's house, which they had inherited under his will, to more commodious premises by Amen Corner—these ever memorable for the lectures that Harvey delivered therein upon his own great discovery, and for which he used some preparations that were religiously preserved after his death.

Intelligence has been received by the *Times* of an important series of finds at Assouan. The successful explorer is General Grenfell, who has had the good fortune to discover an ancient Egyptian necropolis in the Libyan, or Western Desert, opposite Assouan, on the left bank of the Nile. Among the tombs already opened are several which date apparently from the Twelfth Dynasty (circa B.C. 3000), and are constructed in the style of the great Lycopolitan sepulchres in the mountains above Siout. They consist of two or more halls, or chambers, connected by

corridors, the roof being supported by columns, and the walls decorated with coloured bas-reliefs in brilliant preservation. Several of these tombs appear to belong to members of a noble, if not a royally connected family, the heads of which were probably governors of the province. The largest is described as a truly magnificent sepulchre, measuring 140 feet in depth by 40 feet in breadth, and containing thirty columns, some square, some round. It purports to be the tomb of a certain prince of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lived in the reign of one Nefokara. The sculptures are very curious, and the aspect of the whole tomb is reported as extremely archaic. The cemetery will probably prove to be of great extent, as there is evidence of its having been in use down to a late period. The large tomb, usurped by later comers, was found piled to the ceiling with mummies, mummy-cases, and funerary furniture of Roman times, including upwards of sixty memorial stelæ. General Grenfell is actively pursuing his work of discovery by the help of our English soldiers, who continue to open and clear out tomb after tomb.

The Parish Church of St. Andrew, Marks Tey, was lately re-opened after complete restoration. Fortunately both rector and architect set their faces resolutely against any vandalism, and insisted on restoring in the most strictly conservative spirit the whole fabric, only renewing where absolutely necessary, so that the old tower is now handed over in practically the state in which it left the builders' hands, its massive timbers 400 years old (only to be seen by those who will take the trouble of a visit to the belfry), repaired and strong enough to last for centuries more, and protected from the weather by entirely new oak planking. Throughout the church the same reverent conservatism has, we are glad to be informed, guided the architect's hand. No single feature has been obliterated, no quaint detail of genuine character has been re-modelled and "architecturalized," only where a modern window of wretched design was found to spoil the whole effect of the church, it has been replaced by one of a design to harmonize with the building. The ancient roofs are opened out and shown in their age-worn but sound state; the fine and lofty tower-arch has been exposed and cleaned from whitewash, etc., and its handsome proportions now form, with the beautiful old oak font under it, perhaps the finest group in the building. This font indeed, now carefully restored, is one of the most interesting features in the church; of beautiful design and execution, though defaced by the hacking off of its carved panels probably at the Reformation. The church, which is of Norman foundation, remodelled in the fourteenth century, when the chancel was built, and furnished with a tower and porch at the end of the fifteenth, or very early in the sixteenth.

Mr. John Holmes, Roundhay, writes as follows to the *Leeds Mercury*, date March 16th: "A respectably dressed working operative shoemaker called to-day at the Holmsted to show me and to ask about two very singular candlesticks which he had himself dug up in a bit of garden at the Black Bank, Burman-tofts, Leeds. About five years ago he dug up the said candlesticks with a spade at different times, within, say, 30 feet of each other, and as they puzzled him, and he

thought (truly) they would please me, he brought them to ask what I could tell him about them. The least was a beautiful casting in French style. The candle-holder is lined and edged with brass, with a classic iron stem of a head, and floral surroundings, and a base or tripod of acanthus leaves. It stands about 6 or 8 inches in height. It is light and handy, and is probably of the fashion brought in by the Empire, and spread in England about 1800 to 1820. The other, less artistic, is more interesting, in being older. It stands, say, 8 or 10 inches in height, and appears to be of solid cast iron throughout. The stand is a circle about 5 inches in diameter, ornamented by an outer rim of leaves and roses. The stem is of solid iron, with four grooves or recesses, round at the top, where the candle-hold stands. This is slightly moulded round, the whole giving a pleasant form, with chaste and appropriate figuring as ornament. Along with them was a copper coin, but too worn to distinguish any figure or inscription on it. I conjecture these to be at least a century old, the candlestick being much and deeply rusted. There is no great value in them, either as antique or artistic. My friend brought a handful of old pennies and tokens, some over twenty years, none more than a century or so, old. A George III. of 1760 was as sharp as if just minted. Among the coins was a brass noble, *temp.* 1340, as figured in Humphrey's *Coins of England*, No. 87; one side is very fine, but the other (of the ship) is obliterated."

Mr. John Tomlinson, who in 1882 issued the *Level of Hatfield Chase and Parts Adjacent*, is now preparing for the press a "History of Doncaster from the Roman Occupation to the Present Time." His researches towards this object have extended over many years, certain rare manuscript collections, and especially the muniments of the Doncaster Corporation, having been liberally put under contribution. The book will be illustrated.

At Poole's Cavern, a natural excavation in the carboniferous limestone at Buxton, Mr. Frank Redfern has, after diligent search, been rewarded by finding several ancient relics. Some twenty years since an excavation was made which resulted in the discovery of bones compacted within a small space, and mingled with fragments of broken pottery, charcoal, and a flint implement. Mr. Redfern has from time to time resumed his investigations, and now, in breaking through some stalagmite, he has come across several varieties of Roman pottery, together with bones of animals. There are four different classes of pottery, in fragments, some being black and unglazed. A portion of a water-bottle, with handle, of the same description as that found at Uriconium, Wroxeter, Salop, was also turned up. An urn, in almost perfect preservation, was removed. The pattern on the exterior is that known to antiquaries as the herring-bone. Among the other relics discovered was an exquisite little Roman lamp, a bronze pin, or brooch, 4 inches in length, and a bronze frame, diamond-shaped, which apparently formed an article of personal adornment. Not less interesting is a cluster bronze found in the same cavern, which relic Professor Boyd Dawkins has stated to be very seldom found in England. The bones, principally those of deer, were found in close proximity to the pottery. Some

Samian ware, with the name "Patricunio" in fairly legible letters, was found within 50 yards of the entrance to the cavern. The relics will be placed in the museum attached to Poole's Cavern.

An interesting discovery has just been made in the course of the excavations at the Acropolis, near the erectheum, Athens. Three statues of women, half as large again as life, excellently preserved, completely coloured, and delicately finished, were found.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* recently drew attention to some interesting remains of an old arch bricked up and hidden away behind the Stationers' Company's Hall, and west of Amen Court, forming, in fact, a part of a poultry-shop. There is an arch with a span of 12 feet, which is built of narrow Roman bricks set on end, of a similar type to those seen in the Abbey of St. Alban's. Upon the eastern side of the arch and wall is accumulated the *débris* of sixteen centuries, right up to the crown of the archway, 16 feet in depth. These relics are not, as at first supposed, a portion of the old London wall. Mr. G. H. Birch, writing on the subject, remarks that the ruins have been known to him for many years. The fragment itself is not a gateway, but a portion of a tower, and, although of remote antiquity, is not Roman, as this portion of the wall did not form a portion of the original Roman wall. The presence of Roman tiles in courses does not necessarily imply Roman workmanship. The bastion in Camomile Street proved this unmistakably, as portions of Roman buildings and statuary had been worked in as ordinary stones, and yet the tile courses were present to take in the unwary. Roman London did not extend westward beyond Walbrook and Dowgate, and eastward beyond the tower, northward beyond Cornhill. Roman interments have been constantly found beyond these limits—notably, St. Paul's Churchyard, Ludgate Hill, the sites of the Royal Exchange and the Union Bank of London, proving that they were extramural beyond all question, but were afterwards included in a subsequent extension when the traditions of the Roman manner of building had not entirely died out.

A very valuable work has been stolen from the Minerva Library at Rome. It is the celebrated edition of Lactantius, printed in 1465 at the Monastery of Subiaco by the two German printers Sweynheym and Pannartz, and is the first book printed in Italy. The value of the small volume may be inferred from the fact that some time back £600 was paid at an auction for a copy. It is suspected by the police that one of the library officials must be the thief.

Mrs. Frances Anne Collins, of Kirkburton Vicarage, is, we hear, engaged on an important work—the preparation of the parish registries of Kirkburton. The work is dedicated to the Bishop of Ripon, and volume one, it is stated, will comprise nearly 9,000 entries, many of them relating to ancient Yorkshire families. The editor has added notes to those names of whom anything further is known, and in many cases the dates of wills, etc., have been inserted. The churchwardens' accounts for 1581, 1583, and 1584, are given in full. These registers illustrate, and are illustrated by, Dr. Morehouse's excellent *History of Kirkburton*. It is hoped that the whole series to 1754 may be completed this year.

Following the example of Joseph Zahnsdorf, who lately bound two Elzevir editions in human skin, another London binder has executed an order to encase a copy of Hans Holbein's *Dance of Death* in the same ghastly integument, certainly a very appropriate covering for this work. These are not the only instances, however, in which the casing of the "human form divine" has been utilized. In the library at Mexborough House, near Methley, Yorkshire, there were formerly two books, Sir John Cheek's *Hurt of Sedition*, and Braithwaite's *Arcadian Princess*, both bound in the prepared skin of Mary Bateman, "the Yorkshire witch," who was executed early in the beginning of this century for murder; but these were among those which disappeared during the cataloguing of the library for sale, when one of the former Earls of Mexborough was in difficulties.

The authorities at Liverpool have intimated their willingness to provide the necessary accommodation for such antiquities as may be lying in the cellars of the British Museum, where room cannot be found for them except at a further outlay of public money.

Lauffer's *Allgemeiner Kunstkronik* states the Austrian Numismatische Gesellschaft is making preparation for a great exhibition of coins and medals in Vienna in 1887. As the Maria Theresa monument is to be unveiled in that year, the secretaries of the committee, Direktor Ernst, and the painter J. Spöttl, appeal to collectors to assist them in making the collection of coins of the empress and of the contemporary spiritual and temporal princes of the empire as complete as possible.

Messrs. D. Bryce and Co., of Glasgow, announce *Quaint Bits still Existing in Glasgow*, seventy sketches drawn by Mr. D. Small, with descriptive letterpress by Mr. A. H. Millar. The work of demolition begun by the Improvement Trust has already played sad havoc with the central portion of Glasgow; the railways are completing the destruction of most of the landmarks in its history, and the antique portions of Glasgow are rapidly disappearing. The book is an effort to record them before they are gone.

An interesting bust of Brutus, in white marble, from Rome, recently acquired by the Trustees, has just been placed next to the well-known bust of Julius Cæsar in the Roman Gallery in the British Museum.

Among the many interesting objects which have lately been found at Echmim, are some sepulchral boxes, which deserve notice on account of their style of ornamentation, etc.

Lord Esher, the Marquis of Lothian, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Marquis of Bath, the Earl of Rosebery, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, the Bishop of Chester, the Bishop of Limerick, Lord Acton, Lord Carlingford, Sir George Dasent, Sir William Hardy, and Mr. H. C. M. Lyte, Deputy Keeper of the Records, are appointed members of the Royal Commission to inquire into the places in which documents illustrative of history or of general public interest belonging to private persons are deposited, and to consider whether, with the consent of the owners, means might not be taken to render such documents available for public refer-

ence. The Commissioners are authorized to call in the aid and co-operation of all possessors of manuscripts and papers, and to assure them that no information is sought except such as relates to public affairs, and that no knowledge or information obtained from their collections will be promulgated without their consent. The Commissioners are also empowered, with the consent of the owners, to make abstracts and catalogues of such manuscripts. Mr. John Romilly is appointed Secretary to the Commission.



Correspondence.

PARISH UMBRELLAS.

In Mr. Rose's little book dealing with the records of Leigh, Lancashire, he quotes an entry under date 1755:

Pd. John Orms Bill for the Uंबरello 8s. 6d.

This entry was at the time supposed to be unique. But I find the following in the parish books of Cranbrook, Kent:

1783, pd. for an Umbrella : : 12s.

1786, pd. for an Umbrella : : 15s.

These are rather extraordinary things to be provided out of Church-rates. What were they for?

J. C. L. S.

PEDIGREE OF GEORGE BERKELLY.

Can any of your readers tell me how to prove the pedigree of the celebrated George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne? That he was sprung from the great race of Berkeley of Berkeley Castle is rendered at least probable by the arms of that house being placed on his monument in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford. The anonymous *Memoirs*, of which a second edition appeared in 1784, says that he was the "son of William Berkeley, of Thomastown, in the county of Kilkenny, whose father went over to Ireland after the Restoration (the family having suffered greatly for their loyalty to Charles I.), and there obtained the collectorship of Belfast." There are scientific as well as historical reasons why the genealogy of such a man should be investigated with the utmost care.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

Bottesford Manor, Brigg.

BOOK-PLATE.

Can any reader of the *Antiquary* inform me to whom the following arms belong?—

Quarterly: 1st and 4th, Gules, a Chevron Vair between 3 Crescents; 2nd and 3rd, Azure, a fess lozengy between 3 birds' heads of the second.

Crest: A stag's head at gaze.

Motto: Cervus non Cervus.

There is no name.

The plate is in a very old book, both covers of which are stamped with 1st quarter. There is a profile helmet and a considerable amount of mantling; but the engraving is not by any means highly finished.

E. W. B.

Bewdley, March 25th, 1886.

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Copies of 222 Marriage Registers from the parish book of St. Mary's Church in Whittlesey, in the Isle of Ely and County of Cambridge, 1662-72; 1880, 10 pp., 1s. 6d. A copy of the Names of all the Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials which have been solemnized in the private chapel of Somerset House, Strand, in the County of Middlesex, extending from 1714 to 1776, with an index and copious genealogical notes; 36 pp. and wrapper, 1862, 2s. 6d. Dr. Robert Mossom, Bishop of Derry, with a bibliography of his works; reprinted with additions and corrections from the Palatine Note Book, by John Ingle Dredge (not published); 1882, 12 pp., with wrapper, 2s. 6d. Dr. George Downname, Bishop of Derry, by Rev. John Ingle Dredge; 1881, 14 pp. and wrapper (not published), 2s. 6d.—119, care of Manager.

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He must, he is, he cannot but be wise.—TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, Act ii. sc. 3.

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The Antiquary.



JUNE, 1886.

On some Miniature Painters and Enamellists who have flourished in England.

BY J. J. FOSTER.

PART I.

BEFORE the modern sciences of geology and anthropology threw the origin of man into the dim vistas of prehistoric times, if one dated the commencement of a subject as far back as "the times of the Romans," it was thought sufficient; but nowadays, one must begin much earlier. Without entering upon the vexed question of when man appeared on this planet, we may safely say that our first parents undoubtedly possessed miniatures of each other, as often as they looked into one another's eyes; or, as Tom Moore has expressed it in verse:

Look in my eyes, my blushing fair,
Thou'lt see thyself reflected there;
And, as I gaze on thine, I see
Two little miniatures of me.

If any should object to this instance of poetic license, it may, in all soberness, be urged that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the record of drawing in miniature extends thus far; for modern research has given to art an antiquity, compared to which the Pyramids are things but of yesterday.

The discoveries of Messrs. Christy and Lartet in the bone-caves of the Dordogne have brought to light outline portraits upon ivory of the prehistoric hunter. His prey, viz., the urus, the reindeer, and the mammoth, are also represented. These rude carvings, for graphic force and suggestiveness, could hardly be excelled by modern hands, however cunning.

VOL. XIII.

But we may not linger upon the debatable ground over which prehistoric man roamed, and still less, loiter in the Garden of Eden, for we have to treat of a topic difficult to compress into an article or two.

It has been well said that the means of historical illustration by portraiture in England may be called almost inexhaustible, for there is no country in the world so rich in historical portraits as our own, except Italy. But Italian portraits, for the most part, are confined to the galleries in the palaces of great families; whilst with us the land is studded with ancestral houses, many of them dating back to Tudor times, filled from basement to attic with old pictures. Amongst these, huge family groups and the insipidities of Kneller make often the largest show; but there are besides, sometimes neglected, and sometimes cherished as they deserve, miniature portraits of successive generations, many of which are of the greatest interest and value. It is of the last-named kind of art, and of those who practised it, that I propose to say something in these jottings.

Now, there is this marked difference between a gossip about one's neighbours and a talk about deceased literary or artistic characters, that, as regards the former, it frequently happens the less one knows the more one has to say; whilst, with the latter, one must know a good deal about the men, their work and surroundings, before it is possible to "gossip" about them. Imagination, which in the one case so easily supplies the lack of information, being a frequent snare in dealing with past history either of people or events.

Accordingly, I hesitate to call this paper a "gossip" about miniature painters; and yet I know no better term for it, since to deal exhaustively with such a subject would require a book in which, if one escaped the Scylla of a disjointed collection of facts, it might be only to fall into the Charybdis of a perilous resemblance to a mere biographical dictionary.

I have implied that miniature painters must be placed amongst "deceased artists," and alas! the classification, however imperfect, is only too accurate as far as it goes, for, undeniably, the beautiful art of "painting in little" has but few followers now; and only

R

last November, the *Times*, apropos of the death of Robert Thorburn, A.R.A., devoted a leading article to what was termed the collapse of his vocation. It spoke of this heir of an art very difficult of acquisition, which had flourished for centuries, as a man who found himself "stranded with a cargo of unsaleable talents, as the owner of a cellar of rare wines, whose friends had, with one consent, turned teetotalers," and likened his position to that "of a hand-loom weaver when the new machinery was introduced."

In accounting for this regrettable state of affairs, it is to be observed that it has not arisen from the English taste for family por-

exchange: then society suddenly ceased to care to have its portraits taken in miniature, and the reason of this abrupt change is not far to seek. The art of miniature painting paled and quickly faded out of sight before the rising sun of Photography.

But let us take courage, for although the generation which gave a hundred guineas, or even two, for a Ross, a Newton, or a Bone, has passed away, its successor sees more and more clearly that photography, with all its advantages of cheapness, of rapidity, and of frequently painful veracity, is not a real *substitute* for miniature painting; it is beginning to be realized that the two arts can, and



NICHOLAS HILLIARD.

traits suddenly ceasing to exist; our regard for such did not wither then, nor is its vitality diminished now. It is too firmly rooted in some of the deepest-lying characteristics of our race to perish easily. It springs from personal affection: it is nourished by attachment to kith and kin, and ripened by all that makes hearth and home dear to us.

No; the country which has given birth to, and justly holds in honour, Reynolds, Gainsborough and Millais, is unlikely to lose its interest in portraits.

The change arose from a freak of Fashion. Time was when the miniature was a souvenir, which in "good society" one was obliged to

should, exist side by side, the one supplying the deficiencies of the other. Thus, what once seemed to be a total eclipse, and led Sir William Ross to say on his deathbed, "It is all up with future miniature painting," is now seen to be but a passing phenomenon in the history of this beautiful art, which, when united with technical excellence, is capable of portraying every refinement of mind and character, and, in the words of Walpole, calls up so many collateral ideas as to fill an intelligent mind more than any other species of painting. It would indeed be sad to witness the extinction of an art which can, "in the hands of a master, pack the story of

a lifetime into a few square inches;" and, many would grieve, with Dr. Johnson, if "that art were transferred to heroes and goddesses, to empty splendour and airy fiction, which can be employed in diffusing friendship, in reviving tenderness, in awakening the affections of the absent, and continuing the presence of the dead."

It would be a melancholy instance of the mutability of things human, if miniatures came to be altogether things of the past, found only in the cabinets of the curious, and prized only by *bric-à-brac* collectors.

Elizabeth, and continued by John Hoskins, the two Olivers, father and son, down to the inimitable Samuel Cooper, in the reign of Charles I."

The passage I have just quoted will, I trust, serve as a valid reason why something about miniaturists may be considered as not inappropriate to the columns of the *Antiquary*.

As in Literature, so in Art there are at least two distinct elements to be discriminated in every example, viz., the *subject*, and the *manner* in which the subject is treated. Thus, a portrait may be interesting



ISAAC OLIVER, FROM A MINIATURE BY HIMSELF.

Of all countries in the world such a result would be most to be wondered at in this, for, as William Hogarth declared, "Portrait painting ever has succeeded, and ever will succeed, better in this country than in any other." Moreover, as Mr. Redgrave reminds us, "The miniature art of England possesses this distinguished peculiarity—that, while no native painter had attained excellence in life-sized oil portraiture before the time of Vanduyke, we have in miniature art a succession of eminent "painters in little," commencing with Nicholas Hilliard in the reign of Queen

(or the reverse) from the character, or want of it, which attaches to the original; and it may be worthy of much admiration from the exquisite way in which it is painted, whilst the person who sat for it may be unknown. So, then, we have the artistic standpoint, from which comes into view the relative merit of the artists, a comparison of their various styles, and, in the case of enamellers especially, an interest in the methods they employed.

Again, we have the historical point of view, from which we should be expected to

show what the persons depicted have done in statesmanship, art, arms, or letters, what share they took in making the history of their time, and what claim they had to have their forms and features preserved for posterity.

Then there is the collector to be remembered; he wants to see names, and dates, and styles correctly and systematically arranged, with information as to where celebrated and choice examples are to be seen and studied, and so forth.

But beyond these sufficiently obvious, but not to be neglected aspects of the subject, there is another of a more delicate and less obtrusive nature, and yet to many minds it will probably be the most interesting of all. It is one independent of time and place, for it is not concerned with who painted any given example, and the original of the portrait may be a person quite unknown to fame—I mean the charm of association which some miniatures possess when we learn a little of their history—when we find, for example, that some little bit of ivory or cardboard is pregnant with a touching story of human life and passion. What tales could not miniatures tell if but their lips had language!

To give one example only, taken from the autobiography of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, which Horace Walpole published. Therein is described a portrait (of Lord Herbert) which is directly associated with a bloody fray which happened in broad daylight close to the Court on the spot now known as Scotland Yard. His lordship tells us how "there was a lady, wife to Sir John Ayres, Knight, who finding some means to get a Copy of my picture from Larkin, gave it to Mr. Isaac (Oliver) the Painter, in Blackfriars, and desired him to draw it in little after his manner, which being done, she caused it to be set in gold and enamelled, and so wore it about her neck so low that she hid it under her breasts." He then goes on to relate how he caught Lady Ayres lying upon her bed contemplating the miniature, and how he was set upon in Whitehall, and nearly became the victim of Sir John's furious jealousy. The mention of the gold-setting leads one to remark what few familiar with old portraits can have failed to notice, viz., how frequently miniatures were worn upon the person, a cherished decoration often set in rich jewels. The value of these

settings has doubtless had something to do with the mutations which many old miniatures have undergone, and by exciting the cupidity of servants and others, have led to their being stolen and dispersed in many ways. Some remarkable instances of disappearance are connected with the Royal collection. In Charles I.'s manuscript catalogue of limnings still preserved at Windsor, some fourteen Hilliards are mentioned; but they are no longer to be found; and in the King's own chamber (together with the remarkable and probably most authentic portrait of Mary Queen of Scots) hung seven other portraits of his Majesty's progenitors, viz., Katherine of Aragon, Mary, Henry VIII., Edward VI., Anne Boleyn and Queen Elizabeth, ascribed to Hilliard, Hoskins, Holbein, More, and others, mostly copies from older pictures. They are well known, for they were elaborately catalogued amongst the pictures, statues, jewels, and so forth, by Van der Doort, the Keeper of the King's Cabinet. A copy of this list was discovered, says Walpole, some years ago in Moorfields. It fell into the hands of Sir John Stanley, who permitted copies to be made, from one of which Vertue obtained a transcript. But the whereabouts of these priceless miniatures remained unknown until our own time, when one day they were brought into Messrs. Colnaghi's print-shop by a picture-frame maker, who, having bought them with other things, offered them for sale.

They were purchased by Mr. Colnaghi for the Duke of Buccleugh's collection at a moderate price, and were shown at the Winter Exhibition of the Royal Academy, in 1879. An examination of the backs of the portraits disclosed the crowned C R, and no doubt as to their identification exists.

Other strange vicissitudes in the history of miniatures could be mentioned; thus, in the same exhibition of "old masters" to which we have just referred was a portrait by Oliver of Sir Kenelm Digby. This, with several of the Digby family, was found in a box which had been hidden in the garret of an old house in Wales, belonging to Mr. Watkin Williams, who, it is surmised, inherited them through a granddaughter of Sir Kenelm.

Walpole bought them. They were sold

at the Strawberry Hill sale; and have passed into the possession of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

The fathers of miniature painting, as we moderns understand it, were the ancient missal painters.

Many a monk, working in cloistered quiet, whose minute and exquisite labour now excites our admiration when we examine some old book of Hours or Lives of the Saints, was practising an art which led, by later developments, to the works of the Olivers, of Cooper, and of Petitot.

It is a matter for regret that we know so little of these early painters; but their legacy of beauty is with us; and the manuscripts which have escaped the ravages of neglect and fanaticism are often silent, and yet eloquent, testimonies of their patience and their skill. In Mr. Redgrave's *Century of Painters*, we find them classed as "Illuminators who introduced into their works delicate imitations of the human figure, animals, flowers, and foliage; as decorators, who, under the names of 'steyners' or painters, painted and gilded the carver's wooden and stone images, and the devices of heraldry; and, at a later period, probably improved their imitations of the human face, till their representations were recognised by the name of 'portraits on board.' Of their works under the unassuming title of glaziers, there remain some well-authenticated painted windows of no mean art, though they may have been executed from the designs of foreigners."

The mention of foreigners leads one to remark, that whilst possibly the researches of students will lead to discoveries which will enable greater prominence to be assigned to national artists in the history of early English art (and for the credit of our countrymen it is to be hoped they may), the broad fact remains, that much, indeed most, of the best art produced in this country, down to comparatively recent times, must unquestionably be ascribed to foreign artists. So that there is only too much ground for the reproach which Horace Walpole levels at his countrymen in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, viz., that "this country has very rarely given birth to a genius in that profession" (of painting). "Flanders and Holland," he goes on to say,

"have sent us the greatest men that we can boast."

However much we may distrust the judgment of the dilettante owner of Strawberry Hill, the man who denied to Hogarth the title of a painter, and who eulogized in extravagant terms others whose very names are now buried in oblivion, it is undeniable that but for the Flemings and other foreigners who were attracted to this country in Tudor times, our art record would be a very meagre one indeed down to the days of Hilliard.

It may not be out of place here to glance at some of these continental artists who found fame and fortune in this country, since it is from them that our own limners learned the art. Starting with the reign of Henry VII., we find Mabuse, a native of Hainault—a contemporary of Albert Dürer—reputed to have painted the portraits of Henry VII. and his children. (We say reputed, since, whilst Mrs. Jameson ascribes the picture at Hampton Court to him, and terms him "one of the very best painters of his time," Redgrave throws doubts upon it being by his hand). The emulation of "that magnificent ruffian" Henry VIII. with Francis I. has been said to have been the cause of an invitation to some of the most eminent painters of the day to come to England. Wolsey, when envoy at Rome, invited Raphael and Primaticcio: the latter, with Da Vinci, Cellini, and others, did honour the court of Francis, we know, with their presence; but the greatest Italians held aloof from "quelli bestie di quelli Inglesi," though Lanzi mentions Luca Penni and Girolamo da Trevigi as employed here.

Lucas Cornelii was much employed by Henry; and Vasari mentions two female artists, painters in miniature: Susanna Horneband, who lived here to the end of her life, and Levina, daughter of Master Simon of Bruges, who was nobly married by Henry, and much prized and honoured by Mary, and after her death by Queen Elizabeth. The works of these artists, however, have perished, many of them probably by the fire at Whitehall.

But in Hans Holbein, Henry attracted a genius of the first order. Holbein was a native of Augsburg, and those who do not know the visage of the sturdy artist may see

him and his wife at Hampton Court. It is said that this bull-necked, resolute-looking man was driven by his wife's shrewish temper from his native place. Be that as it may, we know that it was with the recommendation of Erasmus that he came to England, to the house of Sir Thomas More, where he lodged for some time, and painted several portraits of his family and friends. Redgrave disputes the Chancellor's introduction of Holbein to the notice of the King; but it is clear that his jovial character being in accordance with Henry's taste, he soon became a favourite.

The King showed his appreciation of the painter in his well-known rebuke to a courtier: "I tell you that of seven peasants I can make seven lords, but not one Holbein." The merits of this celebrated artist are so universally recognised that one need not dilate upon them; but his eminence and long residence in this country cannot fail to have had a great influence upon his English contemporaries; and it is in many respects so thoroughly in accordance with the finest qualities of miniature painting, as to merit especial attention.

Of Holbein's larger pictures we cannot here speak. Many of his exquisite miniatures were destroyed in the deplorable fire which destroyed the Palace of Whitehall, in 1698, of which we have spoken above.

In Charles I.'s catalogue (written by his own hand, by the way, and preserved at the Royal Library, Windsor), only eleven works are specified. In King James I.'s, thirty-one pictures are ascribed to him; but it may be doubted whether half the number are really by his hand. In an old bureau in Kensington Palace, Queen Caroline discovered, about 1734, a collection of the original drawings for the portraits of the most celebrated personages of Henry VIII.'s court. By means of reproductions, these valuable and beautiful works are well-known.

To return to the foreigners who flourished in this country in Tudor times, and whose example must have influenced English artists, Sir Antonio More, or Moro, is the most conspicuous in the dark and sanguinary reign of Mary. He was in the service of the Emperor Charles V., and came here to take the portrait of Mary previous to her marriage with his son, Philip II. of Spain. He left

England on the death of the Queen, after having painted a number of fine and well-authenticated portraits. Van Cleeve may also be named. Walpole enumerates a number of painters who flourished during the long and prosperous reign of Elizabeth, of whom Zuccherro, Lucas de Heere, Marc Garrard, and Cornelius Ketel are the most prominent. And now the first English artists who rose to eminence in their profession come to light. The fame of Nicholas Hilliard, or Hillyard (born 1547, died 1619), has survived to our own day. He was a favourite of Elizabeth; who, if she had neither taste nor feeling for art, loved to multiply portraits of herself, concerning which Walpole says: "There is not a single one to be called beautiful. They are totally composed of hands and necklaces. A pale Roman nose, a head of hair loaded with crowns and powdered with diamonds, a vast ruff, a vaster fardingale, and a bushel of pearls, are the features by which everyone knows them at once."

Nicholas was the son of Richard Hilliard, of Exeter, high sheriff of that city and county in the year 1650. He was brought up to the business of jeweller and goldsmith, and soon studied painting in miniature. In a MS., of which an extract is contained in Brown's *Ars Pictoria*, Lond., 1675, he himself says: "Holbein's manner of limning I have ever imitated, and hold it for the best." Walpole's criticism on his manner seems a just one; he allows that Hilliard copied the neatness of his model, but asserts that he was far from attaining that nature and force which that great master impressed on his most minute works. Hilliard was appointed goldsmith, carver, and portrait painter to Elizabeth—"to make pictures of her body and person in small compasse in lymnge only." The artist was enjoined to paint her without shadows, which may be regarded as a characteristic instance of the vanity of the "Virgin Queen," rather than as a sufficient reason to account for the flatness of style for which he is sometimes blamed. James I. granted him a patent to this effect: "Whereas our well-loved servant, Nicholas Hilliard, gentleman, our principal drawer of small portraits, and embosser of our medals in gold, in re-

spect of his extraordinary skill in drawing, graving, and imprinting, etc., we have granted unto him our special licence for twelve years to invent, make, grave, and imprint any pictures of our image, or our royal family, etc." He engraved the Great Seal of England. It may be noted that this patent was enjoyed by his only son, Lawrence, to whom there is a warrant in Council in 1624, ordering the payment to him of £42 "for 5 pictures by him drawn."

The works of Hilliard are not rare; and the writer has examined a considerable number, some of which were not much valued by their possessors, and probably for this reason: that whilst the draperies and details, such as the ornaments, are always highly finished and truthful, and generally perfect, being painted in opaque colours, the flesh-tints are generally faded, so much so that the faces are often past recognition.

This makes it difficult to determine the precise value of his portraiture. But that he was highly esteemed by his contemporaries is clear from Heydock's translation of "Lomazzo," published in 1598, wherein we are told that "limning, much used in Church books [has been] brought to the rare perfection we now see by the most ingenious, painful, and skilful master, Richard Hilliard;" and the same author speaks of his being much admired by strangers as well as natives, whilst Dr. Donne has declared

An hand or eye
By Hilliard drawn, is worth a historye
By a worse painter made.

In the Loan Collection of 1865, at South Kensington, there were some thirty or forty examples shown, the most noteworthy of which was a portrait of himself, signed and dated 1550, in the possession of H. W. Magniac, Esq., who also owns, *inter alia*, a most interesting portrait of Lady Arabella Stuart. Of this unfortunate lady there is another portrait by Hilliard, which does, or did, belong to W. Maskell, Esq. There were also no less than seven of Queen Elizabeth, one of which now forms part of the Jones collection. Beside these was one of Edward, Duke of Somerset, the Protector, now the property of the Duke of Buccleugh; and also one of Spencer, and his sister Lady

Mary Sidney, belonging to the Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt.

Lord Wharnccliffe possesses a portrait of James I. in oils on card, and of his consort, Anne of Denmark; and Mrs. Naylor Leyland owns a portrait ascribed to Hilliard, which has, at any rate, a most interesting pedigree. It is of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, and was given by her to one of her maids of honour on her marriage, from whom it descended to her grandson, the second and last Earl of Middleton; he gave it to his god-daughter, Elizabeth Dicconson, daughter of the Steward of the Household of James II., grandmother of the late Charles Scarisbrick, to whom the portrait descended from him to his daughter, the present possessor.

Hilliard commonly painted on card or on vellum. His works are generally signed "N. H.," and nearly always have a motto and date written in Latin, and abbreviated; for example, a portrait of a gentleman in costume of the time of Elizabeth, which belongs to H.R.H. the Duc d'Aumale, is thus inscribed: "In nova fert animus, Año Dni, 1595." He died in 1619, and was buried in St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

(To be continued.)



Is Mr. Freeman Accurate?

"I detect throughout these pages an infirmity, a confirmed habit of inaccuracy And I ask myself, and I ask you: If such be the case here, what errors may not be found in the learned Professor's five volumes on the Norman Conquest?"—MR. J. A. C. VINCENT.*

"Of course, I shall be told that these things do not matter, that it is quite unimportant whether, etc., etc. . . . that it is mere pedantry to dwell, etc., etc. . . . Real students of history think otherwise."—MR. E. A. FREEMAN.†



It may be remembered that in an article on "The Attack on Dover, (1067),"‡ I invited attention to a passage which had appeared in Mr. Freeman's work on the *Norman Conquest*, containing, as I proved, a narrative erroneous

* *Genealogist* (New Series), ii. 179.

† *Fortnightly Review* (New Series), iii. 404.

‡ *Antiquary*, vol. xii.

from beginning to end, evolved by Mr. Freeman from his own failure to understand his own authorities. This article evoked a "vehement" reply from a youthful champion of the Regius Professor, tacitly admitting that Mr. Freeman had been guilty of the errors in question, but urging that they had been subsequently corrected.* He further vigorously denounced "these irresponsible random attacks, which can deceive only the ignorant, and which a moment's examination can confute."

It is not, however, by such language as this, springing from an excess of well-meant zeal, that the grave and serious question can be decided whether the present Regius Professor is entitled or not to that authority as an historian with which certain circumstances, to which I need not particularly allude, have admittedly invested him in the eyes of the general public.

For myself, I may at once say frankly that my study of the works of the Regius Professor, so far as it has yet proceeded, has led me to question more and more, in the first place his supposed pre-eminent accuracy, and in the second, the soundness of his judgment, that quality so essential to the historian, when the truth has to be discovered from various, if not conflicting, authorities.

In the present article I have only space to adduce some instances on the matter of *accuracy*, the other question being, obviously, far too wide for such treatment. And I wish it clearly to be understood that I do not seek in any way to disparage Mr. Freeman's true achievements, or to deny that his work on this period may have surpassed that of any predecessor. Into that question I do not enter. The power and vigour of Mr. Freeman's style, his attractive enthusiasm for his great subject, may be left to speak for themselves. I merely seek to expose that "mischievous superstition" as I have termed it, that his "accuracy" may be implicitly relied on, a superstition which is based on his formidable array of foot-notes and quotations from original authorities, and on his own criticisms of the efforts of others, and which has led the critics of our leading reviews to pronounce that the work he has done "need never be done again."

* *Antiquary*, vol. xii., pp. 139, 181.

Such a belief as this, it is my object to show, must have a most injurious effect on the cause of historical research.

Let us now turn to the Norman Conquest, the period which Mr. Freeman has made his own, the period on which, as he reminds us, he is, of course, "most at home."

We will first take the Domesday Survey, which Mr. Freeman tells us, is "one of the great sources of my history."*

"For myself," says the Professor, "the Survey has a fascination which cannot be put into words."† Let us then glance at some passages in the Survey, and at the treatment they have received at the hands of so ardent and assiduous a student. With some of these I have already dealt in my papers on *The Domesday of Colchester*.‡ We there saw that, in repeated cases, Mr. Freeman was wrong in his elaborate remarks on this portion of the Survey, and that, in one instance, he actually renders the "v d[omos] & xl ac[ras]" of the record as "v denarios & xl acras," thus turning *houses* into *pence*.§ It is but right to state that in another passage, which he has so quoted as to reduce it—to use an expression of his own (I do not like such expressions myself)—to "hideous nonsense," he has been careful, *per contra*, to convert *pounds* into *houses*. But there is one point which I may here refer to, as I did not mention it in my *Domesday of Colchester*. I there discussed the term *civitas* as applied to Colchester in *Domesday*. Mr. Freeman, however, writes thus:

"Colchester is not a city in the modern sense of the word; it does not even bear the name in *Domesday*."||

That is to say, the term *civitas* is not applied to Colchester in *Domesday*.¶ Here we have a clear and definite statement, which can be refuted, in Mr. Freeman's words, "by a

* *Norm. Conq.*, v. 734.

† *Ibid.*, v., p. viii.

‡ *Antiquary*, vols. v., vi.

§ *Ibid.*, vi., p. 99.

|| *English Towns and Districts*, p. 398.

¶ In order that there may be no doubt that such is Mr. Freeman's meaning, I append, from the same work, these illustrative passages:—"the city—for in *Domesday* Leicester is a city—on the Soar" (p. 232); "Instead of the city—Oxford is already a city in *Domesday*—growing up round the University" (p. 238); "The city of Oxford and borough of Cambridge—such is their *Domesday* style" (p. 241).

process almost as easy as looking out a word in a dictionary.* We turn to *Domesday*, and we read of Colchester that "tota civitas ex omnibus debitis reddebat, etc." (ii. 107). Nor is this the only place in the Survey of Colchester, a survey specially discussed by Mr. Freeman,† in which the term *civitas* occurs.‡

Take, from the work I have just quoted, two cases of another kind, cases relating to the origin of castles. It was shown by Mr. Bond, long ago, that the "castellum Warham" of the Survey was no other than Corfe Castle. The fact is familiar to archæologists, and was recognised as such by Mr. Eyton.§ Mr. Freeman, however, in his *Norman Conquest*, assumed throughout that the passage referred to a castle in Wareham itself. The error was, perhaps, so far pardonable. But why, in his *English Towns and Districts* (p. 153) does the Professor vainly attempt to make good his original error by appealing to the passage in the Survey relating to Corfe—*Mullen*, which has no more to do with Corfe Castle than it has with Corfu? So with the great Keep of Colchester. Why does Mr. Freeman, when invited to produce some evidence for his assertion that it is "clearly the work of Eudo," seek refuge in the hesitating plea that it is not mentioned in *Domesday* (p. 417), though he has himself shown that (as, indeed, is notorious) no inference whatever can be drawn from the silence of the Survey on this subject?

Again, after dwelling on the value of the Survey, Mr. Freeman proceeds thus :

"Yet this is not all that *Domesday* does for us. Its most incidental notices are sometimes the most precious."

Quite so. Take for instance the Yorkshire *clamores*.|| In the *Norman Conquest* we read as follows :

"It was doubtless at this grim Midwinter Gemót [1069-1070], that the mainsettlement of Yorkshire took place. It must have been now that the Breton Alan

received Another grantee was William of Percy, etc., etc."*

Yet in these *clamores*, to which Mr. Freeman specially refers for William Malet, and indeed in a passage which he himself quotes,† we find this "precious" entry :

"Willelmus de Perci aduocat pares suos in testimonium quod vivente Willelmo Malet et vicecomitatum tenente in Euruic: fuit ipse saisitus de Bodetone et eam tenuit."—Vol. i. 374.

Thus, by what Mr. Freeman terms "the simple process of turning to *Domesday*," we learn at once that William de Percy was already established in Yorkshire, in the midst of his great fief,‡ in that earlier period, on which he complains that we have so little evidence.§

We are told, by the way, in this same volume, with reference to these same *clamores*, that "quamdiu terram tenuit" can only mean "as long as he lived."|| Good. But if William Malet only lived as long as he held his land in Yorkshire, we must next ask how long did he hold it? Again the answer is given in *Domesday*, as quoted by Mr. Freeman himself. He held it

"antequam castellum captum fuisset; 'donec invasum est castellum; 'donec fractum est castellum; 'quamdiu tenuit castellum in Euruic; 'usque Dani caperunt illum.'"

Therefore, by Mr. Freeman's own hypothesis, William Malet cannot have survived his capture by the Danes at York. But then, what becomes of his own discovery that, unknown to history, or even to "romance," William "had escaped or had been redeemed from his captivity, and now came to fight and die in the marshes of Ely."** With Mr. Freeman's statement that—

"the Survey enables us to trace that *computers*' later fate, from the day when he became the prisoner

* *Norm. Cong.* (1871), iv. 295-7; (1876), iv. 294-5.

† *Ibid.*, iv. 204.

‡ *Domesday*, i. 321, b.

§ *Norm. Cong.*, iv. 205.

|| *Ibid.*, iv. 729: "The entries in the Yorkshire 'clamores,' with reference to the lands of William Malet, supply a parallel. We hear (373) of lands which William held, 'quamdiu in Euruic scire terram tenuit,' and which are claimed by his son. Forfeiture, or legal alienation, are, therefore, shut out, and the words 'quamdiu terram tenuit' can only mean 'as long as he lived.'" Compare my comments on "postea" as a note of time (*Antiquary*, vi. 96).

¶ *Ibid.*, iv. 204, note.

** *Ibid.*, iv. 472-3.

* *Contemporary Review* (June, 1877), p. 17.

† *English Towns and Districts*, pp. 406-410.

‡ In both the records next in date in which Colchester figures, one of them fifteen years, and the other forty-four years, after the Survey, we again find it styled a *civitas*.

§ *Domesday of Dorset*.

|| *Domesday*, i. 373-4.

of the Danes at York, to the day when he died fighting against Hereward in the fens of Ely,"*

I have dealt elsewhere.† I need, therefore, only add that the above contradiction in Mr. Freeman's views does but confirm what I then advanced, namely, that there is no evidence whatever as to the fate of William Malet after his capture at York, that he disappears entirely from sight, and that his subsequent career is to be traced nowhere but in the lively fancy of the Regius Professor.‡

And now for one more instance of an "incidental" but "precious" entry. Take the following passage :

"Of Nottingham Castle again, which we know to have been built by William (see vol. iv., p. 199), there is no account [in Domesday], though there is of the building of the pomœrium or town-wall."§

On referring as requested, we read thus :

"'Willelmo Pevrel concessit Rex x acras terræ ad faciendum pomœrium.' This would seem to be the town-wall, as the 'fossatum burgi' is mentioned just above."||

To those "provoking people" (as Mr. Freeman terms them) who are so presumptuous as to question the "cathedral" *dicta* of the Professor, it might occur to inquire (1) why William Peverel should build the wall at all; (2) why he should construct it out of "ten acres of land;" (3) why "pomœrium," which neither did, nor could, mean a wall, should be here used instead of "murus," which is used throughout the Survey.¶ If, in their perplexity, they should turn to Ducange, they will learn from him that "pomarium," or, in Low Latin, "pomœrium," was an *orchard*, and that "the wand of the enchanter," as it is termed by a too enthusiastic disciple,** can not only convert houses into pence,

* *Norm. Cong.*, iii. 777.

† "The death of William Malet" (*Academy*, 26th April, 1884).

‡ This strange contradiction seems to have been detected, for the passage quoted above (iv. 729) is silently dropped in the 1876 edition.

§ *Norm. Cong.*, v. 807.

|| *Ibid.*, iv. 199. See also "Second Edition, Revised," iv. 199.

¶ On *pomarium* see Coote's *Romans of Britain*. It never, of course, meant a wall, but in classical times it was used as an open space outside the town, where the auspices were taken.

** Clark's *Military Architecture*, i. 95.

or pounds into houses, but can even convert, as here, an orchard into a "town-wall."*

J. H. ROUND.

(To be continued.)



Notes from two Plymouth Diaries.

By R. N. WORTH, F.G.S.



HERE must be in existence a very large amount of inedited matter, of much interest and of no little value, in the diaries and almanac memorandum-books, which seem to have come very largely into use among the trading middle-class of the seventeenth century. The number of these books still in existence, though relatively small when compared with what has been lost, must yet be considerable; and they deserve far more attention than they have hitherto had. Among those which have come under my notice are a couple kept by William and John Allen, father and son, prosperous and prominent traders in Plymouth in the latter half of the seventeenth century. They are curious mixtures of general jottings, personal memoranda, and business accounts. I cite a few illustrative examples.

William Allen's entries are made in a copy of Rider's *British Merlin* for 1671, and refer chiefly to current events. Allen was a Puritan, and was ejected from the Mayoralty of Plymouth in 1662. Here are the time details of a journey to London :

"Set out for London 7th Aprill. I came into London Thursday the 13th of Aprill 1671 at y^e 3 cups. and came out 29th Aprill. I came home to Plym^o from London by way of Bath bridgwater the 8th May 1671."

* It is, of course, notorious that this "pomœrium" was an orchard. Ellis, for instance, in his Introduction to Domesday, alludes to it as such, and even Mr. Planché knew better than to make such a mistake as Mr. Freeman's. For, in a lively article on the family of Peverel, he observes that William Peverel held, in Nottingham, "ten acres of land granted to him by the king to make an orchard." (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, viii. 195).

The royal visit in the subsequent July is thus set forth with an amount of detail contained in no other authority:

"King Charles y^e 2^d together w^h his brother James Duke of Yorke came from Portsmouth to Plym^o in his Pleasure boat they had seven pleasure boats & six Frigotts to attend him in his motion. They landed in plym^o at the barbian stares Monday y^e 17th July 1671 about 5 of y^e Clocke in y^e afternoone & from thence went presently to y^e fort, where y^e Major and his bretheren p^sented him w^h a purse of Gold. The K. & D: lay in y^e fort [the Citadel was then building] & next morning he was out vpon the hoe by 4 of y^e clocke, & thence to y^e Iland, [Drake's] & then took boat & went vp the riuier towards Saltash &c & afterwards vp the riuier to osen [Oreston] & Lary, & returned into Sutton poole & went round it, & then to the fort to dinner, & after dinner he touched for the evill about 18 persons, & at 5 of y^e clocke Tuesday y^e 18th July tooke boat at the Barbicon starres & went aboard his pleasure boat, & about 8 of the clocke at neight set saile, & went of from Plym^o both the 6 frigots & 7 pleasure boats. The great Guns both from the fort & Iland gaue him a very Loud farewell. The wind being contrary he put into Dartmouth, & from thence by land to exon, where he came sunday about 8 at neight & lodged at the deans house. The Major & Alder^m of y^e city waited vpon him there & presented him with 500 Gennys vpon w^h the K knighted the major, whose name was Ben Oliuer a Tucker in that city & alsoe the K knighted m^r Thomas carew Judge of y^e sessions; Monday Morning early tooke coach & set forward for London when he came the first neight to wilton house neere sarum, & the tuesday about 5 of y^e clocke he was at white hall. The duke of yorke and seuerall of y^e Nobles kept at sea as not being able to hold out in his Maties swift motions."

We shall see by-and-by that the son had his associations with royalty also. The "Merry Monarch" appears to have worked early and hard at Plym^outh, in addition to his swiftness. The King had not long been gone, when (July 25) the body of "s^r Tho: clifford's son," who had died in Italy, was brought to Plym^outh in the *Centurion* frigate and

"brought ashore at y^e new Key in great state & carried to y^e fort, there the bodie lay on neight, 27th it was taken from thence and carried in a coach w^h 6 horses all in blacke accompanied w^h many Gentlemen on horse back & seuerall coaches & so in state was conveyed to his father's house at Vgbrooke neer chidly [Chudleigh] to be interred in a vault vnder the new chapple w^h his father lately built."

Then we have under date October 24, 1671:

"The young m^r W^m Gold died, of a feuer in y^e 32 yere of his age. a greate Losse to Dartmouth, who was Burgess for that Place; & a great Losse to y^e county of Devon & to y^e kingdome."

The following entry throws considerable light on the cost and custom of travelling in the West in these days:

"26th December 1671 I began my journey from plym^o to bridgwater w^h my son John A. agreed then w^h w^m downing for 2 horses 15/ each, for y^e journey all 30/ & to returne by Barnstaple. but if I stay aboue 14 daies w^h his horses out from Plym^o I am to ad 12^d p. day to each horse aboue & besides what was agreed for."

The bulk of the entries in this volume are of a business nature, and it seems to have been kept as a kind of rough ledger and general memorandum-book. There are entries of several of the deaths of sundry Plym^outhians, and copies of certain proclamations. That issued March 15th, 1671, touching religion is noted for having reached Plym^outh within four days—"This came to my hand 19th of March 1671 from London."

The diary of the younger Allen is contained in *De Rebus Celestibus* for 1664. It is of a more miscellaneous and less business kind, deals largely with family history, and is full of autobiographical notes, some of a very curious character. He was born January 28, 1646, "on a Thursday about midnight;" and was educated in Holland, probably in consequence of his father's strong Puritan leaning. "the 19 of March 1663 I came from Holland & landed y^e 20th day of March in y^e morning at Harwich in Essex. I came y^e 24 of March into London from Harwich . . . The 23 of April 1664 I went from London & came to Plym^outh y^e 30 of Aprill 1664." He was apprenticed to Christopher

Maynard of Totnes in January, 166 $\frac{1}{2}$, his father paying £50 down, and giving a bond for the other half. His master died March 30, 1669.

The sympathies of the family are clearly seen in the personal entries. The children of John Allen's brother Samuel were nearly all baptized by the local ejected ministers of 1662—Thomas Martyn, Nathaniel Jacob, and Nicholas Sherwill; but eventually Samuel appears to have conformed, and thus followed an example John had set him some years previously. Witness the entry:

"1st February 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ I John Allen did then, being on a Sabbath Day Receiue y^e blessed Sacrament of y^e Lords Supper at the hands of Doct^r Roger Ashton [vicar of St. Andrew's, Plymouth] w^{ch} was y^e first tyme I ever did Receiue."

There was no doubt, however, about his Protestantism, for, speaking of the "Popish plot," October, 1678, he says: "I doe w^h all true Protestants trust that God will still deliuer us from the mallice & cruelty of wicked & bloody minded Papists;" while he afterwards remarks that the Duke of York was "supposed guilty in the plot." One is not very much surprised, therefore, to find him turned out of the Corporation in 1684, when the townsfolk were compelled to surrender their charter.

His most interesting entries are, as a rule, personal. Here is a curious note of his betrothal:

"I John Allen the son of William Allen, of Plym^o was betrothed promised or engaged myself to marry in convenient season with Mary Stert Daughter of Walter Stert of Brixton at the said Walter Sterts house in Brixton by my said Father William Allen on Wednesday about 4 oclock in the afternoon being the 16th day of May 1677."

The "convenient season" was not long in coming, for Allen and Stert "were married in Brixton Church by M^r Thomas Reed Lecturer of Plym^o on Tuesday morneing being y^e 12 day of June 1677." His wife was only seventeen, while he was thirty-one. Two years later she died, and then in May, 1683, Allen married into another county family, "Grace Bastard daughter of William Bastard late of Garston deceased Esq^r." This time the wife was twenty-two, while he was

thirty-six. We have excellent testimony to the good looks of the first Mrs. Allen in the following amusing note:

"On Tuesday morning about 6 Clocke being 16th August 1677, came to Plym^o his Majesty Charles y^e 2^d King of England & I saw him often times, *And my wife had y^e honour of being kissed both by the King & by his Brother James duke of York.*"

On this occasion also the King touched for the evil, and a canopy was erected for the purpose in the church at a cost of over £30.

Here is an entry of another distinguished visitor:

"On Monday y^e 2^d October 1676 came here to Plym^o Christopher Munke duke of Albemarle, who was honorably received and entertained the next day by M^r Andrew Horsman then Major of the Town, the same day y^e duke and severall other Gentry to the number of 40 (?) p^{rs}ons were made freemen of Plym^o."

Perhaps the quaintest personal note is the following:

"I John Allen had a tooth Drawn by M^r Jn^o Doracot 23th of February 166 $\frac{9}{10}$ ad & had 4 scales come off From my Jawbone; my Jaw being Fistulated & haueing a very great Flux of Rume were inforced to haue an other of my tooth drawn p^r y^e s^d doracot on y^e 27th Aprill 1670 ad & on the 14th day of June 1670, I had a very large scale came of from my Jawbone, after this forme vizt —very craggy & of a great bignes [the sketch is about an inch long by one third broad] for w^h mercy & deliverance, as alsoe for my recovery from a great sicknesse caused formerly by reason of this my Jaw I desire for ever to blesse & praise almighty God."

And so when in 1674 he recovers from a very "violent Feavour," and "on the 19th Aprill 1674, being Easter day I were very delirious in my feavour & soe continued for sometyme, but by y^e mercy & goodnesse of almighty God I recovered of that sicknesse w^h I desire for ever to commemorate & giue God y^e praise & glory for this restoration of me."

Altogether a curious mixture these of business and gossip, family history and national affairs, but surely not without interest in showing what manner of men the later Puritan traders were.

On the Scandinavian Elements in the English Race.

By J. FREDERICK HODGETTS.

PART III.

REFERENCE has been made to the immense degree of honour paid by the Scandinavian warrior to his shield. A noble had the right to border his shield with gold and to wear a golden boss in the midst of his target, whence the golden centre of the target of modern archery. Besides which he wore golden bracelets, a worked sword-belt made of plates of gold, connected by little rings—the prototype of the nightly baldric of later chivalry.

The use of gold ornaments for sword, shield, and helm seems to have been a favourite piece of dandyism with our remote ancestors. A sword with a gold ring let into the pommel was called *Hring-mæl*, an expression which has led Sir Samuel Meyrick into the gratuitous supposition that there was a kind of armour called *Ring-mail*, in contradistinction to chain-mail! When it is borne in mind that *mæl* means a sword, and not armour, when we remember that the word “mail” was not current in England until two centuries after the expression “*Hring-mæl*” or ringed-sword had ceased to be employed, we see that one could by no possibility ever have been used as an antithesis to the other. Again, the appearance of the armour which he called *Ring-mail* is nothing more than the result of the rude art of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, when the presence of rings in chain armour was indicated in a variety of ways, which were often rather memoranda of what was intended to be conveyed than actual representations. Thus the picture of armour was conventional in each age respectively. In the ninth and tenth centuries it was depicted by rings placed in juxtaposition, so that the spectator could see the whole ring. But to say that this represented the actual manufacture and appearance of the defence would be equivalent to asserting that the tower of a castle of the period would just hold two men as far as the waist, which is actually the impression made by pictures of castles of that time; or we might, on the

same principle, be justified in assuming that the inside of a room was, in Saxon times, visible with the out, because the Saxon pictures conscientiously give both! The real fact is a question of the development of art, not of the manufacture of armour.

Now this distinction of gold rings placed as ornaments elsewhere than on the fingers is very nearly allied to heraldry, and as soon as the meaning becomes accepted as the definite representation of an idea by its acknowledged emblem, the difference vanishes, for heraldry is confessedly a system of emblems. When, therefore, the white shield is a symbol of a condition of pupilage, of promise which has not yet become performance, we see the relation between the modern system and the old custom of covering the “Linden-board” with a white bull’s-hide with no decoration when the wearer had as yet achieved nothing. On the white shield the boss, the bordering ring, and the studs were all of polished iron; sometimes, to show wealth, of bronze; but not of gold unless the wearer had distinguished himself. In modern heraldry white is called *argent*, or silver. In the old Scandinavian system, during the period of probation the adolescent warrior had no right to paint that white shield, to substitute the bearskin or the orochs-hide for the white bull’s-skin that covered it, or to ornament it in any way. In modern heraldry it is impossible to charge a metal on a metal; in other words, the *silver* shield is incapable of receiving metallic charges, *i.e.*, ornaments. Of course it is not contended that all the elaborate system of emblazonment of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is to be identified with the corresponding forms used by the hardy warriors of the North in the second century B.C.; but it is clear that the modern science was a daughter of the older custom. Connected with this subject comes that of names, and these were, in the pre-Christian Scandinavian times, to a certain extent heraldic, inasmuch as they had reference to some peculiarity or badge, mental or physical, to recall which was to recall the owner. Thus a certain well-known personage had strikingly discoloured teeth; he has been handed down to posterity as *Blåtand*, or Blue-tooth. We all know *Harald Hårågra*, or Harald of the fair hair. Some were known

for special deeds of prowess emblazoned in the name, as Bland Twa björn, *i.e.*, Bland of the two bears, he having slaughtered two bears single-handed and unarmed. Besides which there was a regular system of *badges*, as complete as any in the Anglo-Norman period in England. The raven was Odin's special pet, consequently when the sea-rovers meditated preparing a feast for Odin, a flag with a raven displayed was borne on board the war-ship or in the van of the host of his sons. A mallet or hammer was the badge of Thor, a flaming sword of Surtur, and so forth. This is all heraldry, while the ornamentation of the helmet with eagles' wings, boars, bulls, bears, and other terrific devices, are clearly the ancestors of the *crests* of the mailed knights of later ages, whose helmets were similarly adorned. Yet the Scandinavian has been regarded as a savage, and his illiterate descendant at Poitiers or Cressy is lauded as the very acme of chivalric refinement. That names were borne identical with the badges of the warriors is a well-known fact; of which the cases of Hengest and Horsa are striking examples, and there are many others still better authenticated.

Among the offensive weapons of the Scandinavian there is one which, on account of its peculiarity, has been reserved to be treated of separately from the rest, and exhibiting as it does so many traits of northern character in form and history, it deserves more attention than has hitherto been bestowed upon it.

It has been mentioned already that the Scandinavians (Danes, Goths, and Angles) were early taught a species of gymnastics that would make even the German "*Turnverein*" shudder to contemplate. They were expected to roll huge stones up sloping ascents, and it was disgrace to allow them to fall down to the plain below. Hence the many rude structures of immense stones all through Scandinavia and England. They were taught to root up the ash-tree and the sapling-oak with a single wrench of their Berserk sinews, to form gigantic clubs, with which they fought in wild sport as boys use single-sticks. But these were too cumbrous, and yet not sufficiently heavy for the purposes of actual war. Iron spikes of formidable size and weight were added, and a club was the result, against which few shields could stand. In the pro-

gress of time, however, this weapon was improved into an ashen shaft, with a terrific iron ball affixed to it in the way of a mace or hammer. The iron head or ball, being furnished with iron spikes radiating from it, bore some resemblance to a star; hence this weapon became known by the name of the Morning Star. There was a modification of this pleasant instrument subsequently invented, in which the spiked ball was attached to the shaft by a chain, so as to form a species of whip or scourge. In this instance the shaft was strengthened by bands of iron passing along the length, and fixed to the shaft by rings slipped over the thinner end before the chain was attached and beaten down the tapering staff until they held wood and iron firmly together. The same device of strengthening the shaft with rings and bars was applied to lances, the heads of which were frequently cut off by a blow of the axe unless so defended. The morning star was chiefly used against cavalry. And certainly a smashing blow from such a weapon would finish the most resolute charger that the armed squadrons of Rome could bring to the field. This weapon continued in use in Scandinavia as late as the beginning of the present century, when the watchmen of Copenhagen were armed with morning stars. One of the queer figures in the Guildhall of London bears the whip-like form of this weapon in his hand.

In receiving the attacks of cavalry the wedge was formed, with the chiefs in the centre or at angles of the equilateral triangle, which was the ground-plan of the formation. As in the modern square, three ranks were formed, the first armed with maces, clubs, morning stars, the Danish axe or the great battle-sword; the second rank presented a formidable array of spear-heads, while the long lances of the third line reached the foe over the shoulders of the second. From the centre a tremendous storm of huge stones hurled from well-used slings, arrows from the bowmen, and javelins from men-at-arms who were *resting* from the more fierce combat in which they had just taken part, rendered the approach of the enemy no safe adventure, while before the front line a rampart was formed by shield-bearers, whose duty it was to receive all missiles from the enemy on their shields. Occasionally also, small parties of three or

four, and even of two, would "form" back to back so as to keep the enemy in their front. Two such northern giants protected by the lighter shield borne on the left arm, and armed with the formidable double axe, could, in days before gunpowder, have kept a respectable detachment at bay by standing back to back, each facing the foe. It is therefore not difficult to account for the terror with which our ancestors inspired the smaller and in many respects deteriorated Britons, while many of the British stories of encounters with giants and terrible enchanters become clear to us.

Fortification was less the taste of our grim forefathers than manœuvring on plains. Still they seem to have erected strongholds on the summits of rocky eminences that were nearly impregnable. To attack such forts, in their turn, they seem to have been well supplied with military engines. To them some writers (among them the learned commentator on, and editor of, Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*) ascribe the employment of an engine very similar to the Belfry of the Crusaders, consisting of a strong tower of wood several stories high, and provided, on each story, with little drawbridges that could be lowered so as to allow of the passage of armed men to the besieged fort. Such a contrivance was employed by the Northmen in the siege of Paris in 886. That they were accustomed to construct a work of the same height as the lowest tower of the besieged fortress is well known; and these attacking towers were formed of timber and earth in such a way as to resist the shafts of the besieged and to allow the besiegers to enter by a process similar to what sailors call "*boarding*," while from the lower portion of the tower strong beams were slung by chains in a kind of doorway, and furnished with a terrific weight of stone which could thus be swung with great force against the base of the tower attacked, so as at last to effect a breach through which the attacking party could pour. This adjunct to the engine was known as the battering-ram in later times.

It is possible and highly probable that the ingenuity of the Northmen and their refinement have been as much exaggerated by one class of writers as their savage brutality has been too gladly dwelt upon by others. A

singular instance of barbarity, which has been imputed to them through the misunderstanding of a periphrastic expression of one of their poets, is highly illustrative of this statement.

The custom has been attributed to them of drinking wine and mead from the skulls of their fallen foes; the fact being simply that the poet, in celebrating them, called the horns of the orochs "the curved adornments of the head." Commentators and translators have regarded these words as meaning the arch of the human skull, whereas nothing was intended but a roundabout description of drinking-horns fashioned from the horns of the orochs, the most formidable enemy, next to the bear or his own species, that the Scandinavian had to cope with.

Mead-horns were "your only drinking" long after the conquest of Britain, and, as in the cases of the ship and sword, a horn which had deserved well of its master was generally ornamented with gold rings of various sizes fixed on the vessel from the narrow apex to the broad mouth. As horns would not stand, it was the custom either to drink the contents off at a draught or to pass the vessel round.

(To be continued.)



Some of the Streets of Derby; and their Historic and other Associations.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F.S.A., ETC.



ANYONE taking the trouble to glance at an old map of Derby will perceive that besides the main and crooked line of streets leading continuously on from the road from London through the heart of the town, there is another line, equally or more crooked, nearer to the river, which keeps pretty nearly the same direction, and joins, by a somewhat sharp turning, the first-named between the churches of All Saints and St. Michael.

With the first of these lines, comprising the London Road and Street, St. Peter's Street, the Gaol Bridge or St. Peter's Bridge, the Corn Market, the west site of the Market Place, until lately known as Rotten Row, the

Irongate, and Queen Street, etc., I have nothing to do in my present paper. The few remarks I have to make will be confined to the other and now much altered line, which then comprised the Siddals Lane, Castle Fields, Cock-pit Hill, the Morledge, Tenant Bridge and Street, the east side of the Market Place, and Full Street, which latter, by the sharp turning I have named, formed, and forms, the junction, in Queen Street, with the main thoroughfare.

The Siddals Lane just now mentioned, though now a street dignified by the name of "Road," and forming one of the busy approaches to the Midland Railway Station, was, within my own memory, to all intents and purposes a "lane," and nothing more—a somewhat narrow lane, too, with hedges and fields and orchards at its sides—and it crossed the "Castle Fields," on some part of which that Saxon stronghold, taken by the Danes and retaken by the heroic Ethelfleda, once stood. Of the form or character of this stronghold, for the possession of which more than one fierce battle was fought, nothing whatever is known. Not only, alas! does no trace whatever now remain, but no memory or record of the exact spot on which it stood exists. The whole of the "Fields" are now thickly covered with streets, the names of two of which, "Castle" and "Park," and a public-house sign or two, are the only "In Memoriams" of its erstwhile existence.

Cock-pit Hill, whereon one of the Cock Pits of Derby—for there were two in the town—once stood, has more than a mere passing interest attached to it. The Cock Pit, once a favourite place of resort for the good folks of Derby, and where hundreds of "mains" were fought and gloated over, is, happily, a thing of the past, and not a vestige of it remains. It was, as is evident from Stow, in 1610, an octagonal building with high-pitched or spire roof with a vane, and when the "mains" were on, was probably surmounted by a flag. At what period it was taken down I know not, but "cocking" continued to be a favourite sport in the town and neighbourhood till a late date, and the matches between the "gentlemen of Derby and the gentlemen of the Peak," or between county and county, or nobleman and nobleman, as, for instance, the "Duke of Rutland and the Earl

of Exeter," on which sometimes "'tis computed that above £50,000 was won and lost . . . by the wagers on both sides," took place at the Angel and other inns, or in the appointed booth on the race-course on Sinfin Moor.

On Cock-pit Hill were, from a century and a half to two centuries back, some pot-works, where the coarse brown ware, of the same class as the Toft, Tickenhall, and other wares, was made. That, a hundred and eighty years ago, if not much earlier, these belonged to a John Mier (probably of the same family as the Mayers or Meers, of Staffordshire), is evidenced by a curious old three-handled drinking vessel, of large size, which bears the quaint words—

Drink be merry and mary
God Bles creae George & Queen Ann
John Mier made this cup 1708.

Another example of his make, a posset-pot, bears also his name, "JOHN MIER MADE THIS CUP 1721"; and a third example,



FIG. 1.

which is in my own possession, is a large pitcher, bearing the date of 1720 (fig. 1); this is traditionally said to have been made at Cock-pit Hill. Later on the works belonged to Heath; and in 1756, "John Heath, of Derby, in the county of Derby, gentleman; Andrew Planché [who, to the great interest and surprise of my old friend, the late J. R. Planché, *Somerset Herald*, I proved to be an ancestor of his], of ye same place, china

maker; and Wm. Duesberry, of Loughton, in ye county of Stafford, enameller," entered into a joint agreement, by which they became "co-partners together, as well in ye art of making English china as also in buying and selling all sorts of wares belonging to ye art of making china," for ten years, with power on Heath's part to extend that term for another ten years. The original draft of this agreement, which is the origin of the famous Derby China Works, is in my own possession, and to those curious in such matters will be found printed in full in the first edition of my *Ceramic Art in Great Britain*. In 1758 this John Heath, with two partners, Butt and Rivett, was proprietor of the Cock-pit Hill Works, which stood at the commencement of Siddals Lane. This site, which is distinctly marked on some of the old maps of Derby, is still known as the "Pot Yard," and appears to have been immediately opposite the Cock-pit itself. At these works, still belonging to the Heaths, later on a remarkably good kind of Cream or Queen's ware was made, which was thus spoken of in 1772: "Here is also a pottery, and I was showed an imitation of Queen's ware, but it does not come up to the original, the produce of Staffordshire." A good example of this ware is in my own possession, and here engraved (fig. 2). It is a jug,



FIG. 2.

and bears, painted on one side, within a border of foliage, the quaint and characteristic drinking inscription, "One Pot more and then, why what then, why another Pot."; and on the other side and front, within one continuous border, a representation of a blacksmith busy at his forge, working the immense bellows with his left hand and holding the iron in the fire with his right, while in front a youth

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stands by the anvil, waiting as a "striker," and tools of various kinds are lying about; the inscription on this side being, "Thos. Burton, Winsters, 1778." This authentic example, it is well to add, was made for this Thomas Burton, blacksmith, of Winsters, at the Cock-pit Hill Works, and from his family passed into my own hands by purchase. In 1780, in consequence of the failure of the Heaths, who, besides being potters, were bankers and men of property, the stock at Cock-pit Hill was sold off, and a few years later the materials of the buildings were also sold, and the manufactory entirely closed.

In this locality, too, were some famous houses. One of these, a fine example of the highly picturesque structures of the seventeenth century, built by a Mr. Beardsley, was taken down in 1819. Other brick houses with pedimented gables of a like kind and period, still, fortunately, remain in other parts of the town—one in St. Peter's Churchyard, and another in Tenant Street. Long may they escape the despoiler's hand!

In the next division of the line of old streets I have chosen to say a few words upon, the "Morledge," were formerly some mansions of repute; notably that of "Mrs. Chambers, late Bailey's," alluded to by Hutton, and shown, with its gardens, in an old engraving. The Morledge and Cock-pit Hill, though much altered from what they were, have still an old-world look about them, and even the inn signs—and they are plenty as blackberries—are of quaint and old-world character. Thus, among others, there are, or were, within but a space not to be computed by many yards, the "Bishop Blaize," the patron saint of Woolcombers; the "Castle and Falcon;" the "Barley Mow;" the "Cock," most appropriate to the site of the Cock-pit; the "Old Crown;" the "Cossack;" the "Canal;" the "White Horse;" the "Durham Heifer," etc. The locality, too, it may be worth while to notice, gave name to a family of some repute, the Morleges or Morledges, one or more of whom were of local note.

Tenant Street and Tenant Bridge* coming

* Of this bridge Stow thus speaks in 1610: "Also a small brook rising westward runneth thorow the towne under nine bridges before it meets with her farre greater River Derwent, which it presently doth after shee hath passed Tenant Bridge in the South-East of the towne."

next on the line indicated, are also of no little note. Many, and fierce and violent, have been the "tussles" of the contending parties in the now put-down town game of Derby, the Foot-ball (or perhaps more appropriately, the hug-ball), at this bridge—one of the contending parishes always endeavouring to get the ball into the brook, and the others using all their power to prevent it. On the history and mode of play of this game alone—of totally different character from the game as now played—a whole chapter might well be written. The contending parties were "All Saints" and "St. Peter's," but the play was indulged in and enjoyed by the roughs of all the parishes, and of the surrounding neighbourhood. Old William Hutton, writing close upon a hundred years ago says, in his quaint way, "There is also one kind of amusement of the amphibious kind, which, if not peculiar to Derby, is pursued with an avidity I have not observed elsewhere—Foot-ball. I have often seen this coarse sport carried to the barbarous height of an election contest; nay, I have known a foot-ball hero chaired through the streets like a successful member, although his utmost elevation of character was no more than that of a butcher's apprentice. Black eyes, bruised arms, and broken shins are equally the marks of victory and defeat. . . . The professors of this athletic art think themselves bound to follow the ball wherever it flies; and as Derby is fenced in with rivers, it seldom flies far without falling into the water; and I have seen these amphibious practitioners of foot-ball-kicking jump into the river on a Shrove Tuesday when the ground was covered with snow," etc.

As Keene and Bradbury in their very interesting little book, *All about Derby*, say, on this day—Shrove Tuesday—every year "the shops were closed; there was a general holiday; and the ringing of the church bells gave rise to the following rhyme:

Pancakes and fritters,
Say All Saints' and Peter's!
When will the ball come,
Say the bells of St. Alkmun;
At two they will throw,
Says St. Werabo;
Oh, very well,
Says little St. Michael.

The ball—a large leather sphere stuffed with cork shavings—was thrown up in the Market

Place punctually at two o'clock. The object of the parish of All Saints was to take the ball into the Markeaton Brook and touch the wheel of the corn-mill on Nuns' Green with it as their goal. The St. Peter's goal lay at a gate which stood at the bottom of Grove Street, in proximity to the present Arboretum. In modern foot-ball, a dozen goals in the course of an ordinary afternoon's match is a common occurrence; but in the Derby foot-ball encounters four or five hours, and sometimes double that time, would be expended before the ball was goaled. As soon as the ball had been tossed up in the Market Place, it became the aim of the St. Peter's side to get it down Tenant Street and into the Derwent as the easiest way to their goal, thus avoiding the hill in St. Peter's Street and Osmaston Road. Sometimes the winning-post would be reached *via* Alvaston or Osmaston, so circuitous a route would the engagement take. It was, on the other hand, to the advantage of All Saints' side to take the tide of battle down Sadler Gate as the most accessible direction to their goal. To witness the 'Saints' goal their ball was an exciting spectacle. The fight was often removed from the land to the water, as All Saints had to take the Markeaton Brook and proceed under the arch and strike the mill-wheel with the coveted ball. Hundreds of heated men might be seen in the chilly water at a time, and when the brook was flooded, as it often happened, the 'play' must have received additional dangers, to say nothing of the rich legacies of rheumatism left by the ardour of youth to declining age. The crowd was divided into partizans of the contending sides, and the air rang with excited shouts of 'All Saints for ever!' and 'Peter's for ever!' It not unfrequently occurred that the ball would remain *in statu quo* between parties stubbornly matched and jammed together, unwilling to let either side make a movement. 'The ball would be surrounded,' says an eye-witness recalling the time, 'by hundreds of players, some pushing one way, and some the opposite. Now they would get wedged in a corner, where they would sometimes remain firmly fixed for hours together, a steam rising from the reeking mass of humanity as if from a huge seething caldron. Presently some of the men, when thus heated, would plunge

into the Derwent "hissing hot," as Falstaff has it, and swim down the river with the ball, the banks being lined with an excited crowd shouting and hallooing.' This picture is one of absolute fidelity. Another account speaks of the possessor of the ball making a subtle strategic movement down the unsavoury town sewer. He was pursued by several of the enemy, and met by the main body—offensive and defensive—at the outlet of the drain into the Derwent, where the struggle for supremacy was resumed. Other stories of aquatic encounters are told. When the ball had been finally won, the hero who had goaled it was proclaimed champion of the year. He was carried in triumph through the town, and the bells of the successful parish pealed forth the victory. The scenes on Shrove Tuesday were repeated on Ash Wednesday, when the juveniles were supposed to have their turn. For years many of the leading inhabitants of the town joined in the game. The ball was at one time thrown by the Mayor from a window in the Town Hall. Such representative men as Mr. Joseph Strutt, the donor of the Arboretum, were among the prominent supporters of the game. He might have been seen in the midst of the fray, followed by three or four servants bearing baskets of oranges, which he distributed among the exhausted players. In process of time, however, these foot-ball battles degenerated into discreditable riots. . . . The contest lasted till eight or nine at night, and sometimes it was later, when the battered victors—bruised, blinded, and bleeding—were carried on the shoulders of their companions in triumph through the excited streets, stopping at almost every door to beg money for drink. The givers were cheered, the refusers execrated. Many of the 'players' suffered severe injuries. The bones of some were broken, and others ruined their health by plunging in a heated state into the ice-cold waters of the river or the brook, when the fight became of the amphibious kind. Broken heads and shins, torn coats and lost hats, are put down as amongst the minor casualties of the day; some of the more riotous of the multitude not hesitating at tearing up palisades, trampling down gardens, or destroying any object which retarded their path. Finally, the law had to step in to stop these foot-ball ferocities,

but a custom so long established was not easily extinguished. Large portentous placards would proclaim that the constables would take into custody any person producing a ball; but the warning was openly defied, and the magisterial issuers gave it secret support. . . . Special constables were sworn in; and a troop of Royal Irish Dragoons occupied the Market Place. A riot was expected, and every preparation made forthwith, but from that time, 1846, the game came practically to an end."

Hard by the bridge in Tenant Street is the interesting old example of brick building already alluded to, and, unseen from the street, being behind the houses on the east side, is a grand old timber mansion, probably Elizabethan, with a front of four gables. It is one of the more interesting of old Derby relics, and has the additional interest attached to it of having at one time—as was, at another, a house in Full Street—been the residence of Dr. Darwin, of "Botanic Garden" and "Loves of the Plants" fame.

The Market Place, along the east side of which the line I have chosen passes, is an open square, and has the reputation of being one of the finest and best in the kingdom. Formerly on its east side, where Derwent Street now is, "stood a large ancient mansion, with a quadrangular court in front, the entrance to which was under an archway, with a dwelling-house above, and houses on both sides within the archway. At this house King Charles I. stayed when visiting Derby. There was a large garden behind the house, which went down to the river by which Exeter Bridge now stands.* The mansion was taken down for the purpose of forming the new street. Other good and substantial houses stood on the same side, nearer to, and on the site of, the present Assembly rooms (built in 1763-74), while on the other sides of the square other mansions of note, now converted into shops, also stood; some of these containing, even at the present day, remarkably fine decorated ceilings, and other interesting features. On this side the Market Place also at one time stood the Conduit, and in the centre the Market Cross, at which proclamations were made and other public formalities gone through. In the

* Hope.

Market Place stood also the Pillory, on which numberless misdemeanants (notably one Eleanor Beare) at one time or other were compelled to stand, fixed and immovable, and to undergo the jeers, assaults, and peltings of the insatiate, enraged, and cruel crowd that was invariably brought together on such occasions. Of the Pillory itself no actual representation exists, but in my own possession is a curious and very inartistic and rough old drawing which is just enough to show that it was of that not unusual kind composed of a framework of wood with sliding boards (fig. 3). The rude drawing was evidently made for the purpose of holding up



FIG. 3.

to opprobrium a certain surcharger of taxes, whose name, although given on the drawing, I purposely withhold. Upon it is written, "—, the Surcharger of Taxes, to stand in the Pillory from eleven to twelve o'clock in Derby Market Place on Whitsuntide Fair Day, for making people purjur themselves. Devil says well done —, surcharge all; you rob them of not less than two or three hundred a year; surcharge everyone, my good lad; make as many forswear themselves as you can; thou art a good and faithful steward, when thou comes into my kingdom thou shalt be ruler over ten cities.

—You find the Pillory is your fate,
With durt, and rotten eggs avat thy pate,
If from the gallows your life they should save,
Tho' all agree they couldn't hang a greater knave.

In the Market Place too, and probably attached to the Pillory, was the Whipping

Post, and here also was, and is, the Guild Hall. Within its space the army of the so-called "Pretender" was drawn up in 1745; in it on each succeeding Shrove Tuesday, from the earliest recorded times, the expectant crowd collected to receive the huge foot-ball thrown from the Guild Hall; and in it, in 1832, the disastrous and lamentable Reform Bill riots took their rise.

From the north-east corner of the Market Place, between the old and the new Assembly-rooms, opens the last street to which in this brief paper I purpose drawing attention. This is "Full Street," so called according to Hutton, "from being the habitation of Fullers, lying convenient for that calling from its vicinity to the water. At the bottom of this street," he continues, "upon the banks of the Derwent, twenty yards from the river, now [1791] Mr. Upton's garden, I first drew this vital air, September 30, 1723." This was William Hutton, the historian of Derby, of Birmingham, of the Roman Wall, and the writer of so many other works of note, of whose life—so well known is it through his own autobiography and the other memoirs of him and his family which have been written*—I need not say anything here further than that, when he wrote his "History of Derby"—then an old man of three-score years and eight—he penned these words: "I . . . tread that ground where was first cast my severe lot; where, at an early age, I was attacked with most of the ills attendant upon human life, without the power either of resistance or retreat. . . . Unknown in Derby, I stand clear of prejudice. When I silently wander from the extremity of St. Mary's Bridge to that of St. Peter's Parish, without meeting one face that I know, I consider myself a stranger at home; but though forgotten, I cannot forget. I behold with concern the buildings altered with time; and reflect, with a sigh, that every house has changed its inhabitants; and that I have to mourn a whole generation, who are swept into the grave."

One of the most notable houses in Full Street—now, alas! taken down—was Exeter House, better known as "The Pretender's

* *The Life of William Hutton, and the History of the Hutton Family*, by Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A., 1872.

House." It stood a little way beyond the Assembly-rooms, where a new street leading to nowhere has been made on its site. This house at one time was a residence of the Marquess of Exeter, and hence its name, "Exeter House," and had its grounds reaching down to the river-side. On the march of the "bonnie Prince Charlie," with his staff and forces, in 1745, this house was appointed as his head-quarters, and here he lay during his short stay in the town; and here, in the drawing-room, was held the famous council of war, at which his and his army's precipitate retreat was determined upon. The events of those two or three days,

show not only that they acted on the principle that those

who fight and run away
May live to fight another day,

but evidently felt that

Those who prate but dare not fight
Keep safely from the enemy's sight!

In the same street are other notable houses, and at the corner of Amen Alley, on the west side of the street, is an old gabled and overhanging house with carved Gothic corner-post at its angle; and on the upper surface some indications of pargeting. This house forms the corner of All Saint's Church-



EXETER HOUSE, DERBY.

stirring as they undoubtedly were, are matters of history, and therefore, however tempting the subject, I refrain from giving any particulars. The people of Derby had not much to complain of in the way of treatment by the Prince and his motley followers, and they could surely not plume themselves on their mode of receiving the "rebels." We are told the Prince was proclaimed at the Market Cross by the "Town Cryer," that the magistrates (or such as had not fled) attended him; that on his and his army's "coming in they were generally treated with bread, cheese, beer, and ale, whilst all hands were aloft getting their suppers ready;" and the laughable doings of the local forces, as so admirably told in the "Chronicle of the Derby Blues,"

yard; Amen Alley running up the south, and College Place the north, side of "God's Acre." Immediately opposite the east end of All Saints' Church are "The Devonshire Alms-houses," founded and endowed in the reign of Elizabeth (March 1, 1599), by Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury—the celebrated "Bess of Hardwick"—for eight poor men and four poor women, each of whom was to receive 33s. 4d. every three months, and to have, in addition, 20s. each year for a gown; and the warden had in addition 20s. as salary for keeping clean the monument of the Countess in the church. The houses were fully furnished, and among the statutes it was ordered that that furniture consist of "one bedstead, one mattrass, one bolster, two pair

of sheets, two coffers, two tables, one cupboard, two stools, four pewter dishes, iron tongues, fire-shovel, and all the furniture;" and each was provided with "one Cognizance or Badge of silver of the Alms-houses" which was to be worn by men and women "upon their left arm sleeve above the elbow . . . and that so appearantly that it may be discovered wheresoever they shall come, uppon pain for every of them to forfeit for every time they shall be seene abroad without it, 4d." The Alms-houses were rebuilt in 1777 by the then Duke of Devonshire, who further endowed the establishment.

In All Saints' Church, the finest and head church of the town, whose ugly and inappropriate body serves only as a foil to set off to greater advantage the magnificent and lofty

from defect of his machinery did not succeed; and in 1715 John Lombe, whose name will always be associated with the silk manufacture, visited Italy with the express intention of worming out the secret processes. By dint of various artifices he succeeded in his design, and brought back with him—although his flight had to be hasty—not only the necessary models of machinery, and many notes and sketches, but two Italian workmen to assist him in his project. Having fixed on Derby as his settling-place, he in 1717 arranged with the Corporation for a small island on the river Derwent, and thereon erected his mill; and while that was being done, made use of the Town Hall for experimental work. Later on he took out a patent, but through treachery on the part of the



FIG. 4.

tower, the Countess and others of the Devonshire family are buried, and their monuments form features of unusual attraction. In the church also, among many other interesting memorials, is a wooden effigy of a priest. Of the church itself, or its monumental tablets and historic attractions, I need say nothing, as they alone would find matter for a whole chapter.

Passing the churchyard, on the opposite or east side of the street at the part where it takes a sharp curve on its way to join Queen Street, is a short street known as "Silk Mill Lane," which leads to one of the most historically interesting of buildings, the old Silk Mill—the first ever erected in England (fig. 4). Its history has been often told, and is so well known that it is needless to do more than state that in 1702 a person named Crotchet attempted to "throw" silk in Derby, but

Italians, lost his life by poison, and was buried in All Saints' Church. He had, however, succeeded in establishing, for England, what has become one of her principal branches of commerce. The mills passed into the hands of his brother, and are still, after many changes of ownership and tenancy, carried on. The models of machinery and other things John Lombe got together in Italy, he brought over in a remarkably curious and, even in those days, old, chest, carved and painted in the most elaborate and artistic manner. This chest, many years ago, passed into my own hands by purchase, and remained my property until a few years ago; it is here engraved (fig. 5).

William Hutton, who was apprenticed at this mill, when a mere child—the mill itself having been built some five years before he was born—in speaking of it says (and with

this quotation I close my present article): "Some have earnestly wished to see this singular piece of mechanism; but I have sincerely wished I never had. I have lamented, that while almost every man in the world was born *out* of Derby, it should be my unhappy lot to be born *in* it. To this curious but wretched place I was bound apprentice for seven years, which I always

considered the most unhappy of my life; these I faithfully served, which was equalled by no other, in my time, except a worthy brother, then my companion in distress, and now my intelligent friend. It is therefore no wonder if I am perfectly acquainted with every movement in that superb work. My parents, through sheer necessity, put me to labour before nature had made me able.



FIG. 5.

Low as the engines were, I was too short to reach them. To remedy this defect, a pair of high pattens were fabricated and lashed to my feet, which I dragged after me till time lengthened my stature. The confinement and labour were no burden, but the severity was intolerable, the marks of which I yet carry, and shall carry to the grave. . . . Hoisted upon the back of Bryan Barker, a giant approaching seven feet, was like being

hoisted to the top of a precipice, when the wicked instrument of affliction was wielded with pleasure; but alas! it was only pleasure to one side. It was again my unhappy lot, at the close of this servitude, to be bound apprentice to a stocking-maker for a second term of seven years; so that, like Jacob, I served two apprenticeships, but was not, like him, rewarded either with wealth or beauty."



Notes on Common-Field Names.

BY THE REV. J. C. ATKINSON.

CLASS I. SECTION I.—Continued.

Names depending for one or both of their Constituent Parts, or Elements, on some Natural Object or Feature.

9. -hil, -hyl:

<i>Berehil.</i>	<i>Engehil.</i>	<i>Hungerghyl.</i>	<i>Sandhyl.</i>
<i>Bramhil.</i>	<i>Grenhil.</i>	<i>Priurhil.</i>	<i>Wildehil.</i>
<i>Windehil</i> or <i>Windhyl.</i>			

The *bere* in the first name in the list may be from O.N. *barr*, Sw. Dial *bör*,

A.S. *bere*, the kind of barley otherwise called *bigg*; as *bram* in the second is from Dan. or Sw. *bram*, a bramble. Note the Dan. *brambær*, Sw. dialect *brambär*, the blackberry. There is also an A.S. *brember*, but it is given as meaning the shrub itself, not its berry. I do not feel sure *berchil* should not be read *brerchil* = briarhill. *Hungerghyl* is correctly written, and is not without parallel instances. Most of the other names explain themselves, but *Wildehil* is uncertain, although there is a farm in Glaisdale township called *Wild Slack*, where the prefix *wild* seems equally without apparent meaning as in *Wildehil*. *Windhil* or

Windehyl is also perplexing. It is a name met with in Gisbrough, Bernaldby, Moorsom, and Marton, and one or more instances besides may be added from still existing house-names. It can hardly be supposed that *wind* (= air in motion) can have anything to do with these names, and it is almost equally hard to suggest any more satisfactory conclusion. It may be remarked, however, that in the existing names the *i* is short, which is the case also with the *i* in the verb to *wind* in the dialect of Cleveland, while the *i* in the noun *wind* is always long, as in poetry, and, in the mouths of some readers, in Scripture.

10. -holm, -holmes :

Brochholm. *Holmes.* *Kenyng.* *Konyng.*
Konyholm. *Marholm.* *Ester.*

The simple word *holm*, like the numerous class of compound names involving it, is met with in a great variety of places throughout the district. It usually implies "low-lying land by the side of a stream, which in time of flood may become more or less insular, and which, at an earlier time, may have been completely so, former channels or hollows having been filled up with alluvial matters." Many illustrations are derivable from both Scandinavian and Germanic sources, such as to throw light upon the fact that *holm* is not necessarily an island. Several names now ending in *holm* have no connection whatever with that word. Thus *Moorsholm* is a corruption of *Morsom* or *Moresum*, abbreviated from *Morhusum*; *Airyholm* (at the foot of Roseberry Topping) expanded from *Ergum*, the modernized form of *hör̥gum* the dative plural of *hör̥g*, a sacrificial stone or altar in the open air, and the like. *Brochholm* is one of a class of words sufficiently puzzling to account for. Cf. *Brochholes*, *Brochlebeck*, *Brocton* or *Broghton*, etc., which it is hard to have to refer to *broc*, a badger, in every case. Certainly, in some instances, the man's name, now Brock, must be the origin of such prefix. A.S. *bróc*, too, may originate some, and we may collate *Brocken*, S. Jutland *Brokbjerg*, Iceland *Brok-ey*, etc. *Coney Street* in York is a sufficient illustration of *Konyngholm*, to say nothing of the numberless others afforded in S. Jutland, Germany, and elsewhere. *Marholm* is worth special note, because it is met with in a place the name of which begins with the same prefix—*Marton*, namely. See *mar*, *mere*, a little below.

11. -kelde :

<i>Blindekelde.</i>	<i>Rennandkelde.</i>
<i>Buirtrekede.</i>	<i>Rotande-, Rutandekelde.</i>
<i>Fulkelde.</i>	<i>Ryduskelde.</i>
<i>Hildegelde.</i>	<i>Simundkelde.</i>
<i>Kerlingkelde.</i>	<i>Springekelde.</i>
<i>Levenadtoftkelde.</i>	<i>Thruhkelde.</i>

O.N. *kelde*, Dan. *kilde*, Sw. *källa*, etc., a spring, fountain, water-source. A word often met with as a prefix in local names—e.g., *Keldholm*, *keldhead*, etc.—as well as very largely as a suffix. It seems to have been the word exclusively in use in this district to designate a spring of water. *Blindekelde*, there is little doubt, was one, the discharging aperture or orifice of which was more or less concealed. The water is seen to be trickling and gathering into a stream, but there is no gushing, or even distinctly apparent, issuing source.* Such springs are common enough on the moor-banks of the district. Compare the terms *blind lane*, *blind alley*, *blind cabbage*, or *blind flower*. The next name on the list is of interest, as perhaps the oldest written form of the northern name of the elder. The universal name in this district for the tree in question is sounded *bottry*, and is a corruption of *bore-tree*, or *burtree*. Jamieson spells it *bourtrees*, *boretrees*. Near Danby Church is a *Burtree-lane*. This particular *kelde* was distinguished by the presence near it of an elder tree. *Fulkelde* is a name of frequent occurrence in different parts of the district, and the reason is obvious. One curious corruption of this name is met with in the parish of Ingleby Arncliffe, where *Fowgill* has superseded an ancient *Fulkelde*—a case as strongly illustrative as even Professor Skeat could require of the necessity of historical investigation of place-names.

* Many instances of the kind noted are, in this district, known by the writer. One case was mentioned to him last year in which the existence of the spring was rather suspected than ascertained. The suspicion, however, was so decided that draining tools were used to ascertain where it actually existed, and in the course of an hour or two of properly directed labour a spring sufficiently strong—with the aid of another and smaller one similarly discovered—to work a small water-ram was disclosed. This was really a *blind-keld*. Another singular illustration is found in the strongest chalybeate spring known to the author. True, the immediate source is conspicuous enough, but the apparent discharge from that source seems to be very small. Yet fifteen or twenty feet on the slope below the said source the run of water is sufficient to fill a four-inch pipe. The discharge is hardly less than sixty gallons per minute.

For *Hildekelde* compare *Fons S. Hilda* in the boundaries of the ancient endowment of Whitby Abbey, 'or "Whitby Liberty," and the Domesday *Hildrenuelle*, now Hinderwell. Other instances, moreover, might be given. *Kerling*—sometimes *Carling*—is another by no means unusual first element in a place-name, as in *Carlinghow*, near Lofthouse, another *Kerlingkelde* in Bernaldby, another, *Kerlinghouse*, in Gisburgh, besides *Carlingill*, *Carlin-slack*, etc. But, frequently as the name is met with, there is no apparent clue to any certain derivation. It is somewhat remarkable to how many objects the Sw. dialect equivalent to Scottish *carline*, an old woman, a witch (*källing*, *kärring*, etc.) is applied, just as carlin heather, carline thistle are English or Scottish names. Sw. Dial. *kärring-fis*, and Isl. *kerling-elldr* denote a kind of fungus (*Lycoperdon bovista*); * *kärringtand*, Isl. *kerlingar-tönn*, *Lotus corniculatus*, etc., etc. Certainly in more places than one in Scotland *carline*, in the sense of witch, has formed part of a local name, and it is not impossible that *kerling*, in conjunction with either *how* or *kelde*, may have formed a name localizing some well-known legend of witch-doings or witch-abode. *Levenadtoft* is also spelt *Lefhenaldtoftes* and *Seveneht-toft* in the copy I have, the prefix in the last being, no doubt, a scribal error for *Leveneht*, and the probability is that *Leven-ald-toft* (= Leven old toft) is the correct form. *Rennandkelde*, besides yielding another participle in *-and*, is clear, while *rotande-* or *rutande-kelde* calls for a word of comment. The Isl. verb *hrjóta* (present *hrýtt*, pret. *hraut*, plural *hrutu*) is applied to the action of starting forth, flying out (as dust from a cloak), gushing out, as blood from a person's nose or mouth, and thus there is, at least, some little possibility that the meaning is gushing or springing fountain,†

* "The common species (of *Lycoperdon*) have been used in some places of England to smother bees. . . . They are also used in some places, where neighbours dwell far asunder, to carry and reserve fire from place to place, whereof it took the name of *lucernarum fungus*' (Gerarde). For the purpose of tinder I have seen them used in Northumberland." (Johnstone's *Flora of Berwick-on-Tweed*).

† It will be observed that I use qualified language in suggesting this explanation. It is a possible explanation, and that is all that can be said; and, but for the fact that the participial prefix would seem to be, and to be intended to be, descriptive or characteristic of the keld itself rather than of the application, or use

synonymous indeed with *Springekelde*, which follows in alphabetical succession. *Ryduskelde* is perhaps imperfect or mis-spelt, and the *thruh* in *Thruhhkelde* may most likely depend on O.N. *thrö*, a hollowed-out stone, or perhaps on *troh* or *trog*, a trough.*

12. *-ker*:

<i>Benelandker.</i>	<i>Bladaker.</i>	<i>Blapotker.</i>
<i>Bunoker,</i> otherwise <i>Thonnoker,</i> or <i>Ponnoker.</i>		
<i>Cringelker.</i>	<i>Crosseker.</i>	<i>Langker.</i>
<i>Seliker,</i>	<i>Selyker.</i>	<i>Swaynnesker.</i>

This suffix, it is hardly necessary to remark, is the ancient form or representative of modern *car* or *carr*, which has been thus described: "A flat marshy piece of land, usually at or near the foot of a bank, and, in that sense, low: not necessarily low otherwise." Often under natural herbage, still; but arable where drainage has been effected: O.N. *ker*, *kjör*, N. *kjerr*, Dan. *kær*. Of this last word Molbech says that it is originally Norse, and is commonly used to express a tract distinguished by depth of soil, and burdened with accumulated water.

For *Beneland* see, below, the section under *-lande*, *-landes*. *Bladaker* might be meant for *blad-aker*,† but *acre* in other cases is so

made, of the keld, it would hardly be advanced at all. If the participle *rotand* or *rutand* may be taken to intend or signify a use, or the use, made of the spring, I should have no hesitation at all in connecting it with the sufficiently common personal name Rotour, Rutour, which I have met with as early as 1302, and abundantly in later times, and which survives to the present day in the form Rutter. As to form, this name is precisely analogous to the names Parcour, Futur or Futour, Barbour, Passour and Ferour, all occurring in the same list (belonging to 1302), and, like these, Rotour or Rutour also indicates a calling or occupation. The man so styled was a man whose business it was to *ret* the flax or hemp, otherwise *rait* it, all the connections of which verb are with the word or words to which we owe our modern English verb to *rot*. Thus *Rotandekelde* might, and notwithstanding grammatical reasons to the contrary, I think it does, mean simply *retting-spring*.

* It would be easy to multiply instances of local names formed by composition of another word with *kelde*, either as first or second element: e.g., *Keldhow*, *Keld-brows*, *Caldkelde*, *Coppkelde*, *Grenckeld* (two or three of the name, and one of them the origin of *Grinkle* in Easington), *Helwaldeskeld*, *Skitekeld*, etc. But the object being simply to illustrate one limited list, only enough extraneous instances, in any case, are adduced to serve the purpose in question.

† I do not feel any confidence that it ought not to be. On grammatical or structural grounds *blada-ker* is difficult, and open to grave objection. On the other hand, again, *blad-aker* does not commend itself

spelt, and not with the *k*, except in one case where *ck* is employed. The explanation is probably found in Isl. *blautlendr*, soft, moist-soiled: Sw. *blöt*, N. *blaut*, Dan. *blød*, all mean soft as moist things are; and Sw. *lägga i blöt* is to lay in soak, to steep. As to *Blapotker*, partly cylindrical and partly (at the bottom) conical holes are sometimes formed in clayey soils (and I have seen like ones in solid peat) by the action of water, which I have heard called *pots* or *pot-holes*. Some which were exposed several years ago in making an accommodation road, near Pinchingthorpe, besides containing curious deposits of bones, shells, etc.,* from the light-coloured clay they had been formed in, might well have been distinguished by the application to them of the term *blae-pot*. The orthography of the next name is too uncertain to be dealt with at all. With *Cringel* or *Cringle* or *Cringles*, however, it is otherwise, and it is a very frequent constituent of local names in this district, even if it does not furnish forth the whole of the name, as in two instances, at least, in the parish of Danby. In *Burnt Njal*, ii. 312, a moor is mentioned, which is called *Kringle Mire*; it has a stream of lava all round it. Kok mentions *Kringelum*, *Kringelborg*, *Kringelbæk*, *Kringelmose*, *Kringeltoft*, etc., in different parts of Scandinavia, all depending on O.N. *hring*, *kring*, a ring, circuit, outer edge or limit of a curvilinear space. With this compare *Cringle-moor* on the hill above Broughton, with a large stone circle on it, *Cringilthweit*, *Crin-*

to approval on the score of sense; for it involves a contradiction to characterize a portion of arable land—an “acre” in the special sense of cornland, moreover—by a word which, if it implies anything, implies the growth of *leaves*, not of what we speak of as *blades* of grass or young corn. The idea of broad-leaved foliage seems to be inseparable from the Scandinavian *blad*, and the plant *tway-blade*, the A.S. name of which is *twileafe* or *twi-blade*, is a strong illustration of the same point, particularly to anyone who knows either of the three species so named, and the peculiar character of its leaves or blades.

* Among other things besides bones of *Bos longifrons*, those of the sheep, goat, or roe (or all three), and enough of those of a horse to enable one to form an idea of its height, and the comparative size of its head and limbs, a gilded helmet (of perhaps the third century) folded in four, and but little injured or altered otherwise, was taken out of one of these pot-holes. After some vicissitudes it was consigned to the British Museum, and was duly and carefully unfolded, but at the cost of its gilding.

geleworth in Hardale Head, *Cringilholme*, near *Smawath* in Stokesley; and our present *Cringelker*, now *Cringlecarr*. *Crosseker* and *Langker* may be passed by; but *Seliker*, *Selyker* requires notice. *Sely* is practically identical with modern *sallow*, a species of willow, Cleveland *saugh*, Pr. Pm. *saluwe*, *salix*. In the Langbargh record of a Fifteenth granted to the King in 1302, we find in Pot-howe a Ricardus in *Salicibus* named, and in Kyrklythom (Kirkleathom) a Thomas in *le Wyliges*, both of which illustrate our present name—the *car* or *ker* made notable by the growth of the *sallow*. *Swaynesker* may be either Swan's-carr or Swayn's-car, probably the former.

13. -mar, -mere:

Gailmere. *Langmar, Langmere.*

Of frequent occurrence both as prefix and suffix. Both these names occur in the parish of Marton, and are doubtless connected with the feature of the locality which furnished the prefix. *Gailmere* is, it may be assumed, due, as in the case of one or more analogous names—*Gale-swang*, for instance—to the prominent growth of the plant called gale or sweet gale; A.S. *gagel*, *gagille*, *gagelle*, *gagolle*, etc.

14. -mire, -mires:

Arkilmire. *Norlangythemire.*
Gosemire. *Turfmire.*

Mire is defined by Skeat as “deep mud,” which is the meaning of the purely English word. But *mire* or *mires* in North Yorkshire local names is not English in its origin but Old Danish, and has its immediate connection with Icel. *myrr*, modern *myri*, a bog, swamp, Sw. *myra*, a bog, marsh, Dan. *myr*, *myre*, a marsh. In this parish *Pundermires*, *Blackmires*, *Nettlemares* yet exist as local names, and the former of these two names indicates a place where the presence of a quaking bog on one, and really the highest, part of the marshy enclosure designated, sufficiently attested the nature of a *mire*, or *mires*. *Arkil* in *Arkilmire* is no doubt the old personal name *Archil*, *Arkel* (*Domesday* forms), *Arnkell*, as *Simund* in *Simundkelde* is from *Sigmund*. *Norlangythemire* must be a corruption.

15. -mold, -molde:

Blakemoldes. *Swartemold* or *Swardemolde*.

Both—or rather, inasmuch as *Swartemold* occurs in both Guisborough and Normanby, all three—of these names have the same meaning. The usual phrase nowadays is *blackland*, and there is now a large average of such soil under regular cultivation in this district. The writer has seen much of it drained within his own time, and in one case a man employed by himself in draining one part of a field which had hitherto never been ploughed, as it was not safe to trust the cattle on such treacherous soil, suddenly dropped into a pot-hole left by a decayed tree, the bark of which yet retained its consistency, and was immersed in thick black puddle up to his waist.

16. *-pol*:*Russepel.**Ruterpol.*

The first is *rush-pool*, but what the latter may be is not certain. See, however, *rutande*, *rotande*, under the head *kelde*. *Ruterpol* may quite possibly be the *Ruter* or *Rotour's* pool,—compare the everyday Cleveland forms bird-nest, man-hat, bank-foot, etc.—the pool in which the professional or town-ship *retter* carried on his occupation.

17. *-sic*, *-sighe*, *-sike*:*Brakansik.**Collesighe.**Fetherflasic.**Grenesic.**Haraldesic.**Hildekellesic.**Layrsic, Lausic.**Linsike.**Prestesic.**Ryduskeldesic.**Tollesike.*

A *syke* or *sike* is a streamlet, a small trickling run of water draining out of a boggy or marshy place. It is a frequent element in Cleveland local names still existing, and in Scandinavia also, as *Alsike*, *Grönsike*, which latter corresponds exactly with our *Grenesike* above. Both *Collesike* and *Tollesike* (one from Gisburgh, and the other from Marton) perhaps may depend on the same sources as the two Cleveland place-names, *Colebi* (now *Coulby*) and *Tolesbi*, *Tollesbi* (now *Tolesby*), in other words on the personal names *Kolr* and *Toli*, *Tole*. No less than nine persons named *Kol* appear in *Njal's Saga* alone, and *Tole* is taken by *Kok* as supplying the first element in more than twenty Scandinavian place-names, such as *Toleshov* (*Tolshöi*), *Tolesthorp* (*Tolstrup*), etc. *Fetherflasic* is unintelligible. Surmises are easy, but there is nothing to lend

probability to either of them.* *Layrsic*—and *lausic* is doubtless only a scribal variation—depends, it may be assumed, on the same origin as the Whitby township now called *Larpool*, in old days *Leirpol*, *Layrpol*, etc. O.N. *leir*, clay, loam, mud: cf. *leir-bakke*, a clayey bank, *Leirvik*, a muddy bay, etc. *Linsike* may perhaps be compared with Sw. Dial. *Lin-sänke*, *lin-sänkä*, etc., the place where flax—our Cleveland, as well as Scandinavian *lin*—was immersed to help the process of retting. That *lin* or flax was extensively grown will appear below (under the head *-land* or *-landes*).

18. *-stane*, *-stones*:*Refstane.**Standandestanes.*

This suffix is sufficiently common not to call for examples. *Refstane* is noteworthy for that it has the same syllable as prefix which occurs in one other local name in Cleveland that has never yet been explained, viz., *Refholes* in Westerdale. These holes or pits are really the existing traces of old iron-stone sinkings, and they are known to be as old as the latter part of the twelfth century, or beginning of the thirteenth, and were called *Refholes* then. The fox, Dan. *ræv*, O.N. *refr*, gives name to many Scandinavian places or objects, as *Refshanger* in Norway, *Refstader* in Iceland, *Rævbjerg*, *Rævhöi* (*ref-howe*), *Rævkær* (*ref-carr*), several or many of each, and other like compounds besides, and we might assume that *ref-hole* might once have meant *fox-hole*: while, as illustrative of the permanency of Scandinavian names, it may be remarked that *Wooddale* or *Wood-hill* was once *Wolfdale*, and as late as 1270 preserved the Scandinavian form *Ulvdale*; while *Ormesby* has never become English *Wormsby*, nor *Odensberg*, *Wodensberg*. In reference to *Standandestanes* there are many stones still, in spite of the havoc perpetrated by road-makers and drainers, standing in groups, or now and again alone, distinguished by the title *standing-stone* or *standing-stones*, and in not a few cases they have been proved to be connected with ancient interments,

* Thus A.S. *fla*, *flaa* is an arrow, and *fether-fla* might be feather-arrow, and there might be something in the *syke* in question, or its runnel, to resemble a feathered shaft. Other guesses equally rational (or the contrary) might be suggested.

while more than one among them have legends attached to them.

19. *-wath* :

Briggetwath.

Sandwath.

Wath is a ford, and it is a significant fact that side by side with all the old thirteenth or fourteenth century bridges in Cleveland was a ford or wath, in some cases solidly paved. Thus the word became a frequent factor in a place-name. Notice has already been taken of *Briggetwath* and *Brigswath*, and it would be easy to adduce half a dozen instances of *Sandwath* or *Sandswath* alone, without occupying further space by reference to such testimony as that of the Ordnance maps.

20. *-with* :

Bradderbremwith.

Bradepumwith.

Both these places were in Ormesby, and there was another *Plumwith* in Marton. Other instances, in no very scanty number, of local names ending in *with* might be adduced, as *Lokwith* (now Lockwood), *Westwith*, etc. This word *with* is the direct representative of O.N. *vidr*, a wood. *Bradderbremwith* is broader-bramble wood and *Bradepumwith* is wide or broad-plumtree wood.

Besides the above a single instance of *-hirst* occurs in *Buirtrekeldhirst*, the only instance I have met with of this southern English word in north England; another of *-sty* in *Langesty* in Hutton Locros. The word *sty* is still in use in the sense of a path—an ascending path, it is probably right to add. Only this past summer, in asking my way to a place, the person inquired of used the word for an ascending path then in sight, along which he told me I had to pass. *Redingh* (= *riding*) also occurs once; *thorne* twice, viz., in *Stubbethorne* and *Langethornedikes*; *-braith*, *-brathe*, *-brayth* once in *Ille* or *Hillebraithe*; *Futiner*, *Prondi*, and *Scorte* (= *short*) *broigmes*, each once, and all without apparent explanation. One other formative element in a name which has been already noticed (see vol. xiii. 212) is met with twice, namely, in *Adhewaldesleth* and *Sletenges*.



Tilmanstone, Kent.

BY REV. SAMUEL BARBER.



AFTER leaving the pleasant little village of Shepherd's Well, and strolling eastwards towards Deal and Sandwich, you pass over a chalky ridge, and along a winding, open road, with arable ground on both sides. Leaving behind, on an eminence to the right, the mill of Shepherd's Well, and further back the church of Coldred, with its remains of a fosse and Roman (?) camp,* you go on by a gradual descent to Eythorne.

Pleasant it is in the springtime to hear the ditty of the larks which haunt this ground, and to catch a glimpse (from the high ground by the mill) of the distant cliffs of Ramsgate and Pegwell Bay. And the pedestrian who makes his way to Tilmanstone by the highway through Eythorne may, if he be an antiquary, find much ground for interesting speculation as to the position taken up by Julius Cæsar after his landing in Pegwell Bay; for here, alongside of the road to Eythorne, may be found unmistakable remains of an old and probably important road traversing the fields by way of Knowlton and Eastry towards Sandwich. There are many indications of ancient, but now totally disused, highways in this district, and there are a few things which more plainly show the changes which old Time effects in all things human.

On your left hand, and to the north-west of Eythorne, lies the sequestered village of Barfrestone, with its noted and very antique little Norman Church, which is said to have been associated with a monastic house in Dover.† The elaborate archway of the door is very remarkable for so small a church, and so poor a place. The carving of grotesque figures in the moulding of the arch is lavish in quantity, and richly artistic in its effect; a very pleasant sight for the wandering pedestrian to gaze upon, as he rests in the churchyard from his dusty toil on a hot summer afternoon. Among other curiosities of this carving will be found, if memory deceive me

* So, I believe, Hasted and others have concluded; but I suspect it was originally British.

† I imagine, though I have seen no ruins, that there was a monastery, or hermitage, at Barfrestone also.

not, a cheerful-looking dog seated upon his hind-legs, and performing upon an instrument of music.* But the most charming feature of this little church is the manner in which the pillars supporting the chancel arch are ornamented with a coil of stone after the fashion of a vine-tendril, and the deviation from geometrical symmetry which this coil exhibits. It is not a regular or equiangular spiral, but a coil with a varying angle, or unequal spaces. And when one sees the work of an artist who follows Nature, and observes the superior effect produced by following Nature's types, a feeling of surprise enters the mind that architects should, even to this day, have been so generally imbued with the notion that exact symmetry and numerical preciseness constitute the soul of architectural form. But perhaps better days are at hand.

Returning over a bare chalky ridge, from which the traces of the old Roman road above mentioned are, I think, to be found near to Eythorne (on the right hand, and close to the road), you emerge on the way to Tilmanstone. Up a winding incline, past a clump of firs, and out on to the breezy chalk-rutted highway from Eythorne to Tilmanstone. The firs are at the junction of the two branches of this road, which run to Upper and Lower Eythorne respectively. In front, on the right, are the woods of Dane Court. We follow this road towards Eastry and Sandwich, but pause a little to enjoy the breeze, and see how hedges have been obliterated by modern agriculture. The road will take you to Eastry and Betteshanger, but to reach Tilmanstone village you must turn off sharp to the right by a gate into the Dane Court Park. In crossing this Park you find yourself almost on a level with the roof of Dane Court, lately the residence of Edward Rice, Esq., formerly M.P. for Dover, and now in the possession of his son, Admiral Rice. A modest-looking mansion is Dane Court, in a valley which winds away towards Eastry and Sandwich. In former days long the residence of the family of Fogg, it may have been, before the modern rebuilding, a much more pretentious residence, as the Fogg family were allied with royalty in the time of the Edwards. Now it is stated that their descendants are to be

* The font of Lostwithiel, Cornwall, shows a hunting scene, including a horse and dog.

found among the labouring population of an adjoining village—a descent probably by no means extraordinary. My landlord (when I lodged in this village), a well-to-do working-man, was stated to be a member of one of the branches of the Fogg family.

The yew-tree in Tilmanstone churchyard is a grand result of Nature's care. Botanists have assigned to it a duration of twelve hundred years. What a social and historical and archæological romance might that venerable tree give forth if it could but be endued for a time with the too often abused faculty of "articulately speaking men"! The tower of Tilmanstone church is not majestic in its elevation, and it is interesting to notice the way in which the thick foliage of the yew overtops the highest point of the building. Which of the two should be entitled to the palm of antiquarian interest would be hard to decide, for the tower cannot tell us much more than the yew can; but for mere length of years the tree has undoubtedly the advantage.*

Entering the belfry by the western door, you find that art has given way to convenience,† and modern woodwork for the housing of tools and clerical garments harmonises but little with the design of former days; but after passing through another door into the nave, it is plain that the restoration of the original circular arch would do much towards recovering the antique and consistent character of this very ancient early Norman structure. The narrow round-topped little window with its deep recess at once draws your attention, upon the left hand, or north side; and on the right, close to the wall, and west of the main door, stands the font. This font, with its old time-worn metal-lining, is a very shallow vessel, but is placed upon a built foundation, which brings the upper portion to nearly the average height; and the effect is solid, but not ornamental. The sides of the composition forming the font-vessel are variegated by a plain moulding. This moulding is of a peculiar type; a kind of sunk perpendicular arch. I have seen a font in the parish of Amotherby, in Yorkshire, near Malton, which is a remarkable contrast to

* This church has now, I understand, been restored internally.

† This was so before the late restoration.

this. It consists in form of the base of a pillar and a portion of the shaft, hollowed at the top—more elegant, but not so convenient for the officiating minister as that of Tilmanstone. After examining the Fogg window, inscriptions, and very old glass, the carved pews, and the curious sounding-board over the pulpit, there is not much to attract the antiquary within the church. But the preservation and general condition of the structure are noteworthy in connection with its great age. The churchyard of Tilmanstone is, however, the centre of interest to the lover of English country life. There is nothing striking in the scenery, and the plan of the church is simplicity itself; yet the homeliness of the surroundings in nowise detracts from that delightful sense of repose and quiet beauty which lend a characteristic charm to many a Kentish village; a certain consonance of impression harmonizes all, and gives intensity to the feeling of rest. The headstones, at every variety of inclination, reflect the declining ray of the sun, which lights up the cherub faces which ornament their summits. Upon some of these angelic figures the hand of Time has had a softening effect, and taking away the hard outlines, has bestowed a suggestiveness and delicacy of contour that render the effect really beautiful. The date of the most characteristic of these forms would seem to be about the time of Queen Anne, some, no doubt, later. For the age in which they were produced, the result is surprisingly artistic.

We now pass through the church gate (at the west end of the churchyard) and by a sloping bank down to the winding lane, or "street," of the village.* The inhabitants speak of "Upper" and "Lower Street."

Just outside the gate, and elevated a yard or two above the road, stand the veritable old stocks which imprisoned the legs of many a "vagrom" and incorrigible drunkard in the "good old times." The stocks are in an excellent position, near enough to the road to afford a salutary warning to passengers, but far enough from most of the houses to prevent their being offended by the expletives which, no doubt, often proceeded from the instrument of detention.

Pursuing the winding street of the village,

* "Street" is used synonymously with "village."

which runs beneath the high bank of the churchyard, you soon reach the lowest part of the valley and the end of the village. From this point a narrow lane runs up to the high-road from Dover to Sandwich.

Turning towards Dover, this road passes the "Lower Street" of Tilmanstone. Here, within a field or two of the *lower* village, are to be found the remains of an early Norman villa. The present farmhouse, which bears the name of Barville, represents the older structure. It stands a little east of Tilmanstone. In a meadow near to this house are the remains, beneath the surface, of older buildings.

The shifting of villages, within limited areas, affords a curious subject of inquiry. Not long ago I visited a country parish in Herefordshire where the houses, once situated near a church, have all gradually disappeared, and the village has appeared again on higher ground near at hand, leaving the church in deserted fields.

A ridge of high ground runs between Tilmanstone and the East Kent coast. On the side of this ridge, I was told by one of the chief farmers, there were found, some years ago, several skeletons a foot or two below the surface, and along with them some ornaments, which, from the description given, I supposed to be British. It is not unlikely that there was a Celtic town formerly on this higher ground. A Roman road was said to have passed along the ridge, and pavement has been found in places.

I have referred to the road that passes by Tilmanstone Churchyard and South Court to Eastry—partly a field walk. Close to South Court the crumbling remains of a strong wall are still to be found. This wall, according to Kentish antiquaries in former days, was the enclosure of a monastery. So little is known of this building that I leave the subject for future investigators, and conclude with the remark that the glories of "ancient" must have exceeded those of modern Tilmanstone.



Archæological Remains at Tunis.

T is not often that Parliamentary Blue Books contain anything archæological, but Consul-General Playfair in a recent report has set an example which we take this opportunity of urging should be followed by all English representatives abroad. If this were done, a vast amount of interesting material could be got together at little cost to the nation, and of inestimable value to scholars. The following notes are selected from Consul-General Playfair's report on Tunis, and our readers will, we doubt not, gladly see them transferred to these pages :

In archæology immense strides have been made. Tunis was one of the few places in the world where an almost unexplored field remained for the archæologist. It may be said to be one vast museum—certainly a perfect library of epigraphical treasure. Even the ancient names of places have hardly changed, the modern nomenclature being simply a corruption of the Latin words.

Great Roman roads radiated from Carthage, and even an immense series of secondary ones can still in many instances be traced by military columns, testifying to the ancient prosperity of the country and to the genius of its occupants, whether Punic or Roman. Every town on the course of these roads had its temples, basilica, palaces, forum, and thermæ, its theatre and amphitheatre. Triumphant arches and city gates are still found in all their classic grandeur, and at every step the traveller meets Roman farms of almost monumental character. Near the cities are extensive cemeteries and magnificent mausolea, and even sepulchres of the so-called Megalithic type.

For several years past the *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, encouraged by the Ministers of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts, have contained many important records of exploration. The late M. Tissot, whose death was a calamity for Tunis, particularly directed his talents to this subject ; and many distinguished savants and travellers have contributed valuable memoirs, particularly M. de la Blanchère, Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts, MM. Cagnat,

Gasselin, Poinssot, Schmidt, and Reinach. The officers of the army of occupation have added records of their discoveries and observations, and the engineers engaged in railway surveys have worthily furnished their quota to the general mass of knowledge lately acquired. But as every account has a debit as well as a credit side, I must not omit to record the conduct of subordinate contractors, who look upon Roman ruins as quarries left for their especial benefit, and who have not hesitated to destroy the splendid triumphal arch of Bulla Regia in order to obtain cut stone for their railway culverts, to pull down a part of the more splendid aqueduct which conducted the water of Zaghouan to Carthage, to obtain metal for a new military road, and to run the railway through another part of it.

The *Condor* left Tunis on the evening of the 15th October, and next morning early reached Kelebia, 58 miles distant from the Goletta, following the vessel's track. The usual landing-place is about 1 mile south of the ruins of the ancient Clypea, a city founded by Agathocles, Tyrant of Syracuse, in 310 B.C., the first position occupied by Regulus on his arrival in Africa, and the last city which remained in the possession of the Christians after the Mohammedan invasion. It has always been a position of considerable importance on account, not only of the fertility of the land in the neighbourhood, but also for the shelter which it affords to coasting-vessels overtaken by bad weather, where they can remain until a change of wind enables them to continue their voyage.

The position was no doubt determined by the presence of a hill 270 feet high, called Aspis by Strabo, on account of its resemblance to a shield. The summit is crowned by the Kasr Kelebia, a fine old Spanish fortress, the exterior walls of which are in good condition, though the interior is in ruins. In the centre may still be seen part of the original Roman acropolis, a keep of finely cut masonry, surrounding a magnificent reservoir, the terraced roof of which is supported by nearly 100 monolithic piers. It is 8 metres deep, and even at the end of the hot season I measured $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres of water in it. There is some talk of erecting a light on this castle.

Mahadia is the site of the *Turris Hannibal*, or country-seat of Hannibal, whence he is said to have embarked after his flight from Carthage. The modern city, at one time the seaport of Kerouan, was built in 912 by Obeidulla el-Mahadi, a descendant of Ali, Khalifa of the West, whence its name. It is also frequently called Africa in ancient chronicles.

It is interesting to Englishmen, as being the scene of the very first expedition in which our countrymen bore a part against North Africa. The operation is thus described by Froysard and Holinshed: "In the thirteenth year of the reign of Richard II., the Christians took in hand a journey against the Saracens of Barbary, through sail of the Genoese, so that there went a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen of France and England, the Duke of Bourbon being their general. Out of England there were John de Beaufort, bastard son of the Duke of Lancaster, also Sir John Russell, Sir John Butler, Sir John Harcourt, and others. They set forward in the latter end of the thirteenth year of the King's reign, and came to Genoa, where they remained not very long, but that the galleys and other vessels of the Genoese were ready to pass them over into Barbary; and so, about midsummer in the fourteenth year of the King's reign, the whole army being embarked, sailed forth to the coast of Barbary, where, near to the city of Africa, they landed. At which instant the English archers stood all the company in good stead with their long bows, beating back the enemy from the shore, which came down to resist their landing. After they had got to land they environed the city of Africa, called by the Moores Mahadia, with a strong siege; but at length, constrained with the intemperancy of the scalding air, in that hot country, breeding in the army sundry diseases, they fell to a composition on certain articles to be performed, in behalf of the Saracens, and so, sixty-one days after their arrival, they returned home."

It is curious to compare this account with the narrative given by an Arab historian, Mohammed Abou Ras ben Ahmed ben Abd el-Kadir en-Nasri, in his history of North Africa, entitled *Extraordinary Voyages and Agreeable News*. He says: "The Frank

nations formed a league to unite and attack Africa. In 790 A.H. (A.D. 1389-90) the Christians, having landed at Mahadia, raised between them and the shore a rampart of wood, which they covered with combatants. The inhabitants of the city opposed to all their efforts an invincible resistance, and an unshaken confidence in their final success. The besieged received succour from various directions, but the Franks could not sustain their approach. The Sultan Abou el-Abbas sent his troops (from Tunis) to the aid of the valiant defenders of the Faith; his brother Yehia and his sons advanced against the enemies of God; Mahadia thus became the meeting-place of several of the people of Islam. Our soldiers rushed on, raining a shower of arrows upon the Franks. The infidels came out of their intrenchments, and the struggle between the two sides was terrible. The two sons of the Sultan covered themselves with glory. Abou Fares would have perished but for the protection of God. The inhabitants of the town cast down upon the Christians stones, arrows, and flaming naphtha, burning their intrenchments. At the sight of the fire, which devoured their palisades, the Christians were so greatly discouraged that on the following day they set sail and regained their countries. The Mahadians came out of their city congratulating themselves on their victory, and thanked the Princes for their active assistance."

Mahadia is situated on a narrow promontory extending about a mile to the east, and therefore exposed to the sea breezes on three sides. It has risen from its ruins in a remarkable manner since the French Protectorate. The old ramparts, practically destroyed by Charles V. before abandoning the place, have now been pulled down, leaving the town open to the sea.

To the east of the cape is the old Spanish citadel; this was recently a mere ruin, now it has been thoroughly repaired, and forms not only a precious monument of the past, but excellent quarters for the French commandant. It rose within the fortified position which occupied the entire eastern part of the promontory, and was admirably chosen, both for defence and on sanitary considerations, being surrounded by the sea on three sides. Under its walls is an ancient *cothon*, or

harbour, in a perfect state of preservation. It is a rectangle excavated out of the rock, about 150 yards long by 80 yards broad, with an opening to the sea of about 20 yards wide. This is probably of Phœnician origin; but the retaining walls show signs of reconstruction, in which old Roman stones and pillars have been used.

Djerba, immortalized by Homer as the Island of the Lotophagi, is mentioned by many ancient writers: Herodotus and Eratosthenes call it "the Island of the Lotophagi;" Strabo and Pliny, *Meninx*; Scylax, *Brachion*; Aurelius Victor (third century) mentioning the fact of the joint Emperors, Gallus and his son Volusianus, having been raised to the purple hence, gives both the second name, and that used at the present day: *creati in insula Meninge quæ nunc Girba dicitur*.

Much controversy has arisen regarding the *lotus*, which so enchanted strangers as to tempt them to desert their companions and their fatherland. The passage in the *Odyssey* (ix. 90) is as follows:

"On the tenth day we set foot on the land of the lotus-eaters Now when we had tasted meat and drink I sent forth certain of my company to go and make search what manner of men they were who live here upon the earth by bread, and I chose out two of my fellows, and sent a third with them as herald. Then straightway they went and mixed with the men of the lotus-eaters; and so it was, that the lotus-eaters devised not death for our fellows, but gave them of the lotus to taste. Now, whomsoever of them did eat the honey-sweet fruit of the lotus had no more wish to bring tidings nor to come back, but there he chose to abide with the lotus-eating men, ever feeding on the lotus, and forgetful of his homeward way."

The ordinary landing-place is on the north side of the island, close to the modern capital, Houmt Es-Sook. A good pier has been constructed by the French, and a carriage-road to connect the two is in progress. Here is the old fort, Bordj Kebir, the scene of many sanguinary struggles between Christians and Mahomedans.

It is difficult to say whether it was originally built by the former or the latter; but, in one of the dark passages in it, an Arabic

inscription still exists, showing that it was reconstructed by the celebrated corsair Draguth, immediately after the events about to be narrated. After the usual pious ejaculations, in honour of God and the Prophet, it says:

"This was renewed . . . by the order of our Lord the Sultan, the Father of Victory, Suleiman, by the means of the Pasha . . . Draguth, and by the hands of the honoured Kaid, Ghazi Mustafa Bey, in the year 968."

Close to it was the celebrated "Bordj Er-Roos," or pyramid of skulls, which was seen and described by Sir Grenville Temple* in 1832. It was 20 feet in height, and 10 feet broad at the base, tapering towards a point, and composed entirely of skulls, reposing in regular rows on intervening layers of the bones appertaining to the bodies. The catastrophe which supplied the material for this extraordinary monument is thus recorded in contemporary letters from Agents abroad to Cecil, preserved in the Public Record Office (Foreign Series):

"The Turke's army arrived at Gerbes (Djerba) on the 11th [May, 1560], where they found King Philip's army much unprovided to resist, saving only seventeen galleys that were somewhat in order, and had their men upon them, who fled: eleven to Sicily and six to Naples. All the residue remained a goodly prey to the Turkes. It is said that they took at the first brunt thirty-five ships, without the loss of one man. They fled ashore and abandoned the ships, and so the Turkes took also twenty-eight galleys.

"The Viceroy of Sicily, with almost 5,000 men, are besieged in the new fort at Gerbes, and like to fall into the Turke's hands, for men see not how Spain can succour them, and with them goes all the artillery and munition provided for Gerbes and Tripoli.

* * * *

"The Viceroy of Sicily and young Andrea Doria escaped in a skiff; Don Antonio d'Alvaro with 2,000 Spaniards and four months' victuals remained.

* * * *

"The fort was lost for want of water on

* *Excursions in the Mediterranean*, vol. i., p. 156. The writer is in possession of the original drawing, which was reproduced in the *Graphic*, 18th September, 1880.

the 31st July. Don Alvaro having divided his men into three parts for the purpose of obtaining water, was repulsed and himself driven to the galleys, where he was captured. Those remaining in the fort elected for Captain the Captain Capata, to treat of surrender. The whole number of men was 5,000, of which half were dead of sickness or wounds; there were also taken forty pieces of artillery."

In 1848 the Christian community of Djerba petitioned the Bey to allow them to pull down the monument; the latter consented, and in spite of the serious opposition of the Djerbans, the work of destruction was effected, and the bones were buried in the Christian cemetery close by.

The most remarkable feature of Djerba is the great bight or inland sea, which separates it from the mainland. This forms a large lake of irregular shape, the greatest length being 17 kilom., and the greatest breadth 13 kilom. It communicates with the Syrtis Minor to the west by means of a narrow strait $2\frac{1}{2}$ kilom. broad, and with the sea to the east by a longer and broader one, the narrowest part of which is 3 kilom. The channels in these are narrow and rather intricate, but both they and the lake itself are perfectly navigable for small vessels of about 200 tons; certainly for anything that the ancients were in the habit of using. At El-Kantara, about the middle of the larger strait, are the ruins of what must have been a magnificent city, probably *Meninx*, and certainly the most important place in the island. Although this was accessible to trading-vessels in the Greek and Roman periods, the water was still sufficiently shallow to admit of a causeway being built to the west of it, connecting the island with the mainland; this probably had an opening in the centre to permit the passage of vessels. Even now it is possible to cross at low tide from Bordj Tarbella along what is called the *Tarik el-Djemel*, or road of the camel. En-Nasri says that this causeway was destroyed by the Arabs because it allowed a passage to lions, jackals, and thieves.

The ruins of El-Kantara have not yet been sufficiently explored; some fine things have been found and immediately carried off, but enough remains to show that *Meninx* must

have been a place of unusual magnificence. What particularly struck me was the wealth of richly coloured marble employed: capitals, shafts, vases, sculptured stones of immense size, sarcophagi, etc., all of the richest varieties of coloured marbles and breccias, *but none of African origin*.

I picked up a few specimens at random, by no means a complete collection of those represented; they were as follows:

Rosso brecciato, a very uncommon variety; large white pebbles cemented in a rich red matrix.

Fior de Persico, a light rose-coloured variety used for statuary.

Another variety, probably of the same marble, but of a purple tint, and with the richest and most delicate agate-like markings.

Purple *Rosso Antico*, of very rich colour and crystalline structure.

Occhio de Pernice, a most uncommon variety.

Marmo Cipollino, greenish colour, much used for columns at Rome and elsewhere. There was another variety of a grey tint.

All these marbles appear to be Greek, and testify to the riches and importance of the city, and to the extent of its commerce with the Levant. Perhaps some of them were obtained by the Carthaginians from the Greek towns sacked by them in the Sicilian wars. In one place I noticed a remarkably fine mosaic, but much injured since its discovery.

Other important Roman remains exist at Bou Ghara, the ancient *Gightis*, to the south-west of the lake, and, indeed, everywhere in that part of the mainland, as far as Zarzis, the last port on the Tunisian coast. In the Map which has lately (January, 1885) been issued by the Dépôt de la Guerre, upwards of fifty places are marked with the letters 'R.R.' indicating the existence of Roman ruins. They prove beyond all doubt that this small inland sea was at one time a place of considerable importance, a haven of safety, and perfectly navigable for the vessels then in use; it certainly answers in all material points to the description which Scylax, at least, gives of Lake Triton, and I have very little doubt that the suggestion made by Sir Richard Wood, that it is here,

and not in the basin of the Chotts, that we should look for the position of that famous lake, is the true solution of this geographical puzzle.

The salt lake called El-Bahira, or Ghar el-Melah, was once the chief harbour of the Regency, but it has been silted up by alluvial deposits washed into it by the Medjerda. The whole of this coast is undergoing a rapid transformation from the same cause. *Utica*, 'the ancient city' before Carthage was built, celebrated for the self-sacrifice of Cato, was in Roman times the predecessor of Porto Farina, but it is now 10 kilom. from the open sea, and 12 kilom. from Ghar el-Melah.

This was the scene of a very daring naval action by Blake. In 1655 he entered the lake and utterly destroyed the Tunisian fleet, hauled close up to the shore, and protected by heavy earthen batteries, as well as by the formidable permanent fortifications of the place. "Next morning," says he,* in his characteristically modest language, "very early, we entered with the fleet into the harbour, and anchored before their castles, the Lord being pleased to favour us with a gentle gale off the sea, which cast all the smoke upon them, and made our work all the more easy, for after some hours' dispute, we set on fire all their ships, which were nine in number, and the same favourable gale still continuing, we retreated out again into the roads. We had twenty-five men slain and about forty hurt, with very little other loss."



Reviews.

Domesday Book in relation to the County of Sussex.
Edited for the Sussex Archæological Society by
the REV. W. D. PARISH. Fol.



HIS noble volume, which, fitly enough, appears in the eight hundredth year from the completion of the great Survey, is one of which all concerned in its production may feel justly proud. From a preface by Mr. Henry Griffith, the editorial secretary of the Society, we learn that this work is the fruit of long and patient labour, and the result is most creditable, in every respect, to those by whom that labour has been borne.

* Additional MSS., British Museum.

A brief and useful "general introduction" is followed by the text of the record in twenty-eight photozincographic facsimile plates, an extension and translation of the same by Mr. W. Basevi Sanders, an alphabetical list of tenants, and the same of place names, identifications being suggested for the latter—a very important addition. Lastly, there is a useful glossary, specially constructed for the work. By wisely excluding "all controversial matter," a volume of real value to the student has been produced. If the same rigid system had been pursued in other cases, we should have been spared much of the faulty speculation to be found in similar undertakings.

The most novel and attractive feature, however, is that of the "Domesday Map." For this we are indebted to Mr. F. E. Sawyer, an indefatigable worker at Sussex antiquities. Those who are familiar with Mr. Seebohm's *English Village Community* are aware of the wonderfully instructive character of his maps, illustrating the distribution of classes in Domesday; and so, in this case, a glance at such a map will teach us more than we could otherwise have learnt by much study. Especially striking is the aspect of the Weald, suggestive of the "backwoods" of the present day, scarcely broken as yet by any settlement of man. This conclusion rests largely on the identification of the place-names of the Record, a task which has evidently involved great local research.

A Guide to Colchester and its Environs. (Colchester: Benhamand Co.) 8vo., pp. 91.

Colchester is pre-eminently a town of antiquarian interest, and antiquaries who may be tempted to explore it for themselves may be assured that with the help of this useful guide they will see everything worth seeing. Considering that it is embellished with several illustrations of the more noteworthy relics of antiquity, we have no hesitation in pronouncing it a remarkably cheap shillingsworth.

The Young Collector: English Coins and Tokens.
By L. JEWITT and BARCLAY V. HEAD.
Pp. 128.—*Sea-weeds: Shells and Fossils.* By
PETER GRAY and B. B. WOODWARD. (London:
Swan Sonnenschein.) 8vo., pp. 94.

We congratulate the publishers of these useful hand-books upon their enterprise in supplying a long-felt want; and we trust they will continue their series into all the branches of knowledge which young collectors study. If the energies of youth and its quickness of apprehension and fertility of mind are to be utilized in the formation of the student-man, the sooner we place all their efforts, unconsciously as far as may be, on a scientific basis, the sooner we shall foster the growth of healthy activity in research, and leave less and less to unlearn as manhood approaches. These little books before us aim high, and we venture to think successfully. Archæology now is a science bordering on natural history at many points, and we can therefore welcome as cordially Mr. Gray's *Sea-weeds*, and Mr. Woodward's *Shells and Fossils*, as we assuredly do Mr. Jewitt and Mr. Head's *Coins and Medals*.

The History of the Parish and Manor of Wookey: being a contribution towards a future History of the County of Somerset. By THOMAS SCOTT HOLMES, M.A., Vicar of the Parish. (Bristol: Privately printed.) 8vo., pp. vi, 164.

This is one of those charming insights into local history which now and again come across the path of the antiquary. If Somersetshire is going to have a history based upon such lines as Mr. Holmes sets forth in this volume, we shall possess a county history unequalled by any that have gone before it. Mr. Holmes does all his work well, and he neglects few facts which are needful to record, and when we point out that one chapter is devoted to the "Field-names of the Parish," we testify to how thoroughly Mr. Holmes has done his work, and how completely he is up to the requirements of local history. Wookey is a parish in the neighbourhood, and originally in the Manor, of Wells. It derives its name from the great natural cave in the southern slope of the Mendip Hills, the contents of which have thrown so much light upon prehistoric times in this country. Its position gives it also a peculiarly historical interest, as, according to Dr. Guest, it seemed for a time to have been the boundary between the Saxon kingdom of Ceawlin, and the British kingdoms of Conmail and Kyndylan.

Such a spot of land must have a topographical history worth the telling, and Mr. Holmes, appealing to manor rolls, church papers, parish documents, and above all, to minute personal survey, has given us a history which is in all respects of great value. The agricultural particulars of early times, obtained from the Halmote records, are specially interesting and valuable, as they throw light on some questions, now being discussed, as to relics of early life in England. Mr. Holmes at the end of this chapter throws out a hint that he could have given more information, and will do so at some future time, if the local owners of deeds will allow him to inspect them for historical purposes. Where so much may be gained from these documents, surely there can be no hesitation about permitting the use of them to students like Mr. Holmes, who know so well how to use them. We may add, for the benefit of those who would like to possess this volume, that a few copies may be obtained from the reverend author, as, being privately printed, the book has not found its way into the market.

A Commonplace Book of the Fifteenth Century, containing a Religious Play and Poetry, Legal Forms, and Local Accounts. Printed from the original MSS. at Broome Hall, Norfolk, by LADY CAROLINE KERRISON. Edited with notes by LUCY TOULMIN SMITH. (Privately printed, 1886.) 8vo., pp. 176.

Lady Kerrison is to be congratulated upon procuring the able assistance of Miss Toulmin Smith in seeing this volume through the press, and antiquaries owe a debt of gratitude to owner and editor alike for the printing of such an interesting volume. Our readers do not want to be reminded of the peculiar value of local muniments. Scattered throughout the land are many papers of almost inestimable value to the historian, but they seldom or ever see the light, and more seldom still through the aid of their owners.

The book is divided usefully into three sections: I. Poetry; II. Manorial Law; III. Private Accounts—and each section contains items of considerable importance. The folk-lore will turn with pleasure to the puzzles and sayings, and the religious play of "Abraham and Isaac." Five English plays on the subject of Abraham's sacrifice are known, and the example printed in this volume gives a sixth, and no two are alike. Miss Toulmin Smith is an authority on miracle plays, and her introductory note on this subject is well worth attention for its bibliographical and historical information. The notes on the different trading companies who took part in these plays in different towns are particularly instructive. This play has poetical merits of its own, which, as Miss Smith points out, are skillfully touched in with a life not found elsewhere. The section on Manorial Law is perhaps the most valuable to the student, because every fresh instalment of this subject printed and so preserved from destruction is of a value which can hardly yet be estimated, until we get to study these old works side by side with each other as the only relics of a life that has long since gone. In the first section, "the felson book for the est Common of Sturton," there is a curious list of field-names, which we are surprised are not noted by Miss Smith; and another peculiar feature of this curious record, also unnoted, is the interchange of owners it exhibits. The legal forms of private charters, etc., which follow are translated into the vernacular, and this interesting fact gives Miss Smith the opportunity of pointing out the renderings of several legal words, and other local varieties of legal terminology. "The articles of inquiry at a court baron and a court leet" are most interesting, and are prefaced by a useful note by Miss Smith, which we should have liked amplified from the materials supplied by the papers she was editing. The Private Accounts finish the volume, and afford us useful glimpses into domestic expenses and manners. The papers date from the reign of Henry VII., and under the guidance of Miss Smith's judicious editing, and useful and copious notes, a book has been produced which must be of unique value to those interested in tracing out the early history of English life.

Official Year-Book of the Scientific and Learned Societies of Great Britain and Ireland. Third Annual Issue. (London: Griffin and Co., 1886.) 8vo., pp. iv, 236.

This is a most useful book of reference, and we cordially welcome its third issue. We believe, so far as we have been able to test, that the information it contains is correct; but some inexplicable blunders occur in the particulars of the Folk-lore Society. The president is stated to be Mr. H. B. Wheatley, F.S.A., and the books published for 1886 include Mr. Payne's *Tales from the Arabic*, and Messrs. Gomme and Wheatley's *Chapbooks*!! Surely it would have been worth while writing to the honorary secretary for the correct particulars. Accuracy is so essential for a publication of this kind that we point out this one for correction at once; and we gladly acknowledge that it is the only error we have been able to detect.

Some of the Antiquities of "Mocha Malverne" (Great Malvern), including a History of its ancient Church and Monastery, Engravings of Seals of the Convent, and the Publication of Grants and Documents, and much other matter never before printed. By JAMES NOTT. (Malvern: John Thompson, 1885.) 8vo., pp. 202.

All who know Malvern—and who does not know that charming place, either by sight or by repute?—will be pleased to learn the history of the beautiful Priory Church. This history is specially interesting, even in its bare outline. A body of Benedictine monks chose the lonely wilds of Malvern, then a portion of a dense forest, for their home, and built their priory chiefly with the stone of the neighbouring hills in the early years of the Norman Conquest. The church then built was very unlike the one we now see, because the roof has been raised considerably, and the transept, tower and chancel have been rebuilt. The old Norman columns and arches of the nave, however, stand as solid as of old, and in striking contrast to the perpendicular style of the other half of the church.

At the dissolution of the monasteries the parishioners of Malvern came forward and bought the Priory Church, to be henceforward the parish church in place of that of St. Thomas, then in a state of decay. This was a most public-spirited act, which does the greatest credit to the men of that time, more particularly when we consider how small a place Malvern then was. The church in course of time grew rather dilapidated, and there were fears at one time of its falling down, but it was saved; and now, in its thoroughly restored condition, it stands one of the most beautiful parish churches in the kingdom. Two of the chief prides of the church are the old stained glass of the windows, which is very fine, and the curious series of the old tiles, which have been carefully preserved.

The author informs us that he has lived under the shadow of the church for thirty-five years, and that building in all its parts, outside and inside, has had a constant fascination for him. He has brought together much valuable information respecting the place, and illustrated it fully with plates, so that the book is worthy of the beautiful Priory Church of Much Malvern.

De Nova Villa; or, the House of Nevill in Sunshine and Shade. By HENRY J. SWALLOW. (Newcastle-on-Tyne: A. Reid. London: Griffith, Farran and Co., 1885.) 8vo., pp. xix, 334.

Fifty-five years ago Daniel Rowland printed sixty copies of his important *Historical and Genealogical Account of the Noble Family of Nevill*. This small number was sufficient in itself to prevent the book from becoming popular, or, in fact, known outside a small circle; and, moreover, several of these got destroyed. Mr. Swallow has therefore been well advised in publishing a history of this important house. He has made Rowland's work his foundation, but he has spent three years in independent research in order to make his work worthy of the Nevills, who, he justly says, made "a great portion of English history."

The Nevills are duly traced by old genealogists to Adam, through Woden and Hengist; but we do not

come to any historical character before Richard de Nova Villa, cousin to William the Conqueror on the mother's side. Then we find the family in Lincolnshire, and the author traces their history downwards, one of the first important incidents being the Battle of Nevill's Cross, fought on Tuesday, October 17th, 1346. The titles held by the various branches of the family have been numerous, and at present the representative heads of the house are respectively Marquis of Abergavenny and Lord Braybrooke. The greatest of the family, however, was the famous Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, known as the King-maker.

Mr. Swallow completes his valuable work with an account of the Nevill monuments in Canterbury, Chichester, Durham, Lincoln, York, and Old St. Paul's Cathedral; Abergavenny, Brancepath, East Grinstead, East Ham, Holt, Littlebury, Mereworth, Saffron Walden, Waltham, Well, Worksop, Birling, and Fletching churches, not forgetting the magnificent monument in Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick. A chapter on Nevill badges, seals, and souvenirs, is also added.

Kaffir Folk-lore: a selection from the traditional tales current among the people living on the eastern borders of the Cape Colony, with copious explanatory notes. By G. M. THEALE. Second edition. (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1886.) 8vo., pp. xii, 226.

We are glad to think that this valuable volume has reached a second edition. It thoroughly deserved it, and all folk-lore lists are conscious of its merits as a remarkable collection of stories of a savage people, which afford the most curious parallels to the nursery stories of English homes. It is fitted in its present form to rank among the most popular of children's books, as well as finding its place among the scientific works on folk-lore.

Etchings of Glastonbury. By H. SHEPPARD DALE. (Arthur Lucas.)

Mr. Dale's etchings of the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey will be interesting to the antiquary, as giving a singularly faithful representation of what still remains of this ancient church and its surrounding buildings. They are also artistically valuable for their beauty, and as examples of the etcher's art in which difficult subjects have been handled in a masterly manner.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society.
—April 21.—Mr. Joseph Mitchell presiding.—A paper was submitted by Dr. H. Clifton Sorby, F.R.S., on "Some most Remarkable Properties in the Characteristic Constituent of Steel," and from Mr. William Horne on "The Exploration of a Cave in Wensleydale." Mr. Horne's paper contained an interesting description of a cave and some early settlements in Wensleydale, which he attributed to a period long

before that of the Romans. In March, 1884, he discovered the remains of a human skeleton on the hillside to the west of Leyburn, and near it found a bone implement made of a deer's horn. In March of the following year he found another skeleton in the same locality, and also succeeded in unearthing the entrance to a cave where a number of human and other bones were picked up. The relics were deposited in the museum now being formed in Bolton Castle.

Leeds Geological Association.—March 31.—A paper was read by Mr. B. Holgate, F.G.S. In the spring of last year Mr. Holgate was obliged to spend some time at Bournemouth, to recruit after a severe illness, and, as soon as he was able, he reverted to his practice of studying the geology of the town and district where he was placed. The notes made upon that occasion he now read and expanded for the benefit of the members. The cliffs in the neighbourhood of Bournemouth are composed of sands intercalated with beds of clay of various colours. These sands are geologically known as the Lower Bagshot Beds of the Eocene formation. In these clays are found abundance of fossil plants, and Mr. Holgate exhibited several specimens of wood he had obtained, which were bored by the pholas. Careful study of these strata and the fossils they contain points to the conclusion that the estuary of a vast continental river (possibly rivalling in size the Amazon) formerly existed here. There has been great destruction of this coast, arising from the water percolating through the sands, and, when coming in contact with the impervious clays, then appearing as springs. There are numerous gorges or valleys on this coast, locally termed "chines," which have been formed by the action of these springs. Mr. Holgate noticed several of these, and as an example of denudation stated that although Bournemouth is in a wide and deep valley, the stream here is only about four feet wide and six inches deep. The whole vicinity is in the highest degree geologically interesting, as was shown by a description of a visit to Swanage. Here are some splendid opportunities for geologists, a section from Ballard Down to Durlstone Head, across Swanage Bay, exhibiting the entire series of deposits, from the chalk to the Portland oolite, in their natural order of succession. A visit was also made to Poole, from which town is exported the famous Poole pipe-clay, so extensively used in the Potteries of Staffordshire.

St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.—April 10.—On Saturday this Society visited the ancient Priory Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield. Mr. Aston Webb having made himself thoroughly acquainted with the details of the church, prepared drawings of what it was, and what the Restoration Committee propose to accomplish. These drawings were hung in the church on Saturday, and Mr. Webb delivered an interesting historical address. The part of the original church in which they were assembled was Rahere's. The two transepts had been destroyed, yet, singularly enough, Rahere's work was still with them. The only book that had been saved from the library of the priory was in the British Museum, and by this the foundation of the church was ascertained to have been laid in 1123. Rahere belonged to the order of Austin Canons. In his time there were thirty-five of these canons, with a prior and a sub-prior. There were in all twenty-one priors, one

of the most prominent of whom was Bolton, whose rebus—a bolt-in-tun—was in front of the oriel window in the triforium. Mr. Webb gave an historical sketch of the church down to the time of the dissolution of the religious houses by Henry VIII., who sold the priory and its surroundings to Sir Richard Rich, who played "ducks and drakes" with it. During the time of Queen Mary the Black Dominicans had possession of the priory, after which it became a parish church. The speaker then noticed the various monuments in the ancient edifice, particularly that of Rahere's tomb, on which he was represented in a recumbent position, while beside him knelt two canons robed, one reading out of Isaiah. Mr. Webb remarked that the desecration of this ancient sanctuary was complete. Mr. Webb took the members of the Society round the exterior of the building, and also showed them some excavations lately made.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—April 28.—The Rev. Dr. Bruce in the chair.—Among the presents to the Society were a large altar found at Corbridge, given by Messrs. Lawson and Turnbull, through Mr. Heslop, and a corbel presented through Mr. Hodges by Dr. Maclean of Corbridge. A manuscript book by the late Dr. Charlton, on ecclesiology, was brought before the notice of the Society, and extracts read. The Rev. Dr. Bruce read a paper on "The Discovery of several Roman Altars." Dr. Bruce also described what was supposed to be a chieftain's grave near the river at Chollerford, and other antiquarian objects. The grave was carefully made, the sides and ends being formed of large stones, eight inches thick, standing perfectly upright. As the making of the grave involved great labour, it must have been the burial-place of some great person, probably slain on the spot. It seemed probable that a "barrow" had been raised over the grave, subsequently destroyed by the flooding of the river or the requirements of the modern bridge. The burial in a low-lying situation, close beside a turbulent river, was very unusual. An interesting Roman altar had been discovered near the Roman station at Chester-le-Street, where Chester Burn runs in its course to the river Wear. The altar was buried six feet deep in soil of an alluvial character. The inscription, which was to DEO MARTI CONDATI, was formed by a series of punctures. The altar probably belonged to the end of the second or the beginning of the third century. In Dr. Hübner's opinion the epithet *condates* applied to Mars was equivalent to *confluens*, since such altars were found near the confluence of two streams. The important altar found at Corbridge was discovered in the removal of foundations of a cottage. Mr. W. N. Strangeways read a paper containing an unpublished letter of Thomas Bewick. The letter, which was in the large and valuable collection of autographs in the possession of Mr. J. C. Brooks, of Newcastle, was written to his favourite pupil, Wm. Harvey, and illustrated a memorable event in the life of the engraver, displaying both his affectionate disposition and the ponderous way in which he loved to preach at his friends. Thomas Bewick had from the earliest days of his apprenticeship with Beilby cut wood blocks to illustrate fables. No doubt many of the illustrations in the various editions of Gay's Fables, published in Newcastle, York, London, and elsewhere, were cut by him. After Bewick had achieved world-wide fame by his "Quad-

rupeds," and more particularly by his "Birds," he determined, before his right hand lost its cunning, to illustrate and publish an edition of *Æsop's Fables*. In his memorial he said, "During a severe illness with which I was visited in 1812, I determined, if I recovered, to go on with a publication of *Æsop's Fables*;" and then, speaking of his illness and his choice of Ovingham as his burial-place, he said, "I became quite resigned to the will of Omnipotence and felt happy. I could not, however, help regretting that I had not published a book similar to Croxall's *Æsop's Fables*, as I had always intended to do. I was extremely fond of that book, and as it had afforded me much pleasure, I thought with better executed designs it would impart the same kind of delight to others that I had experienced myself from attentively reading it. I was also of opinion that it had (while admiring the cuts) led hundreds of young men into the paths of wisdom and rectitude, and in that way had materially assisted the pupil." Bewick then described how, when he was so far recovered as to be able to sit at the window at home, he began to draw designs upon wood of the fables and the vignettes, and how, impatiently pushing on, he availed himself of the help of his son Robert, of his pupils, Wm. Harvey and Wm. Temple, who did their best to assist him. Bewick found more difficulty with the Fables than with the Quadrupeds or the Birds. The book was, however, finished on October 1, 1818. He adds, "It was not so well printed as I expected and wished." In August, 1818, he wrote the following letter to Wm. Harvey:

"NEWCASTLE, August 18, 1818.

"DEAR WILLIAM,—You may be assured that it is only through necessity that I am obliged to trouble you so soon again with another letter, and did you know the anxiety we were in, it would plead an apology with you for so doing. Delay is terrible to us at this time, when we are so teased by our tired-out subscribers for the appearance of the long-delayed book. The preface and introduction are done, and the table of contents are (*sic*) now at press, in which the two Fables you have promised us to do are named, with the page in which they must appear, and next week the last half sheet will be put to press if the arrival of your two cuts enable (*sic*) us to do so. If not, the press must again be at a stand; we trust you will relieve us from our disagreeable suspense by sending the cuts in time. In your letters you have taken no notice how you are in health—my lasses told me they thou't you looked very poorly, and feared London was not agreeing with you. I fear you are *overdoing the matter*, and have undertaken to do more than you are able (without severe confinement) to get through. Look at poor L. Clennells and never forget the fable of *Æsop at Play*—the bow must not always be bent, and you may find this when it is too late. Your brother Charles told me last week that you were busy making drawings. I suppose the purpose they are for may be a secret, as you have never named to me lately what you were doing; but be that as it may I cannot help feeling interested in your welfare and success in whatever you may be doing.

"I am, dear William, etc.,

"THOMAS BEWICK."

A portion of the shaft of a Saxon cross, found at Corbridge, was presented to the Society through Mr.

Heslop. Mr. C. C. Hodges said the shaft of the cross was an undoubted specimen of Saxon work, and was the only specimen of Saxon work at Corbridge. Mr. Hodges read "Remarks on a Muzzled Bear Corbel from Corbridge." He assigned as the date the period immediately before the Norman Conquest. There was at Hart Church a corbel, similar to the present one, built into the wall.

Society of Antiquaries.—April 1.—Mr. John Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. James Hilton exhibited a small latten seal, bearing a rudely cut figure of the Blessed Virgin and Child with the usual legend, which is supposed to have been used as the seal of the Peculiar Courts of the diocese of Sarum.—Mr. R. S. Ferguson exhibited the remains of a wooden rood from St. Anthony's Chapel, Cartmel Fell, Lancashire, where it was discovered a few years ago in use as a poker for the vestry fire.—Mr. Micklethwaite communicated a short notice of all the fragments of roods and the attendant images, etc., known to exist in England.—Mr. Aston Webb communicated a paper descriptive of the recent discoveries at the priory church of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield.

April 8.—Mr. John Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. Stuart Moore read a paper on the death of Edward II., showing from wardrobe accounts and other contemporary records, that the traditional account of the method of the murder was not known at the time. The statement of historians that the king's funeral was secret is disproved by the account of the expenditure thereon, from which Mr. Moore read extracts, showing the usual sumptuous display of a royal funeral.—Mr. Waller read a paper on a double-handed sword of state exhibited by Mr. Seymour Lucas.—Two charters of Henry III. and Edward I. granting a fair to the Abbot of Westminster were exhibited. They were discovered in St. Margaret's Church.—Major Cooper exhibited a bronze mordant or strap-bag, of the fifteenth century, ornamented with S. H. C. and a figure of St. Christopher.—Sir John Maclean exhibited a bronze censer cover of perpendicular design, and a box of the weights of gold coins *temp. Jac. I.*—Certain proposed works at Bath, which will tend to the destruction of the Roman remains there, were discussed and protested against.

Philological Society.—April 2.—The Rev. Prof. Skeat, President, in the chair.—In the absence, through illness, of Dr. F. Stock, his paper on the Heidelberg dialect was read by Mr. A. J. Ellis.

April 16.—Mr. A. J. Ellis, V.P., in the chair.—Dr. C. A. M. Fennell read a paper "On the 'Stanford Dictionary of Anglicised Foreign Words and Phrases,'" of which he is the editor.

Historical.—April 15.—Mr. O. Browning in the chair.—Dr. J. F. Palmer read a paper "On the Celt in Power—Tudor and Cromwell."

Royal Society of Literature.—*Anniversary Meeting*, April 21.—Sir Patrick de Colquhoun, President, in the chair.—The President delivered the annual address, in which he referred to the losses sustained by the Society in the deaths of the honorary fellows, Dr. Samuel Birch and Dr. James Fergusson, and the vice-president, Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, who had for many years filled the post of secretary. Of each of these an interesting memoir was given.

Anthropological Institute.—April 13.—Prof. A. H. Keane, V.P., in the chair.—Mr. H. L. Roth read a paper "On the Origin of Agriculture." He commenced by briefly reviewing the ideas entertained by savages as to the origin of agriculture among them; then, criticizing the views held by scientific men of the present day on the subject, he discussed the conditions generally accepted as necessary to be fulfilled wherever agriculture is to flourish. He laid special stress on the fact that with savages the want of food could not possibly be an inducement to cultivate the soil, but considered that from the social condition of women in barbarous life and their connection with the soil, they probably originated the first steps which ultimately led whole nations to become agriculturists. He then described what he thought might have been the first step, the rotation in which plants became domesticated, the three homes of agriculture and its spread amongst the uncivilized, and wound up with a few words on the development of agricultural implements.—A paper "On the Sengirese," by Dr. Hickson, was read.

Numismatic.—April 15.—Dr. J. Evans in the chair.—Mr. Montagu exhibited a copy of a decadrachm of Syracuse executed by Benjamin Wyon at the age of nineteen, formerly the property of Mr. R. Sainthill; also an Aberystwith shilling of Charles I. with a crown for mint-mark instead of the usual "open book." Mr. Montagu also showed a set of the English copper coinage of 1860, consisting of the penny, halfpenny, and farthing.—Mr. Evans exhibited a medal struck in commemoration of the coronation of Napoleon I. by the Pope at Paris on the 2nd of December, 1804. The inscription on the reverse is "NAPOLENO SACRE A PARIS LE II. F. AN. XIII."—Mr. J. W. Trist exhibited and presented to the Society a modern impression in gold, probably from Becker's dies, of a ducat of the Florentine type of Charles Robert, King of Hungary, 1308-1342.—The Rev. G. F. Crowther exhibited a penny of William the Conqueror similar to "Hawkins," 234, with the moneyer's name LEIGTON ON EO (York), and one of William II. with an uncertain legend.—Mr. W. A. Cotton exhibited a groat of Henry VIII.'s second coinage, with a rose for the mint-mark on the obverse and a lys on the reverse, and the blundered legend POSVI DEV ADIVTOE MEV.—Mr. Evans read a paper on a hoard of English coins found at Park Street, near St. Albans, on the 9th of February last. The hoard consisted of 221 pieces, and included rials and angels of Edward IV., and angels and half-angels of Henry VI. to Henry VIII. There were no coins of Edward V. and Richard III. The coins were concealed inside an oak beam, into which two circular holes had been bored by means of an auger. After making some interesting remarks on the numismatic importance of the hoard, Mr. Evans discussed the date of the deposit, which he fixed approximately to the year 1522 or 1523.—Mr. H. A. Grueber gave an account of three other recent hoards found at Isleworth, Brand End Farm (Lincolnshire), and Flamstead (Herts). The Isleworth hoard consisted of Anglo-Saxon pennies of Ethelred II., that of Brand End Farm of English silver coins ranging from Edward VI. to Charles I., 1643, and that of Flamstead of English gold and silver coins from Charles II. to George II., 1745.

Asiatic.—April 19.—Col. Yule, President, in the chair.—Prof. Fritz Hommel read a paper "On the Sumerian Language and its Affinities."

Society of Biblical Archaeology.—April 6.—Mr. W. Morrison, V.P., in the chair.—Mr. P. le Page Renouf read a paper, "The Myth of Osiris Unnefer."—Dr. S. Louis read a paper entitled "Ancient Traditions of Supernatural Voices (*Bath-Kol*)."

British Archaeological Association.—April 7.—Mr. C. H. Compton in the chair.—Mr. C. Brent exhibited a fine Merovingian buckle, with clasp, having ornamentation similar to some of the objects recently found at Taplow.—Mr. Loftus Brock described a series of coins of Antoninus Pius, found in London, with the figure of Britannia; on one of these, a new type, the figure represented clearly that of a female, and there is a trophy, a human head on a spear, by her side.—Mr. Roope exhibited a very good double-handled Etruscan vase.—The Rev. J. J. Daniell described the prehistoric monument recently discovered at Langley Burrell, and a plan was exhibited, showing the extent of the paved oval space, which is surrounded by a fosse.—Mr. R. Fergusson spoke of the radiating lines having some resemblance to the star tumuli of the north of England.—Mr. T. Blashill referred at length to the proposed restoration of Waltham Cross, and exhibited an elaborate series of plans prepared by Mr. Ponting.—Mr. R. Mann described some carefully prepared plans of further discoveries at the Roman baths at Bath. These consist of indications of a system of small or private baths of much interest.—A paper was read by Mr. T. Morgan on a Roman monument found at Durham, figured by Bishop Gibson. It has the name "Condate" on it, and it was suggested that the altar-like form had been given to the monument by placing the upper part of an altar on what had been a Roman milestone, the distance of Piersebridge from Condate agreeing fairly well with Congleton.

April 21.—Mr. T. Morgan in the chair.—A series of ancient views of Reims was exhibited by Mr. Loftus Brock, illustrative of the visit of the Leland Club to that city.—Mr. R. Allen exhibited a remarkable powder-flask of horn, illustrated with quaint subjects of most archaic design, representing scenes of New Testament history. The workmanship is Scandinavian, and the date that of the seventeenth century, showing a singular survival of older forms.—A paper was read by the Chairman "On Haslemere and its Locality." Reference was made to the position of this quaint Surrey town and various antiquarian objects in its locality, the inquiry being discussed as to its having been occupied in Roman times. Portions of a straight road north of the town have been inspected by the lecturer. It is now disused, owing to its steep ascent. It has all the appearance of a Roman road, and has been traced in a straight line across Haslemere in the direction of Chichester, there having been probably another branch from the former place going towards Havant.—A paper was read by Mr. J. T. Irvine "On the Saxon Tower of Barnack Church, Northants." The architectural features being described in detail, the meagre historical evidences were referred to, and a late Saxon date was assigned to the work, the tower having been added probably to an older wooden church, an opinion which was demurred to by some of the members.

Many portions of carving of interlaced patterns still remain, and there are some window openings filled in with pierced stonework. A sundial of Saxon date has been noted, adding thus another to the list of Saxon churches where they still exist. The paper was illustrated by a large series of drawings of all the portions referred to.

Archæological Institute.—April 4.—Mr. R. P. Pullan, V.P., in the chair.—Mr. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt exhibited a MS. book, the property of the Founders' Company, and read a somewhat lengthy paper upon it. After some preliminary remarks concerning the development of the comparatively modern companies from the mediæval guilds, the contents of the book were dealt with. Beginning with the usual inventory of the possessions of the guild in 1497, he set forth its financial history down to 1576, interspersing various items of interest in other matters, such as dinner accounts, bills of fare, trade squabbles, etc., citations to the "cheker," the hiring of a barge at the "tryoumffe of quene Kateryn" in 1540, and many entries showing how the company speculated in the bell-metal from the suppressed monasteries.—Admiral Tremlett sent some notes on recent discoveries in the Morbihan.—Mr. Waller described a wooden casket covered with thin brass plates, showing the rose and pomegranate in *repoussé* work of about the middle of the sixteenth century.

New Shakspeare Society.—April 9.—Mr. A. H. Bullen in the chair.—Dr. Furnivall read a paper by Mr. Robert Boyle, of St. Petersburg, on "Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger." The main object of the paper was to justify Sir Aston Cockaigne in his claim that his friend Massinger was a fellow-author with Fletcher, just as Beaumont was. Mr. Boyle had already assigned "Henry VIII." and "The Two Noble Kinsmen" to Fletcher and Massinger as joint writers. He now showed in what other plays generally attributed to Beaumont and Fletcher only Massinger took part, and declared that none of the three had any hand in "The Old Law," "The Noble Gentleman," "The Lovers of Candy," and "The Faithful Friends."

Folk-lore Society.—April 20.—Lord Enfield, President, in the chair.—Capt. R. C. Temple read a paper on "The Science of Folklore." First of all dealing with the definition of the term *folk-lore*, he pointed out that it was inadequate as the title of the science hitherto known by that name, and he suggested other titles, preferring that of "demononcy" as capable of easy development into passable derivatives. Then passing on to the subject-matter of the science itself, Capt. Temple stated that the *fons et origo* of all folk-lore is apparently the instinct of man to account for the facts that he observes around him. Thus the full definition of folklore would be "the popular explanation of observed facts and the customs arising therefrom." Capt. Temple urged the Society to dissociate itself from the unscientific methods of the comparative mythologists, and to work scientifically for scientific results. During the course of his remarks Capt. Temple drew attention to the practical good resulting from the study of folk-lore, and instanced a publication now being produced by the Bombay Government entitled *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*. Of this Capt. Temple presented

a careful analysis in tabular form. In order to govern the natives of Bombay, the Government had determined to understand their beliefs and customs, in fact, their folk-lore.—Mr. Stuart Glennie then read a paper on "Folk-lore as the Complement of Culture-Lore in the Study of History." Mr. Stuart Glennie differed very little from Capt. Temple in essential points, and dwelt upon the classification of the subjects of folk-lore.—After the reading of the papers, a short discussion followed, and it was decided to adjourn the discussion for a special meeting, both papers to be circulated beforehand.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Orthography of Abbot's Lench, Worcester-shire.—In the Domesday Survey, the name is written "Abelenc." In the Diocesan Registers it is spelt "Habbe-Lench" in 1286. In Nash's *History of the County of Worcester* occurs the following paragraph, under the heading of "Lenches":

"Habbe Lench, corruptly called Hoblench, is a Village lying between Church Lench and Bishampton in the tything of Fladbury; but buries at, and otherwise uses Church Lench, having no Chapel of its own."

In other parts of the work it is called indifferently "Habbe Lench," and "Abbe Lench."

In the local dialect the sound of the letters "a" and "o" are commonly interchanged; thus, for instance:

stance.	Apple	} becomes	Oppe
	Man		Mon
	Stanley		Stonley
	Ballard		Bollord
	Sparrow		Sporro',
whilst,	Forge	} becomes	Farge
	George		Gearge
	Morning		Marnin'
	All		Arl.

One would, therefore, naturally expect the word "ab" to be called "ob," which, in fact, is always done. Thus, the spelling of Domesday, the Diocesan Registers, and Nash, and the local pronunciation, mutually verify each other. The testimony of the Parish Registers of both Church Lench and Rous Lench are to the same effect, till quite a recent period, when the name begins to be called "Abbot's Lench." The earliest entry in the Church Lench Books appears to be in 1702, when the word is written "Als Lench;" after this it occurs very frequently either as "Abs Lench," "Ab Lench," and once "Hoblench," till 1794, when it first appears as "Abbot's Lench," though in the same year it is also written "Hoblench." In the Rous Lench Registers the first mention occurs in 1651, when it is spelt "Hobbe Lench." Then follow "Hob Lench" and "Ab Lench," till 1813, when "Abbot's Lench" first makes its appearance, though in the same year it is also spelt as "Ab Lench;" "Ab Lench," and "Hob Lench," immediately reappearing uninterruptedly till 1835, when

'Abbot's Lench' comes in again; and in 1848, and onwards, it asserts itself almost to the entire displacement of the venerable spelling of centuries. "Abbot's Lench," then, would seem from these instances to be of quite recent introduction; and the word should be able to adduce some very conclusive proof that it has a right to be adopted in lieu of "Ab Lench," which has Domesday, the Diocesan Registers, Nash, the Registers of Church Lench and Rous Lench, and local pronunciation, covering a period of some 800 years, on its side.

Archæological Survey of the Caucasus.—According to the *Moscow Gazette* the Imperial Society of Archæology in the ancient capital of Russia has just come to the important resolution to send to the Caucasus a commission for the purpose of exploring the old monuments of Christian art in that country. This determination has been taken in consequence of the revelations as to the importance of these monuments recently made by Mr. Bakradsé, Vice-President of the Caucasian Society of Archæologists, and Mr. Stolanov, Director of the College of Kutais, and reported in the Society's proceedings of the 5th of April, by Mr. N. Nikitine. The prehistoric monuments of the Caucasus have been much more closely studied hitherto than those of religious architecture, although these latter, dating from the sixth century, are both numerous and remarkable. It is known that the introduction of Christianity into the Caucasus dates from the second century. The most ancient of these remains are to be found in the valley of the Aras. Many of them have been but superficially examined, many are even yet to be discovered. But their deterioration by time and the disregard of the local population is rapidly proceeding, and the inscriptions, the frescoes, and the decorations of the buildings are disappearing from day to day. The exploration, which is to commence in the valley of the Aras (Araxes) and the upper regions of the Schorokh (Terek) will embrace not only the well-preserved monuments, but also those in ruins. Mr. Stolanov is of opinion that a thorough investigation of these interesting vestiges of a bygone time cannot be accomplished in a single year, and that it will be necessary to send several consecutive expeditions. According to his idea the principal points of the Caucasus requiring exploration are the north-west of the peninsula on the two banks of the Kuban and its affluents, as well as the lower slopes of the principal Caucasian range of mountains, a region little known, and very rich in religious monuments; the Black Sea shore from Anapa to the mouth of the Ingour, a country almost unexplored, and where old images and sacred utensils are found scattered and disregarded by the Abtetraser and other native tribes; the regions of Pshavia and Khevsouria abounding in Georgian fragments; Soanetia with its Byzantine antiquities; Imeritia, Mingrelia, Gouria, and, above all, Adjaria, with their numerous ruins, of which some only have been described by Mr. Bakradsé; the valley of the Upper Kur, rich in Armeno-Georgian antiquities, which are better known than the others; finally, the tableland of Kars, but little explored. Many of the Christian churches in the Caucasus, as elsewhere, were built on the ruins of Pagan temples. It was the Byzantine style, however, that gave birth to those of

Armenia and Georgia, so remarkable for beauty of form and decoration. It is worthy of notice that this architecture has the same origin as that of Russia. They do not date from the same period, but their source and development are identical. It was the same Emperor of Byzantium who sent his artists to the Grand Duke Yaroslav of Kiev, and to the Czar Bagrat IV. of Georgia. Hence the Church of Mokva and the Cathedral of Kutais were constructed on plans having much affinity with those of the Cathedrals of St. Sophia at Kiev and Novgorod. Ancient Georgia also maintained relations with Russia, so that we find in the churches of the former frescoes executed by Russian artists. Therefore it is expected that the description of the Christian monuments of the Caucasus, with plans and designs, will contribute not a little to a proper understanding of the bases of Russian national art, in the same manner as, some time ago, the facts revealed regarding Central Asian art by Mr. Simakov, lately deceased, threw much light on the constituent elements of Russian decoration.



Antiquarian News.

ON May 4 there was opened at the House of the Society of Arts an exhibition of an extensive series of works of art by the great Japanese masters, ranging from the ninth century to the present date. This exhibition represented the whole range of Japanese art by specimens of its most famous craftsmen and artists; the objects were lent by Mr. Ernest Hart for the purpose of illustrating his lectures on "The Historic Arts of Japan." The hanging pictures, or *kakemonos*, include specimens of all the great masters, beginning with the works of Kanaoka, the great Buddhist painter of the ninth century, and including brilliant and authentic examples of pictures. Among the original drawings are a series of forty by Hokusai, which are the only extant series of original drawings of this great master, and the recent discovery of which has excited great interest in the art world; as well as specimens of the early block printings and hand-coloured sketch-books and *sourimono*s of the famous Japanese school of chromo-xylographists. The wood-carvings include reproductions by Ritsuo, in the seventeenth century, of the famous temple guardians (Nio) of Nara of the sixth century, and other characteristic specimens of the Buddhist sculpture and portrait statuettes of old Japan. The metal works are illustrated by a complete suit of hammered iron armour in *repoussé* by Miochin, of the eleventh century, with helmets and smaller decorative pieces of the *repoussé* hammered iron of the illustrious masters. A collection of some hundreds of sword-guards (*itsubas*), including examples of Metada, Nabouyé, Kinaiye, Kinai, Somin, the Gotos, and nearly all the other famous workers in this peculiarly Japanese department of damascened incrustated iron-work, and of the *shibuichi*, *shakudo*, and *mokubé* alloys. The collection of lacquer-work includes examples of the early work of Kotetsu and other workers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and a long series of classified specimens of the various kinds of

lac described by Mr. Quin. The bronzes range from an early date down to the later work of the three great masters of Japan, Tōun, Seimin, and Yoi, who produced their work in the last part of the eighteenth century. The ceramic ware illustrates the whole range of Japanese pottery from the fifteenth century, including the "cup of Taikosama" from the temple of Hotoji, and specimens of the earliest blue and white porcelain.

John Ryding, about eighteen years of age, was summoned at Southport Police Court for having obstructed a lane by placing a rope across it. The Head Constable said it appeared there was an old-established custom in existence in the district of Crossens on the occasion of a marriage for some one to place a rope or a ladder across the street along which the wedded couple were being driven, the object being to get "lowance money." On the date in question a wedding took place in Crossens, and the defendant foolishly put a rope across the lane, and the act might have been attended with very serious results, as the horse attached to the cab containing the contracting parties got entangled in the rope.

The history of the venerable building known to our forefathers as Christ Church many hundreds of years ago, is so closely interwoven with that of Dublin, that everything relating to it possesses a common interest. A cast of plaster of paris was taken of the upper part of a large slab, on which the letters "G.R." could be traced, and this grave was at once set down as that of Gregory, Archbishop of Dublin, who ruled the Archdiocese in the year 1161. A couple of years ago the question was first started whether it was possible to recover the plan of the cloister buildings, of which no previous record existed, and which were unknown to Mr. G. E. Street, the architect who restored the Cathedral for Mr. Roe. A plan was prepared by Mr. Thomas Drew, Stephen's Green, founded on some leasehold documents and a map preserved in the Cathedral, and by this means the site of the ancient Chapter House was identified, this being used in the last century as the Exchange, and so named. Excavations commenced a short time ago, a large number of men being employed, with the view of carrying out Mr. Drew's plan, which was approved by the Dean and Chapter. The site of the cloister garth was first laid bare, revealing the massive piers of the basements on which the old Four Courts had been built in the year 1610. Pursuing the investigations further, pits were sunk in the positions indicated by Mr. Drew, where the walls of the old Chapter House would probably be found, the result being the unexpected and gratifying discovery of a considerable remnant of the lower parts of that building at a depth of ten feet under the surface, and very far below the level of the roadway in Christchurch Place. The remains of a magnificent triplet window in the east end also existed, as well as of a western door leading from the cloisters, a line of stone benching on which the monks sat, and some of the original tiling of the floor. There were also remains of the vaulting shafts, indicating that it was a groined roof building four bays in length. More interesting still was the further discovery of a series of remarkable burials ranged across the Chapter House, with the feet of the deceased towards the east. In the centre was a stone coffin-lid of black limestone, very

much decayed, but bearing traces of a floriated cross indicative of the resting-place of an archbishop, and capable of being identified as in the style of the thirteenth century. At the southern wall is another tomb, surmounted by a stone slab in good preservation, representing the effigy of a female, with the right hand placed in a devotional attitude over the breast, the left reposing stiffly by the side. This is undoubtedly the grave of one of those ladies described in the Book of Obits of Christ Church Cathedral as "sorrow nostre congregacionis." The other burials are not marked by any inscription or effigies, and the contents have not yet been investigated. The old Chapter House measures fifty feet by twenty-five feet. The celebrated passage known as "Hell" has been uncovered, as well as the eastern walk of the cloister, many minor objects of interest being discovered in the course of the excavations, as well as a large collection of minute bones.

Some time ago we noticed that a number of ancient Roman coins had recently been found in the province of Shansi, in Northern China. It now turns out that the coins referred to were unearthed between fifty and sixty years ago, when they were purchased by a Shansi banker, named Yang, from a man who had found them buried in the ground in the neighbourhood of Ling-shih Hien. The coins, which formed the subject of an interesting paper read before the Pekin Oriental Society by Dr. Bushell, of H.M. Legation, are sixteen in number, and include examples of the money of twelve emperors, ranging from Tiberius, A.D. 14-37, to Aurelian, who died in 275. The fact of the discovery of these coins in China is interesting, but in nowise astonishing. Roman coins of these and other dates have frequently been found in Central Asia, and, if there, why not in China? In the course of his paper, Dr. Bushell was led incidentally to speak on the much-vexed question of Ta Ts'in; and he pointed out, as has been already mentioned in the *Academy*, that all the ingenuity employed by Dr. Hirts and others to make the various accounts given of Ta Ts'in by Chinese writers applicable to one district is futile in the face of the fact that they refer to at least four widely separated regions.

The district traversed by the new Banffshire Coast Railway is one that from its early settlement was likely, in the course of so much excavation as the construction of a railway usually implies, to yield objects of interest of a bygone age. At Dytach and Portlong considerable remains of large deer's horns, bones, etc., were disinterred, and have been preserved. At Portlong, near Cullen—the scene of many a thrilling adventure in days of smuggling—stood a conical rock called the Maiden Pap, hitherto a landmark to mariners, but the whole mass has been transferred to the railway bridges and viaducts lately erected in the neighbourhood of Cullen. The rock was penetrated by a far-reaching cave, whose smooth sides and well-rounded pot-holes furnished almost incontestable evidence of having been regularly washed by the sea waves within a period not of the remotest, the special point of interest being that, as the mouth of the cave was considerably above the present sea-level, the land here must have risen. A quern now in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh, was formerly obtained from this cave, and on the summit of the rock overlooking

the mouth of the cave was an ancient "kitchen-midden," consisting of an immense mass of cockle, mussel, and other shells, again revealed by the late railway works, and which formerly yielded a bronze brooch and other articles. At Cullen was found a coin now in the possession of Mr. J. W. Stuart. It is a billon plack of James III. or IV., with the inscription, "Jacobus . Dei . Gra . Scotorvm . Villa de Edinbvg." At Buckie a silver coin of Queen Elizabeth, of date 1572, was found; also a copper coin of the reign of Charles II. The formation of the railway track skirting the Castle Hill of Cullen revealed abundant masses of vitrified rock, which had fallen from the crest of the hill. These have been viewed with much interest as verifying the statements of Cordiner, made about a century ago. In constructing the embankment in the Links, skeletons were found at separate places slightly under the surface—one of a full-grown man, the other of a youthful female. On previous occasions bodies had been found in the Links and in other localities along this coast, but no satisfactory explanation has hitherto been forthcoming of their existence in these places. The embankment opposite the Temple covers, it is understood, a number of bodies that popular tradition associates with the Battle of the Bards in the tenth century. One of the most interesting and valuable finds was that of four urns at Buckie—one of which, thanks to Dr. Simpson, has been saved, and is now in his possession. Fragments of the bones found within the urn are in such a state of preservation that they can be distinguished. The urn is about twelve inches in height, forty-two inches in circumference, and resembles an urn found near Banff, and described by Tennant in his *Tour* at the close of last century. Proceeding westwards, an ancient canoe was discovered in the bed of the Spey, constructed of a single log, and similar to one previously discovered several miles farther east.

A stone coffin, similar to those excavated at the time of the sewerage cuttings through the Minster Yard, Peterborough, was laid partially bare during the excavations to test the foundations of the south transept. It was about four feet beneath the surface. The coffin is devoid of any ornamentation, and through an opening caused by the breaking of a corner of the lid the skeleton of a full-grown man was to be seen. The date is supposed to be about 1200. Later on three more stone coffins were exposed as the excavations proceeded eastward. The lid of one of these was raised under the direction of Canon Argles, but nothing was seen but the complete skeleton of a middle-aged man. The coffins were of about thirteenth-century date.

On Palm Sunday morning Leo XIII. received from Monsignor Macchi the traditional palm made by the Camaldolese nuns of Sant' Antonio. The giving of this palm to the Pope on Palm Sunday dates from the time of Sixtus V., and is still kept up by the descendants of a family by the name of Bresca, of San Remo, who yearly present him with one. The palm is beautifully worked, and in the middle of the stem is carved the name of Maria, surrounded by a rosary of pink beads. Over this are two branches representing abundance, laden with fruits and flowers of every kind, and over these again are two smaller branches forming an oval as framework for a beautiful little miniature

picture, which represents the Madonna del Rosario, sitting in a niche in the act of giving a rosary to San Domenico, who is kneeling to the right. The infant Christ, who is sitting on her knee, is placing a crown of thorns on the head of Santa Caterina (she kneeling to the left) with one hand, while with the other he is also giving her a rosary. On each side of the niche are two candelabras, with festoons of flowers between them, and at the foot of the picture is a wreath of roses and a lighted taper, the emblem of the Dominican monks.

An unusually important collection of books coming from various German monasteries, as well as of works of the eighteenth century, was dispersed at Stuttgart in the first week in May.

There has just been prepared for the Earl of Moray, to be placed in the Hall of Doune Castle, an ash suite of furniture made from the old gallows-tree which had weathered many storms in front of the castle till the year 1878, when it was blown down. The suite consists of a state chair and two small chairs, a large table, three stools, and seven forms, each of the latter being seven feet long by 12 inches broad.

Sixty thousand florins' worth of antiquities have been stolen from the Vienna Museum. The robbery was perpetrated on a Sunday.

Calder Abbey, Cumberland, is undergoing restoration, and several interesting discoveries have been made. The most remarkable is that of a massive stone coffin, belonging to the twelfth or thirteenth century, and containing the body of a man over six feet in length.

American papers inform us that the small island, Juan Fernandez, where Alexander Selkirk passed his four years of solitude, has been leased by the Chilean Government to a Swiss named Rodt, who has established there a flourishing colony.

The parish church of St. Martin, Saundby, has undergone extensive and important transformation during the period which it has been closed for restoration. In commencing the work the intention was to avoid, if possible, any rebuilding. Preparations were accordingly made to underpin the chancel walls, but upon the removal of the internal "studding out" and plaster—done within recent years—it was found that the walls had disintegrated, and upon the least touch fell away like rubbish, and were in many cases seven or eight inches out of the perpendicular. It was, therefore, impossible to carry out what had been hoped, but in rebuilding the chancel walls the old stones were carefully replaced in their former positions. On the north side of the sacarium is an interesting monument to John Hellays and his wife, 1599. The brick piers, upon which the richly carved alabaster slab to the altar-tomb rests, have been cased with Derbyshire alabaster in panels. The grave-slabs and fragments of slabs which had been used to pave the chancel have been placed in the centre aisle of the nave—the one to William Saundby, Lord of Saundby, and Elizabeth his wife, 1418, has been placed at the entrance to the chancel, where the brass inscription plate, all that now remains upon the slab, is again visible, it having been in its temporary position hidden under the chancel seats. Two fragments of the consecration-stone have been preserved, and are now

fixed above the altar-table, which is a fair example of the eighteenth century.

A presentation has recently been made to the Essex and Chelmsford Museum by the Rev. A. W. Rowe, of Felsted, consisting of a specimen collection of palæolithic implements found by that gentleman, including several from Essex. The last number of the *Felstedian* contains an interesting article from Mr. Rowe on "The Palæolithic Age in England," in which he says: "In our own country of Essex a considerable number of these stone implements have been found, chiefly along the banks of the Thames, or what were its banks in those times; for from the positions in which they were found, it is evident that they were dropped or left on the banks of the river by those who used them, and that first the river gradually covered them up with silt when flowing quietly along, and then covered up this silt with coarser gravel when flowing with a flooded stream: but these positions show that the level of the river in those times was at least a hundred feet higher than now, and from comparing the position in which many of these implements have been found on the opposite, or Kentish bank, of the Thames, it has been estimated that the channel of the river must have been at that time from four to five miles in width. But away from the banks of the Thames and the Lea, where they are also found, but few of these implements have been discovered in Essex; indeed, I believe that not one undoubted implement has been as yet discovered in what are usually called the Essex gravels. The Rev. O. Fisher mentions his having found one in the gravels at Witham; but from no others having been discovered there, in spite of frequent and careful search, it seems doubtful whether that one which he found really belonged to those gravels. And the reason for their not being found in the Essex gravels, or at any rate in those gravels which lie round Felsted, is obvious; for these are not river-gravels, but glacial-gravels—that is to say, they have not been deposited by any river, but either by the ice itself, which during the Glacial age covered Essex like a great sheet, or more probably by the floods which followed upon the melting of the ice-sheet, and which sorted the surface of the immense mass of boulder-clay deposited by the ice, depositing the mud in one place, and the gravels in another; consequently any flakes or chance implements that might be found would be brought from other parts in the boulder-clay and left in the gravels or the clay-mud, as the case might be. Mr. French, the post-master, has found several undoubted flakes, or splintered pieces of flint struck off by human hands, in the gravel-pits at Causeway End, but no undoubted implements. However, I was fortunate enough to discover some three or four undoubted implements of Palæolithic age in the clay-pit at Causeway End; another fine implement of hard sandstone was picked up by Mr. A. Skill in one of his fields at North End last year, and given by him to me; and only a few weeks ago I picked up at Great Leighs a large flake of flint of Palæolithic age which had been worked into a rude implement.

At a book-sale by Messrs. Sotheby, in London, an illuminated manuscript, containing an autograph letter of Queen Mary of England, fetched the large sum of £420. An original edition of Burns was bought for £28 10s.

A literary find of no small interest has just been made in Germany. It is the manuscript of "The Watch on the Rhine," Max Schneekendorfer's famous poem, now a national song in Germany.

A somewhat strange discovery was made in the river Blyth, near the High Ferry Boat, by one of the ferrymen. It appears that through the recent snow-storms a strong current has lately been running down the Blyth, which has greatly scoured the river, and exposed to view an excellent pair of deer's horns, in a perfect state of preservation. The horns measure about 6 feet across, and each horn about 4 feet in length, with seven beautiful antlers on each horn—part of the skull of the animal being also attached. The horns are now in the possession of Mr. John Easton, agent to Sir M. W. Ridley, Bart., at Blyth. On previous occasions there have been several pairs of horns found at this part of the river, but for size and completeness the present pair is the most perfect.

The whole of the pinnacles of St. Michael's steeple, Coventry, have been taken down level with the parapets of the tower. They were found to be in a very rotten condition, and little difficulty was experienced in separating the stones. The turret was simply held together by strong iron bands and cramps, which were constructed in a most wonderful manner. Some of the stones are literally pulverized, and large blocks weighing some hundredweights are quite loose, there being no adhesion of the mortar. The wonder is that during a gale they have not come dashing down into the street below. The turret is in such a shattered condition that it is contemplated taking it down. Inside the tower the hardest York stone and Runcorn stone alternately is being inserted across the cracks. An ancient stone seat was found in the recess on the inside of the tower. This is being renewed. The bases of the great piers of the tower, which were cut away to make room for the great timber staging of the tower, are also being replaced with new stone. In the inside of the extreme west wall of the south aisle part of an ancient semicircular arch was discovered, and has been opened out. It shows a plain splay on the inside, and is evidently the inside jamb and arch of a very ancient window, 5 feet or 6 feet in width. Mr. Scott pronounces it to be of early Norman date, and it is undoubtedly the most ancient feature of the church. Outside the tower the improvement made by the restoration as at present carried out is very apparent, the plinth of the richly moulded string in the window-sills being remarkably fine.

The Rev. G. Butterworth, Vicar of Deerhurst, has obtained permission of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the newly discovered Saxon chapel to be put in repair by a local committee of Gloucestershire gentlemen. The handsome Tudor-timbered house on the east will, of course, remain to set off the ancient building; but on the west there is an erection with a wing of stables and outhouses running out at right angles, which it is hoped that the tenant and the surveyors will consent to have removed, so that a clear space may be left to show the angle of the chapel.

An interesting curiosity—the old Welsh Bible of the renowned Rowlands of Llangetho—has fallen into the hands of Mr. C. Wilkins, Merthyr. It is in black-letter, is dated 1620, and, like most copies of that scarce edition in existence, lacks the title-page to

the Old Testament. The title-page to the New Testament is intact, and is remarkable for those vagaries of the woodcutter's art which characterized the early part of the seventeenth century. At the foot a lion rampant with protruded tongue bears a crown, which, made to fit like a cap, gives the creature a ludicrous appearance, especially as he is looking around the corner to catch a glimpse of a smiling unicorn. Immediately preceding this leaf is one bearing the bold handwriting of "Daniel Rowlands, 1754." The Bible also bears the endorsement, written by one of the leading Calvinistic Methodist ministers of Cardiganshire, "Hen Feibl y Parch Daniel Rowlands, Llangeitho."

The Royal Historical Society has appointed a committee to make arrangements for the celebration of the 800th anniversary of the completion of the great survey of England contained in Domesday Book—which was, almost certainly, finished in the year 1086 A.D.—and has invited the leading antiquarian and architectural societies throughout the country to take part in the celebration. The invitation has been accepted by most of the societies, including the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Institute of British Architects, which have appointed delegates to serve on the committee. Any person interested in Domesday Book, or any learned society to which by chance an invitation has not been sent, may communicate with the Hon. Secretary, Mr. P. Edward Dove, Barrister-at-Law, 23, Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, London.

The clearance of the three crypts of the Cathedral of Winchester is now completed, thanks to the energy and good taste of the Dean, Dr. Kitchin; and antiquaries and visitors can see, almost in their original vastness and proportion, the great Norman crypt (nave and aisles), showing the apsidal form of the Norman high altar, the crypt of the Norman Lady Chapel, and the Early English Decorated and Perpendicular crypt of the present Lady Chapel. The great crypt is divided by five columns in its nave, and the aisles are approached through arches pierced in the immense walls. The Norman Lady Chapel crypt is divided by a row of five columns; it has no aisles, and the medieval crypt is also divided by three columns of the respective styles. A collection of Anglo-Norman pottery was found in the great crypt, evidently the deposit of rubbish, for there were beside a bushel and half of fictile fragments, quantities of oyster-shells, and bones of animals. The fictilia consisted of the fragments of pitchers, pipkins, etc.; and a careful survey and restoration by a local antiquary has given again a collection of almost perfect pitchers of various sizes, and amongst the fragments were several of a very handsome-shaped bowl, with Roman decorations, evidently part of a Romano-British effort to copy a Samian bowl, or a copy by some inexperienced Saxon potter. The excavations in and about the Cathedral have yielded quite a considerable collection of coins, tokens, rings, and other curios, from the Roman occupation down to Tudor times. The Norman well in the centre of the great crypt has been cleaned out.

The interesting Summer Exhibition of the 19th Century Art Society, at the Conduit Street Galleries, opened to the public on Monday, the 17th May.

Correspondence.

BEQUEST TO BELL-RINGERS.

Your campanological readers may be interested in the bequest by Thomas Fraunceys of Colchester (will dated May 2, 1416), of 4d. annually, on the anniversary of his death, to the ringers of the great bells (*pulsatoribus magnarum Campanarum*) of St. Botolph's Priory Church, Colchester. It was "the great bell" of this church, as I have mentioned previously in the *Antiquary*, which was rung at four every morning, and eight every evening (the curfew-hour, it should be observed), for the benefit of the town at large.

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

"HOT COCKLES."

(*Ante*, vol. xii., p. 251.)

Mr. W. C. Hazlitt seems to see a connection between the game of "Hot Cockles" and the "wanton sport which they call moulding of Cockle-bread." The nature of this latter practice is sufficiently explained by the extracts from Aubrey and Burchardus, which show that it must be brought within the category of charms and not of games. "Hot Cockles," as defined by Mr. A. H. Bullen, in a note in his new edition of Middleton's *Works*, viii. 81, was a game in which "a player was blindfolded and laid his head in another's lap, in which position he had to endure a buffeting from the rest of the players until he guessed the name of the person who struck him." This is identical with a folk-game known in France as "le jeu de la main chaude," which, according to M. Eugène Rolland, is "un jeu dans lequel un des joueurs, la tête sur les genoux d'un autre et la main ouverte sur le dos, reçoit des coups sur cette main jusqu'à ce qu'il ait deviné qui l'a frappé" (*Mélysine*, ii. col. 430). I do not dispute Mr. Hazlitt's etymology of "Cockles," but it is evident that the adjective *hot* has nothing to do with *hautes*, but refers to the warm tingling sustained by the stricken part during the progress of the game. M. Rolland gives various citations showing that the game was known in Languedoc and in various parts of Italy, in Roumania and Germany, in Turkey, and in Persia; and in none of these countries does the name by which it was called give any indication that it was an outgrowth of the superstitious custom mentioned by Aubrey and Burchardus. There are many references to "Hot Cockles" as a Christian game in our older writers, but no passage that I recollect has any bearing on the relations of sex.

W. F. PRIDEAUX.

Calcutta.

BOOK-PLATE.

(*Ante*, vol. xiii., p. 231.)

An immediate answer to E. W. B.'s query is obtained by referring to Mr. C. N. Elvin's useful *Handbook of Mottoes* for "*Cervus non servus*" (not *Cervus* again). The arms are those of Goddard, of Cliffe Pypard, Co. Wilts, and of Swindon. The quartering appears to be also Goddard, representing a marriage with a different family of the same name.

C. R. M.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

The following question was set in March, 1883, to pupil teachers in their third year :

"Name the parents of Mary Queen of Scots, and show how each of them were related to the Royal Family of England."

The answer to this is plain on the side of the *father* of Mary, but we are unable, at the schools here, to trace the relationship of Mary of Guise to the English Royal Family. Can any of the readers of the *Antiquary* give the explanation?

J. KAY BOOKER, M.A., Oxon., Curate of Putney.
36, Disraeli Road, Putney, S.W.

PARISH UMBRELLAS.

(*Ante*, vol. xiii., p. 231.)

Leigh was not the only parish in which an umbrella was provided at the expense of the parishioners. In the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of Wrexham, for example, I find, under date Apl. 2, 1742, the following entry :

"Pd. William Wright for an Uंबरello - £1 10"

I have no doubt but this parish umbrella was intended for the use of the clergyman when with bare head on wet days he read the burial service at the open grave.

ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

Wrexham.

ON THE SCANDINAVIAN ELEMENTS IN THE ENGLISH RACE.

(*Ante*, pp. 137-143.)

Some points require elucidation, as for instance :

I. We are told of a tribe of Scandinavians borne westward by migration to Angeln in Denmark; the question here is as to the use of the term Scandinavian, which, no doubt, has a definite and hitherto well-understood meaning. Pliny applies it to the Baltic, Ptolemy has *Scandiae insulae*; I read it "hilly-country," as opposed to the flat shore S. of the Baltic, *i.e.*, "stan," as in Hindostan, and "din" or "dinas," a word also found in the Himalayas, as "dhun." All writers have hitherto identified the reference as to the great N.W. peninsula of Europe, called Norway, Sweden, Lapland, Finland, etc. How then could the folks of Angeln be called Scandinavian, if, migrating from the East, they never reached the country defined as Scandinavia? No doubt the so-called Angli (why Angliski?) were ethnically allied to the Swedes, Norse, Sweo-Goths and Icelanders; but race and language are not necessarily identical.

II. We read, further, of Durham as once the home of the *Skyldings* from *Shields* to Hartlepool; the italics here point to some supposed analogy of person and place. I do not see any necessary connection between certain semi-mythical Skyldings and our Shields N. and S. By the term Skylding I understand a Teutonic tribe-name like Billing, Waring, Æscing, etc. Well, there may have been such; but Shields, topographically, I take to be a structural term, not patronymical or eponymical. Taken structurally, it is of universal alliance; *e.g.*, Celtic "sheal," a hut, English shield, a shelter; shieling. Like many other places in Britain, Shield is named from the vast Roman substructures now buried in sands; as with vallum or bally, which give us wall, bailey, etc.;

Shields appears to have been named Segedunum, Saxon Scythles-Ceaster.

III. This is a hopeless craze: Chester, we are told, is from *cest*, a conflict, etc. ! How anyone with a literate faculty can overlook the plain line of descent is, to me, most marvellous strange.

Thus, from Corinium [castrum], to Cirencester.

Deva, Roman castrum or castle on the Dee, to Saxon Legeceaster, Eng. Chester.

Uriconium [a Roman castrum], to Saxon Wrecin Ceaster, Eng. Wroxeter.

Lutudorum, a Roman castrum stativum, to Chesterfield.

Longovici, a Roman camp on the Lune, to Lancaster.

Mancunium, a Roman castrum, to Manchester.

Manduessedum, a Roman castrum stativum, to Mancetter.

Dornovaria, to Brit. Caer Dori, Sax. Dornceaster, Eng. Dorchester.

Verulamium, an immense military camp, to Sax. Verlamceaster.

Portus Rutupensis, a Roman naval station, to Sax.

Reptaceaster, Eng. Richborough.

Venta Belgarum, Brit. Caer Gwent, Sax. Wintonceaster, Eng. Winchester.

This list might be tediously extended; the point being that, where the Saxons applied Ceaster, Caster, Chester, we can show a pre-existent Roman *Castrum*; the converse is not so clear.

A. HALL.

13, Paternoster Row, March 31st, 1886.

BOXLEY ABBEY, KENT.

(*Ante*, p. 11.)

In the January number of the *Antiquary* there is a paper on "Allington Castle," in which the writer mentions the "Abbot of Boxley," and again states that "this is the Boxley celebrated for its Rood of Grace."

The present Vicar of Boxley parish told me on one occasion that he had been at times asked (probably by persons not well up in the ecclesiastical history of England) whereabouts at Boxley Church the Rood of Grace had been.

To those of course who are at all acquainted with such matters, an "abbot" pre-supposes an abbey, and it would be superfluous to tell them that there never had been such an individual as "the Abbot of Boxley."

The remains of Boxley Abbey, however, still exist, and there can be little doubt whereabouts in its entirety its once beautiful chapel stood, with shafts of Betersden marble, and column to which was affixed the Rood of Grace, an object probably partly doctrinal, but which drew down on the unfortunate abbey the iconoclastic fury of heated and excited days.

One of the abbots of Boxley Abbey played an important part in English history, having been one of the emissaries of England appointed to treat for the liberation of the imprisoned Richard I. (Cœur de Lion).

Boxley Abbey was suppressed among the greater monasteries in the time of Henry VIII. There is very much about its ruined walls of great interest to the genuine archæologist.

FREDERIC R. SURTEES.

Boxley Abbey, Sandling, near Maidstone.

P.S.—Papers were published in the *Antiquary* in 1883 on Boxley Abbey by the Rev. Mr. Brownbill and myself.—F. R. S.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

Quaint Gleanings from Ancient Poetry, a collection of curious poetical compositions of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries; large paper, only 75 copies printed, 1884, 6s. Kempe's Nine Daies Wonder performed in a Journey from London to Norwich, 1600; large paper, only 75 printed, 1884, 6s. Cottoni Posthuma, divers choice pieces of that renowned antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, by J. H., Esq., 1679; large paper, 2 vols., 75 copies only printed, 1884, 16s. Ancient Popular Poetry from authentic manuscripts and old printed copies, edited by John Ritson; adorned with cuts, 2 vols., 1884; large paper edition, only 75 copies printed, 14s. Hermippus Redivivus; or, the Sage's Triumph over Old Age and the Grave; London, 1744, 3 vols.; large paper edition, only 75 copies printed, 1885, £1 1s. Lucina Sine Concubitu, a letter humbly addressed to the Royal Society, 1750; large paper edition, only 75 copies printed, 1885, 10s. Narrative of the Events of the Siege of Lyons, translated from the French, 1794; large paper edition, only 75 copies printed, 1885, 6s. : or offers for the lot.—301, care of Manager.

Copies of 222 Marriage Registers from the parish book of St. Mary's Church in Whittlesey, in the Isle of Ely and County of Cambridge, 1662-72; 1880, 10 pp., 1s. 6d. A copy of the Names of all the Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials which have been solemnized in the private chapel of Somerset House, Strand, in the County of Middlesex, extending from 1714 to 1776, with an index and copious genealogical notes; 36 pp. and wrapper, 1862, 2s. 6d.—119, care of Manager.

Photographs (registered) showing the large Ancient British War Canoe recently discovered at Brigg, Lincolnshire, before removal from her bed.—To be had only from G. Clarke, Garden Street, Brigg. Price 1s. 6d. each, post free.

Brydges' Topographical Miscellanies, plates, 4to., 1792, £1 9s. Todd's Deans of Canterbury, 8vo., 1793, 7s. 6d. Rawlinson's Rochester Cathedral, calf, 1723, 7s. Dearn's Weald of Kent, 13s. 6d.—Apply by letter to 305, care of Manager.

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The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens. Also Topographical Works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county.—J. S. Udall, the Manor House, Symondsbury, Bridport.

Cobbett's Political Register, vols. 25, 30, 66, 77, 79, 84, 85; Beddoe's Death's Jest Book and Improvisatore; Pike's Ramble-Book, 1865; Courthell's Ten Years' Experience on the Mississippi; Hazlitt's History of Venice, 4 volumes; Dr. W. Morris's The Question of Ages.—M., care of Manager.

Henry Warren's Lithographic Illustrations of the River Ravensbourne, near Lewisham, Kent. Folio, 6 or 7 plates. (No date is believed to be on the book.) Thorpe (John) A Collection of Statutes relating to Rochester Bridge. Folio, 1733.—Thanet, care of Manager.

Portraits of Eminent Americans Now Living, with Biographical and Historical Memoirs of their Lives and Actions, by John Livingston, of the New York Bar, in 2 vols. New York, Cornish, Lampart and Co.—P., care of Manager.

Brown's Misread Passages; Raban, by Walter C. Smith; Stoughton's Shades and Echoes of Old London, 1864; Cooper's Rambles on Rivers, Woods, and Streams; Lupot on the Violin (English Translation). S., care of Manager.

Eaton's Pigeons, 1851, 1853, 1858, report titles and condition; A Treatise on Domestic Pigeons, published by C. Barry, Fenchurch Street, 1765; A New and Complete Treatise on the Art of Breeding and Managing the Almond Tumbler, 1802; also 2nd edition, 1804, printed by W. Williams, 35, Chancery Lane (portrait of Almond Tumbler).—L., care of Manager.



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